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

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

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

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

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 There are, however, many texts in the Smithsonian corpus that remain untranslated and unpublished.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

At the same time that I have added information to help the reader, I have also been careful to preserve everything found in the original manuscript. The few instances of writing errors by Kiyana are corrected in the text, with an endnote giving the actual manuscript form. Moreover, the presence or absence of the word boundary symbol used in the Meskwaki syllabary is noted throughout. Meskwaki has a phonological process of optional cliticization of independent
words (Goddard 1991); it is of great interest in studying this phenomenon to know where a native speaker felt a word boundary did or did not exist.

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

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

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

It is important to note that underwater spirits are often, but not always, malevolent. Michelson (1927:79–87) gives an account of a married couple blessed in a good way by an underwater panther and Brightman (1983:83) notes the ambivalent nature of underwater spirits among the Rock Cree. In all cases, however, underwater beings are powerful and to be respected. The present text tells us that the hero always held tobacco in both hands when he did his ritual swimming, as an offering to the underwater spirits.

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

Having established that the underwater spirit in this text is an evil one, we may then ask what the signs were that the young man missed, regarding the nature of the spirit he had encountered. There seem, in fact, to be several indications that the underwater spirit is one to avoid. For one thing, the young man’s first encounter with the spirit comes when he goes underwater in an emergency without the protection of tobacco. A second matter of concern has to do with the number of spirits involved. Most accounts of blessings by good spirits describe four or more spirits appearing to the vision seeker. A common pattern is for six spirits to participate in the blessing: the one who initially blesses the young person then escorts him to a spirit in the east, another in the south, another in the west, another in the north, and finally to the Great Spirit in the sky above (see, e.g., Michelson 1925:67–83). All but the last spirit end their speech by saying that the number of spirits blessing the young person is not yet enough, and that the vision seeker must now visit another spirit. Further evidence that blessings of the good sort involve multiple spirits may perhaps be found in Kiyana (1996:1K), where a father checking on his fasting son asks,
“How many spirits blessed you then?” In contrast, the underwater spirit in the present text is acting alone when he blesses the young man. In the initial encounter, the underwater spirit creates the illusion that there are four spirits in human form, but, in fact, as the young man is told, “we are not really four . . . I am just one” (6M–N).

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

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

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

That the winged spirit points at the young man is significant (17C, figure 2), since pointing at people with the finger is avoided in Meskwaki culture. Kiyana’s lengthy version of the origin myth (Kiyana 1913) contains several references that shed light on the associations of pointing. For example, the culture hero, Wi’ashke’ha, has the ability to create objects, such as a lake, merely by pointing at a spot (p. 723). Moreover, Wi’ashke’ha informs the human beings of the Warchief clan that, if they point at someone they are quarreling with, that person will die (p. 791). Later in the same story, a spirit is pointed at by other spirits, as part of a scolding (p. 963). Pointing with the finger thus seems to be associated both with mystical power and with the expression of anger.

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

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

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

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

Examples of topic NPs may be seen in lines 5D and 23F, negative particles in lines 4M and 6M, and focused NPs in lines 24P, 26C, and 28C. Oblique arguments
include those expressing stationary location (6I), goal (7P, 7K), source (6F), and manner (23H). Meskwaki also allows discontinuous NPs (6F, 22E, 25J) and discontinuous compound verbs (4I, 11K). See Dahlstrom (1995) for a discussion of how discontinuous constituents fit into the word order template given above.

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

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

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

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

Several inflectional paradigms are used in clauses expressing ‘when’ or ‘if’. To express ‘when’ in the past, the changed conjunct is used (6E, 7I). The subjunctive is used to indicate ‘when’ in the future or a noncounterfactual ‘if’ clause (7H, 28A). The iterative forms temporal adverbial clauses with a gloss of ‘whenever…’, expressing repeated action (1G). Clauses glossed ‘whenever’ in the sense of ‘at whatever time…’ are marked with the aorist interrogative (10M). Counterfactual ‘if’ clauses take the unreal (13H).

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

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

Other linguistic phenomena worthy of mention include two types of reduplication (Dahlstrom 1997): bisyllabic reduplication generally indicates repeated or distributed action (4P, 8P), while monosyllabic reduplication generally indicates continuous aspect (22B, 25I). (See Appelbaum [1996] for Meskwaki aspect in general; many of her examples are from the text presented here.) Double reduplication (both types applying to a single verb stem) is illustrated in line 12A. Meskwaki has a large number of enclitics expressing mostly pragmatic notions such as evidentiality, emphasis, contrast, and speaker’s attitude. In addition, as mentioned above, independent words may undergo optional cliticization. See Goddard (1991) for the rules of clitic sandhi. The text contains many examples of noun incorporation; one may be seen in line 19N, where the verb contains the medial *-te-he-* ‘heart’. Compare line 10P, where the unincorporated noun appears in focus position. Line 10P also illustrates possessor raising, where a transitive verb with a possessed object is made into a ditransitive taking the possessor as first object and the possessor as second object. An instance of the diminutive (here a suffix on the verb stem) used to express pity is found in line 23Q. Finally, Goddard (1999) notes out that absentative demonstrative pronouns are used in narratives to re-introduce a previously mentioned character; examples in this text are found in lines 9P and 29L.
Text

A ne-ki-pye-tsyakahuwata | ow:ii:i kwehahhi
know,how-bring.by.drumming 3.SG.PRT 3.SG his.enemies.OBV

e shawi.i | nas:away. nego:te:waa,
fare.thus 3.SG.PRT.0BL long.ago Indian

What happened to an Indian of long ago, who knew how to bring his enemies by drumming.

bless 3.SG.PRT.3 buffalo.OBV

and who was blessed by a buffalo.

broken =QUOT be.snake.3.SG.IND

(It was half snake, it's said.)

his.father.OBV =QUOT always =EMPH early.morning go-swim.2.IMP

=ko:koi,
say:thus.to 3.SG.PRT.3. AOR

His father, it's said, always told him, "Go swimming early in the morning."

E nau hina hi we:pib -tahepyewa:nikini.
when begin-be.cold.water.3.SGITER

every year when the water began to get cold.

F e:no:noro:ci -pi=me:k=sapeke
spontaneously =QUOT=EMPH=always -freeze.shut.0.SG.AOR

And eventually it would freeze over, it's said.

G ki:zi-ka:ki -kepatenikini,
PREF all-freeze.shut.3.SGITER

Whenever it had frozen completely,

H e:po:ni -anewi:ci.
stop-swim.3.SG.AOR

he stopped swimming.

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always =and =EMPH four.times go.under.3.SG. AOR

And he would always go under four times.

both.hands =QUOT=always hold 3.SG.PRT.3. AOR Indian-tobacco.OBV

He always held Indian tobacco in both hands, it's said.

K ki:zi-ka:ki-ka:ki:watenikini,
PERF all-REDUP.freeze.around.3.SGITER

Whenever it had completely frozen all around,

stop-swim.3.SG.AOR

he stopped swimming.

not =but =QUOT fast.3.SG.AOR

But he didn't fast, it's said.

N oni ci:ke-makwi ki:seso:hani e:ko:чи:ći:ni,
and.then little-bear.moon.DIM.OBV hang.3.SGITER

And then every January,

then again four.days make.swim.X.3.SG.AOR

he was made to swim for four days again.

really =and =QUOT=then snow about.blown.up.by.wind.3.SG.AOR

And at that time, it's said, the snow was really swirling about,

B e:ho:ki:za:koci-ke:zi:ya:ki,
as much as.possible be.cold.0.SG.AOR

and it was extremely cold.

then =QUOT=always stop andweep.3.SG.AOR then

Then, it's said, first he would weep at that time.
D "ki:h=nawači | no:ta:ko:ki maneto:wasaki
FUT=stop.and hear 3P.2IND spirits
"The spirits must first hear from you"

E wi:h=anenu:yani,
FUT=swim.2.AOR
that you are going to swim,

F maneto:wasaki, "e=h=ineici=p=ap:pehe.
spirits tell X:3.AOR=QUOT=always
the spirits must," he was always told, it's said.

G ma:may=si=mek=ap:pehe taśina ke wa e=h=mayo:ci.
early.morning=QUOT=EMPH=always PROG.sing.3IND weep.3.AOR
Very early in the morning, it's said, he would be crying and weeping.

H api=si=ap:pehe taśi | pe:še:ke wa po kateniwi | nepi,
even=QUOT=always PROG-steam.0.IND water
There would even be mist coming from the water, it's said,

I e=h=tahke:pye yani
be.cold.water.0.AOR
because it was cold water.

J ki:si-mayo:ci,ni,
PERF-weep.3.ITER
Each time after he wept,

K e=h=čapo:ki,ša:ho:ci,
jump.into water.3.AOR
he jumped in the water.

L nye:weni=si=meko e=h=kota:si ci,
four.times=EMPH go.under.3.AOR
He went under exactly four times.

M api=si=meko=ap:pehe e=kwa:pye ki,či,ni we:pše:ke wa,|
even=QUOT=EMPH=always get.out.of.water.3.ITER fall.3.IND
It was so bad, it's said, that whenever he would come out of the water, he would fall over,
H inis'pi  shikemeko e'hi'k'.witači,  
then=QUOTE only=EMPH stay.around.3.AOR
Then, it's said, he just stayed home.

I mehtenoh=mekoh='pi  owiy=hanı ne~po`hiničińi,  
only=EMPH+QUOTE someone.OBV die.3' .ITER
Only whenever someone died, it's said.

J nyewoko'ni  e'gpeni -aneniiči  mamaya.  
four.days in.succession-swim.3.AOR early.morning
he would swim for four days in a row early in the morning.

K e'gpena'winiki,  
be.summer.O' .AOR
It was in the summer,  

L séewa'ni  apeneči=meko e=soke'nacíi nene`te`wi=ase ma wa'wani.  
but always=EMPH hold.3' .AOR Indian-tobacco.OBV  
but he always held Indian tobacco in his hands.

M nepiki=heh 'pi  tepe'netaminiičińi  
water=and=QUOTE control.3' .PRT.3P
And, it's said, the ones that are in charge of the water

N inikí  sehkhamawawçińi,  
those.OBV offer.tobacco.to.3' .PRT.3P  
were the ones he gave tobacco to,  

4 A werči a apeneči=meko -keki-kotaswicii  ase ma wa'wani.  
from always=EMPH with-go.under.3.PRT.OBL tobacco.OBV  
that is why he always went under water with tobacco.

B nekki=keh=meko pe'mi-anenwičińi  
as.long=and=EMPH in.succession-swim.3.PRT.OBL.PL
For the length of time that he would swim

C apeneči=meko e=soke'nacíi ase ma wa'wani.  
always=EMPH hold.3' .AOR tobacco.OBV
he always held tobacco in his hands.

D ke'luwa=h=meho e=hehči-kwi`yese hiči.  
finally=EMPH great.be.boy.3.AOR  
Eventually he was a big boy.

E owiči `kwi`yese=hahis=pì=qapeh  
his.fellow.boys.OBV=QUOTE=always  
The other boys, it's said, would speak

F puwa`ni=nahi=mahcate`wita=tacíi  
not.habit-fast.3.PRT.3  
say.about.3' .AOR
"The one who never fasts,"

G keko'hi  e'si`nhusehtacičińi,  
some.way thus.be.angry.at.RECIP.3 .ITER  
whenever they were angry at each other over something.

H inis'pi=mek=ap=pehe e'si=meiko,  
that=QUOTE=EMPH=always say.thus.about.3' .PRT.OBL  
That's exactly what they would always say about him, it's said.

I oni'ni'ní  e'gpa wa'wii=meko ke'ko'hi -inacíi  
and he not=EMPH anything -say.thus.to.3' .AOR  
a`shami,  
in.exchange
but he, on the other hand, wouldn't say anything at all back to them.

J e'heu'sikesciči=kehí,  
have.stamina.3.AOR=and  
And he had stamina,

K nákhači  e=hehči-ša koci=meho -ša'pačiči  
also as.much.as possibile=EMPH -impervious.to.cold.3.AOR  
furthermore he was as impervious to cold as he could possibly be.

L maci=meko=p=qapeh e=hehči-ša koci=keši yaníki,  
even=EMPH=QUOTE=always as.much.as possibile.be.cold.O' .AOR  
Even, it's said, when it was as cold as could be,

M akwi=pim=meke=p pehe wi`bau=ši napa`kweńi,  
not=QUOTE=EMPH=always FLT=thus.feel.cold.3 .INTPRT.OBL
there was no way he could feel cold, it's said.
His father scolded him so harshly.

And then some time later, "Go after water," he was told.

Now, I should mention that it had frozen over.

Then, it's said, he dipped the water up,

getting a lot.

After he had dipped it up,

he used the lid to drink some.

Then, it's said, he dropped that lid.

It was downstream.

He could make out where it was,
A e:hyenye masoci.
REDUP:stand.3.AOR
as he stood there.

B hapote:meko:pi:ni e:hyebhi:ya:teretaki
at.some.point=EMPH=QUOTE:then be.especially.worried.3:0.AOR
At some point, it’s said, he got especially worried.

C wi:ha:ne:skimeci, 
FUT=scold.X:3.AOR
that he would be scolded

D e:hyepenina:wi:ci, 
undress.3.AOR
and he undressed.

E ki:ii-penina:wi:ci, 
PERF:undress.3.CHCONJ
After he had undressed,

F inahi e:hyoci:capokisahoci monepyanekei 
that.LOC from-jump.in:water.3.AOR hole.in.ice.LOC
he plunged into the water through that hole in the ice.

monepyani. 
barely:and=EMPH squeeze.through.3.AOR hole.in.ice
And he just barely squeezed through the hole.

H mani e:si:ke:to:au:ici 
this thus-go.under.3.CHCONJ
Just as he went under

house.LOC be.there.3.AOR
he was in a house.

J “inai, e:hyi:oci 
eniyawi:
that.ANIM say.thus.to.3:3.AOR men.OBV
“There he is,” some men said about him,

K e:hyenye:wi:ici. 
be.four.3:0.AOR
there were four of them.

L “nahi, no:simenenai:te, ni:na:na:ko:he 
keketo:menenena:pe, na:" now, our.grandchild.voc we.certainly bless.1P:2:IND
e:hyi:oci. 
say.thus.to.3:3.AOR
“Now, grandchild, we certainly bless you,” they told him.

M a:ki:ke:ho:mane 
ke:htena 
not=and=now 
be.four.1P:NEG say.thus.to.3:3.AOR
“But we are not really four now,” they told him.

be.one.DIM.1IND say.thus.3:3.AOR
“I am just one,” he said.5

O "sewe:na inai:me:hteno:hi e:si:~nahikoki 
but that:only thus.be.proper.0.PRT:OBL
"But that’s the only proper way

FUT=see.0.as.person.2:1.AOR
for you to see me as a human being.

Q me:te:ha:manati:ko:he 
~wi:na ki:ho:we:hi, no:si:hi:" on.bare.earth=you.know=CONTRAST FUT=see.2:1.IND grandchild.voc
e:hyi:oci. 
say.thus.to.3:3.AOR
“But you will, of course, see me on dry land, grandchild,” he told him.

then FUT=begin-tell.1:2.AOR think.thus.of.1:2.PRT:OBL a.little
“Then I will begin telling you a little about how I bless you.

7 A ni:na, no:si:hi, 
amenenei 
wi:ho:isawiyani. 
I grandchild.voc give.1:2:IND FUT=do.thus.2.PRT:OBL
I, grandchild, grant you what you will do.
B i ni meko i šeki enena ni.  
that=EMPH only say.thus.to.1.2.PRT.OBL
That's all I'm telling you.

C i noke wa hi na wi-pen wile  i ni wi he ne wi yani,“  
now=so middle.be.summer.0.SUBJUNCT then PUT=see.2.1.AOR
So in the middle of next summer is when you will see me,“

D e h i ko ci.  
say.thus.to.3.3.AOR
he told him.

E i ni the ke ki his pi=’na  osani e h a na wa wi he ko ci.  
then=and=QUOT=that.ANIM his.father.OBV fail.to.wait.for.3.3.AOR
And then, it's said, that [boy]'s father got tired of waiting for him.

F i te pi e h na ci.  
there go.3.AOR
He went there.

G e h an e ni meko a h ku we with he ci..  
away=EMPH feel.angry.3.AOR
He went off feeling angry.

H ne wa ke.  n i=he ko ci i ni we hi ma wa,“ e h i na ci.  
see.1.3.SUBJUNCT PUT=greatly.scold.1.3.IND say.thus.to.3.3.AOR
ou i wa ni.  
his.wife.OBV
telling his wife, "When I see him, I'm really going to scold him."

I ke ci ci wa wa o ci ham ow a ci.  
come.out.3.CHONJ REDUP.get.from.3.0.PRT.OBL
When he came out at the place where they drew water,

J e h i ma ya kite he ci.  
feel.strange.3.AOR
he felt strange.

K i ya ha py re ya ci.  
there=come.3.CHONJ
When he arrived there,

L e h a net a ki ok wi sa ni o to še ki ta kani,  
see.3.AOR his.son.OBV his.clothes
he saw his son's clothes.

M e h ke ko ci ma yoi ci.  
greatly-weep.3.AOR
and he wept hard.

N pe h ki=pi meko=ni meho te ne ni wi aki e h a me wa ci.  
really=QUOT=EMPH=then people react.3.P.AOR
Then, it's said, the people really responded,

O ta ni wi=h i yoi wa ci?  
how PUT=say.thus.3.P.PRT.OBL
but what could they do?

P e h a ma k i ne h p at en i ki=y o ke ko ci meh ku a mi.  
be.deeply.frozen.O.AOR=for=and ice
The ice, you see, was frozen thick.

Q ka po te i na ku i ye s ha  e h i ki si a ci mo he ko ci.  
at.some.point that boy PERS-tell.3.3.AOR
ke temi na ko ci.  
bless.3.3.PRT.3'
Some time later the one who was blessing that boy finished instructing him.

R ="na hi  na ku a no=’na hi.  
now leave.2.IMP=EMPH
"Well, now you can go.

S ke se k i ha wak i=ko hi meho te ne ni wi a ki  no si hi,*  
scare.2.3.IND=obviously people grandchild.VOC
you are obviously frightening the people, grandchild,"

T e h i ne ci.  
say.thus.to.X.3.AOR
he was told.

U mehto ci ni meko meht ak a ni ki e h i nen et a ki.  
like=EMPH on.bare.earth think.thus.of.3.0.AOR
It seemed to him as if he were on dry land.
He went out through the hole in the ice.

His father was really as happy as could be.

He told him exactly what had happened to him.

Certainly because you always scold me too much,

I am afraid of you," he told his father.

Then, it's said, "Well, I will stop scolding you,"

he told his son.

he began swimming.

It was just as if the water were warm, it's said.
B nesi/hkwani=ke hwi=pi | e=h=pepi=pokoni/či.
   ice.Obv=and=CONTRAST=QUOTE float.by.3.AOR
But there was ice floating by, it’s said.

C ori na/wi=pensa=winiki,
   and.then middle-be.summer.0.ČHCONJ
And then in the middle of summer,

D kapow=meko e=h=nawa/či.
   at.some.point=EMPH see.3.3.AOR
suddenly he saw him.

E eyěši=meko -puswi=nenehke=nema/či u/nawa/či,
   still=EMPH -not-think.about.3.ČHCONJ PUT=see.3.3.AOR
Before he was expecting to see him,

F e=h=nawa/či i=njy/ni | a/mevo=mesa/ni.
   see.3.3.AOR that.ABSENT his.grandfather.Obv
he saw that aforementioned grandfather of his.

Figure 1.

10 A i/ní=ke=pi enapatanini/či | e=h=nawa/či.
   that=and=QUOTE look.thus.3.PRT.OBL see.3.3.AOR
And that, it’s said, is how he looked when he saw him.

B pehki=meko e=h=mehiti=newa/či enapatanini/či,
   really=EMPH plainly-see.3.3.AOR look.thus.3.PRT.OBL
He saw really clearly what he looked like,

C e=h=kane/něko/či:
   speak.to.3:AOR
and [the spirit] spoke to him:

D “nawih/hi | ke/wi=tamone=ye we pigeonoki me/hi,
   grandchild.VOC tell.1:2.IND=PST in.winter.DIM
“Grandchild, I told you before, early in the winter,

E ‘kemine/ni ni=yesi/či, he/te=ye wue.
   give.1:2.IND my.body say.thus.to.1:2.IND=PST
I said to you, ‘I give you myself.’

F inokiša/hi ini e=h=ne+wiyani.
   now=so then see.2:1.AOR
Now so is when you see me.

G maniša/hi nesiši/kwani.
   this=so my.rattle
And this is my rattle.

H wini/te=tasewi ačiky/ski.
   look.at.2:O.IMP many.times be.in.sections.0.PRT.OBL
Look how many sections there are.

I šwašikenu ačikys=wi.
   eight.times be.in.sections.0.IND
There are eight sections.

J ini tasewi wi=nešači kiči=šwe=ha.
   that.so.many PUT=kill.2:3.PRT.OBL your.enemy
That is how many enemies you will kill.

K moriaki=ke h=meko enemi=aČimekosita
   only=and=EMPH future-be.told.about.3.PRT.3
   ina wi=hanemini=nesa/či, | that PUT=future.kill.2:3.PRT.3
And only ones who are greatly renowned are who you will kill,

L e=hiwè네či.
   say.thus.to.X.3.AOR
he was told.
M "sweena, na hina hmoeko | e hakiki sikwaneni.
   but when=EMPH be.grown.up.2.AOR INT
   "But, it will be whenever you are grown up.

N inoki wi na ketsa mi ki yese hi,
   now=CONTRAST too.much-be.boy.2.IND
   Now you are too young a boy.

O enemi=meko | -nesacini,
   future=EMPH -kill.2.3(P).ITER
   Whenever you kill them,

P ote hu wani ki h o na nemi ketsa mawo waki ki ciki sikwe haki,
   their.heart future=cut.out.O's.02.2.3P.IND your.enemies you will cut out your.enemies' hearts,

11 A wih ka hkesamani, "e hiko ci.
   FUT=dry.2.0.AOR say.thus.to.3'-3.AOR
to dry them," he told him.

B "na hina hmoeko iwasika ki si tasebe
   when=EMPH eight PERF-be.so.many.0.SUBJUNCT
   "And then, just when there are eight of them,

C oni wi hta k wahaman i,
   and then FUT=grind.together.2.0.AOR
you are to grind them up.

D nata wino ni na hka ki hta k wah a,
   medicine=also FUT=grind.together.2.0.IND
   You will add medicine, too.

E inii=ni wi hwa wi y a w e kenam ani meteha ni.
   that=those.INAN FUT=mix.together.2.0.PRT.0 hearts
   That is what you will mix together with those hearts.

F inii netopanikato na ku wi n i
   then go.to.war.against.X.2P.ITER
   Then whenever war is made against you and your people

G wi hna na tuwe we kahu ci
   FUT=REDUP.bring.by.drumming.2.3(P).AOR your.enemies
   is when you will bring your enemies by drumming.

H mehteno hwo nenasiye py ciki ne sena kuwi ni
   only=rather=just come-kill.3(P).2P.ITER
   Only, in fact, whenever they come to kill you and your people

I inii=ni wi hto tawaci.
   then=that FUT=do.then.to.2.3(P).AOR
   is when you will do that to them.

J a kwi pi ne nii inii wi hto tawacini,
   not of.own.accord that FUT=do.then.to.2.3(P).NEG
   You won't do that to them without provocation,

K ki ci meko mehteno hi - py ciki pi n e ni ha ku wi ni,
   PERF=EMPH only come-attack.O of.own.accord.3(P).2P.ITER
   only after they have come to make an unprovoked attack on your people.

L ka tae be wii na nano sikwe i ni inano hkyer hka ni.
   don't=and=CONTRAST blindly that work.thus.2.2P.PROHIB
   And don't perform this with no particular target,

M mehteno hmoeko me na tomekhini ki ciki mehto swenewi a
   only=EMPH pray.to.3.2P.ITER your.fellow-person
   only whenever other people ask you for help

N inii=ni wi hla isawiyani.
   then=that FUT=do.then.2.0.AOR
   is when you should do that.

O inii en enema nenani,
   no si hi, " e hiko ci.
   that.think.of.thus.1.2.PRT.OBL grandchild.VOC say.thus.to.3'-3.AOR
   That is how I bless you, grandchild," he told him.

12 A onii=pi ki hki si a yah ya cimohoko ci,
   and=QUOT PERF-finish-REDUP.tell.3'-3.CHONJ
   And then, it's said, after (the spirit) had finished instructing him,

B e hapa hipici.
   REDUP.aat.3.AOR
   [the boy] remained sitting.

C "wi nii ni hka ki si koci meko - ne siwina kosiku ve ni
   he=EXCLAM as.much.as.possible=EMPH appear.terrifying.3.INT
keterminawita!"  
bless.3:1.PRT.3  

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

D  e'îsîhe'chî.  
think.thus.3.AOR  
he thought.

E  "i:nokî=wi na  neki'i=meko -anehka waw."  e'îsîhe'chî.  
now=CONTRAST PERF=EMPH -get.to.know.1:3.IND think.thus.3.AOR  
"But now I have gotten used to him," he thought.

F  ahpemeki  e'î=ne uwa cînima'hhka nekoti  
up see.3:3.AOR=again one  
Up above he saw one more

G  wi=ne meko  e'khî=pameko'chî.  
he=EMPH look.fixedly.at.3:3.AOR  
and he was staring at him.

H  e'î=onekui'kani'chî.  
have.wings.3.AOR  
He had wings:

Figure 2.

2003  

13 A  "mani=yowe mi'îsî mi pyetornâni.  
this=PST sacred.pack bring.for.1:2.PRT.0  
"This is the sacred pack which I had brought for you.

B  i:noki=â'chî=manî pe'îhî=meko penô'chî ketiî=panena,  
now=so=this really=EMPH far.away thus-miss.holding.2:0.IND  
So now you are really far away from getting it,

C  e'î=te'pwe'sîyâni  ki'na e'sîmenekî.  
believe.by.hearing.2.AOR you tell.thus X:2.PRT.OBL  
because you believed what you were told.

D  ki'na=ke'î=meko kesîpi='na keketerminâ'kwa,  
you=and=EMPH only=that.ANIM bless.3:2.IND  
But that one blesses only you, by yourself,

E  akwisi=ke'î manî ahî  e'î=nesi'wâna tahiye'sê'nîki inenemekhîni,  
not=and this earth [earth].be.destroyed.0.AOR think.thus.of.3:2.NEG  
and he doesn’t bless you till the end of this earth,

F  ki'na=meko  e'î=akhkwi=mehto nasîwe hiyani  
you=EMPH end.be.alive.DIM.2.AOR  
just until your life ends

G  i'nî e'khwe nemekhî.  
that think.of.so.long.3:2.PRT.OBL  
is as long as he blesses you.

H  manî=ke'î=ye'îwe apui-htoryanehe,  
this=and=PST wait.for.2:0.UNREAL  
But if you had waited for this,

I  pe'îhî=meko penô'chî inenêta'kusihkapa.  
really=EMPH far.away be.thought.of.thus.2.POT  
you would have been blessed a really long way.

J  mo'hî=meko ki'si'ne'pe hiyanehe,  
even=EMPH PERF-die.2.UNREAL  
Even after you had died,
K auwi: toke=meko=man i anemehke: mikatesa.
still.the.same=EMPH this continue.to.go.0.FUT
this would have gone on the same way.

L mese=’nah=meko nekhi enemihakwiwe:meni’
pretty.much=EMPH so.long future=be.earth.0.INTPRT.OBL
Pretty much as long as there continued to be

M ini=man i wi=anemi a yanehko:ci -pemenamowatenhe
then this FUT=future REDUP.in.turn take.care.of 3P.0.PST.AOR
ki:ci neniiwasaki.
your.fellow-men
other men were going to take care of this, one after the other.

A ini=nisina kina=meko kehesipe:nemekopi
now=CONTRAST you=EMPH think.only.of.X=2.IND
But now only you are blessed,

B kechakwita: kopiko=keki enememekiki.
make.short.for X=2.IND and think.thus.of X=2.PRT.OBL
and the way you are blessed is made short for you.

C ko:ci ki:ki=mishawesi=meko kehtena,
although FUT=be.strong.2.IND=EMPH truly
Although you will indeed be very powerful,

D isenwa mani awasi=meko=yowe ami:apih:hi:ci mi:iskwa:kehe
but this more=EMPH=FST would.such.extent=be.strong.0.PST.PRT.OBL
kemeho:se:neniwiwenwa:wi:
your.PL.life
this is how much more powerful your lives would have been:

E echipi:hi:ci=meko -sanakho:yen
to.such.extent=EMPH -find.O.difficult.2.O.PRT.OBL
the extent to which you’re having a hard time

F ini=meko a mi:’li:mi:iskwa:kehe:’
that=EMPH would.thus.be.strong.0.PST.PRT.OBL
is how powerful it would have been,”

G ei=ihoki ini:ni weheki kanini:ci:neni:wan i
say.thus.to:3’3.AOR that.OBJV have.wings:3’PRT.3’ man.OBJV
the man with wings told him.

that=QUOT thus=really EMPH make.O.feel.lonely.by.speech.3’3.AOR
With those words, it’s said, he made him feel very sad.

I mene:ci:ki=meko e’ho:netaki mi:ma mi ami -mi:neteh:ye:we
[PROX],is.sure=EMPH see:3.0.AOR sacred.pack would.give.X:3.PST.PRT.0=FST
He was sure he saw the sacred pack that he would have been given.

J e’hepe:no:ci,
set.out.3.AOR
He set out,

K ehi:anemi nakapehke:wose:eci,
away.walk.with.head.down.3.AOR
walking away with his head down,

L iya:hi e’hepya:ci e’ho:owi:kinaw:ci
there come.3.AOR live.3.PST.OBL
and arrived at the place where they lived.

15 A iya:hepya:ya:ci,
there=come.3.CHCONJ
When he arrived there,

B osani, “pena mahi api:hapita we no make we,”
his.father.OBJV please, over.there REDUP.akt:21.IMP short.time
eh = ina ci
say.thus.to:3’3.AOR
he said to his father, “Why don’t we sit over there for a little while?”

C i:tepi ehi:awa:ci
there go.3.PST.
They went there

D ehai:cinoci:
tell.story.3.AOR
and he told his story:
"nahi anose, maneto wa nke temina kwa.
well father.WOC spirit bless.3:1:IND
*Well, father, a spirit blessed me.

F nesowitepe wa...
have.buffalo.head.3:IND
He has a buffalo head,

G okwa ciwa ni kani,
have.feet.3:IND ahead
he has feet in front,

H oni e=hemene sinahake ci.
and have.fish.scales.3:IND
and he has fish scales.

I nepi ki ke hi tasi= maneto wa i na.
water.LOC=and there-spirit that.ANIM
And that one is a water spirit.

J enemenici=cahi mehtose neniuwani
think.thus.of.3:1:PREP.OBL=to person.OB V
wi=ha na na we we kahomahi,
FUT=REDUP:bring.by.drum.1:3:3:AOR
And the way he blessed me is to bring people by drumming.

K ini enemenici.
that think.thus.of.3:1:PREP.OBL
that's how he blessed me.

L ki ci skwe hena nahi=ma hi.
our.enemies.OB V=to.be.sure
Our enemies, of course.

M oni ki h ki si na kwa ci.
and.then PERF-finish:leave.3:CHCONJ
And then after he had gone,

N esiwpe pesiwane ni
have.situation.signify.thus.1:INTPRT.OBL
I didn't know what was happening to me.

O i nahi netaphapi,
there REDUP:at.1:IND
I was sitting there.

P ahpeme ki nenahina pi.
up REDUP:look:thither.1:IND
and I was looking up.

Q kapote ke neneta ke ko hi.
at.some.point see.1:0:IND something
After a while I saw something.

R neposi wa pata.
very.look.at.1:0:IND
I looked at it hard.

S mehtose neniuwani ci hi!
person=EXCLAM
It was a person!

T ni nahi=cmo neko nepye ci kehta pame kwa,
[=EXCLAM=EMPH come.look:fixedly.at.3:1:IND
He was staring this way right at me,

U ma h mako menina hi ahpe heki e h=pye ci naka ika ci.
over=EMPH good.ways up.DIM come-stop.in.flight.3:AOR
and he flew over and stopped a good little ways up in the air,

16 A e ha simohici!
tell.3:1:IND
and instructed me!

B mi sa me hi ki wi so kenamwana.
sacred.pack.DIM around.hold.3:0:IND
He carried a little sacred pack.

C 'pus wi=yo we mesi tepwe yane he
not=PRET so soon believe.by.hearing.2:UNREAL
'If you had not believed so soon what you heard
D e:hetemino:neki,  
   bless.2.AOR
   when you were blessed,

   this give.1:2.POT say.thus.to.3:1.IND
   I would have given you this,' he said to me.

F 'cahkono hiniiu:ke:hi='na e:nenemehki.  
   short.O.'IND=and=that.ANIM think.thus.of.3:2.PRT.OBL
   'But the way that that one blessed you is short.

G a:kiwi wi:ii- kenwe:ii -nenek:nenemehki ine:nemehkini,  
   not PFX=thus- long.time -think.about.3:2.PRT.OBL think.thus.of.3:2.NEG
   He doesn't bless you in a way where he'll think of you for a long time,'

H nete:ko:pi:cihi  
   say.thus.to.1.IND=EXCLAM
   I was told!

   you=EMPH only bless.3:1.IND
   'He blesses only you, by yourself.

J na:hina:hi nepor:hiyane  
   when die.2.SUBJUNCT
   At the time when you die

   then think.of.so.long.3:2.PRT.OBL bless.2.AOR
   is when his blessing of you ends.

L ko:ci:hi mi:skawa:niu:si:me:ko e:nenemehki,  
   although be.strong.0.'IND=EMPH think.thus.of.3:2.PRT.OBL
   Although the way he blesses you is very powerful,

M se:we:na='ni awa:si:me:ko='yo:we mi:skawa:sa.  
   but that more=EMPH=PST be.strong.0.POT
   that other way would have been much more powerful.

N ne:kkio:me:ko mani enemi | -ahkiwiku:we:ni  
   so.long=EMPH this future-be.earth.0.INTPRT.OBL
   Just however long as this earth continues to exist

   that=long would-think.of.so.long.1:2.PRT.OBL say.thus.to.1.IND
   is as long as I would have blessed you,' I was told.

   that=this to.such.extent-be.strong.0.PRT.OBL say.thus.to.1.IND
   'That is how powerful this is,' I was told.

   then=EMPH thus-feel.shame.1.IND
   Right then I felt ashamed.

   man=and=that.ANIM have.wings.3:IND
   And that one was a man and had wings.

C apina=me:ko neta:winu:hoku:s |  
   even=EMPH point.at.2:1.IND
   He even pointed at me

D ini e:hi:ni:ci.  
   that say.thus.to.3:1.AOR
   as he was saying that to me.

E nepor:ni=me:ko -nenek:neneta  
   stop=EMPH ~think.about.1:0.IND
   I really stopped thinking about

   say.thus.to.3:1.PRT.OBL have.buffalo.head.3.PRT-3
   what the one with a buffalo head said to me,

G nepor:neta:me:ko.  
   stop.thinking.of.1:0.IND=EMPH
   I forgot about it completely.
H a/wasi=mekom'yo'we mi'ámi nenenehke neta"_ more=EMPH=FST sacred.pack think.abt.1:0.IND
I really thought more about the sacred pack,"

1 e/\i=ina'\i osani. | say.thus.to.3:3'AOR his.father.OBV
he told his father.

J "nahi_ nekwi\i hi ni=n=enehi netamane
well son.VOC I=also see.1:0.SUBJUNCT
"Well, son, if I see it too

K ini wi\=hametowu\=we netamani. " e=iki\i. |
then FUT=consider.O spirit.1:0.AOR say.thus.to.3:3'AOR
then I will consider it a spirit," he told him.

---

Figure 3.

18 A e/hone\=tamowa'ci se\=ki menekhi,
see.3P0.AOR only hand
They saw only a hand,

B e/hone\=tamowa'ci mi'sami e\=h=ose\=m is mi\=katemikami.
see.3P0.AOR sacred.pack fly.by.0:3'AOR
and they saw the sacred pack as it flew by.

C "we\=nasi=ke\=htena, nekwi\i hi, he\=te pue," e\=h=ina'\i
that's=truly son.VOC speak.truth.2:IND say.thus.to.3:3'AOR
okwisani. his.son.OBV
"It's really true, son, what you say is true," he told his son.

D "ke\=htena=meko maneto\=wu wi\=h=temino\=hki | in=ene\=menekwerni.
truly=EMPH spirit FLT=bless.3:3'AOR think.thus.of.3:3:INT
"It's really true that the spirit must have intended to bless you.

E ini mani we\=ci\=ki wi\=ne\=netamani maneto\=wu | mi'sam\i,
that this from-around.REDUP see.2:0.PRT.OBL spirit-sacred.pack
That is why you keep seeing this spirit-sacred-pack in different places,

F e\=h=ina'\i okwisani.
say.thus.to.3:3'AOR his.son.OBV
he told his son.

G ini=pi e\=h=penowa'\i.
then=QUOT set.out.3P0.AOR
Then, it's said, they set out for home.

H "ini\=kohi we\=ci- iyama\=hi apihapi\=s we
that=obviously from- over.yonder REDUP sit.2:IMP
we\=ci= netamani, ano se."
from-say.thus.to.1:2.PRT.OBL father.VOC
"That's why, obviously, I said, 'Let's go sit over there,' father,

I e\=h=ina'\i osani.
say.thus.to.3:3'AOR his.father.OBV
he told his father.

J "pe\=hki=ca h=meko\=manis\i we\=hapa;
really=so=EMPH=thus=it.must.be
"So this is what it really seems to be:

K keke\=h\i sa\i=mekos\i we\=hapa,
great.fare.thus.2:IND=EMPH=it.must.be
something really very great must have happened to you,"
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L e'hui[nac]i okuisani.
    say.thus.to.3.3'.AOR his.son.OBV
    he told his son.

M "mo[i=]meko ni na nekwi hi, nem[si=]te[n]ememo
    even=EMPH I son.VOC be.glad.1.IND
    "Even I, my son, I am glad

N ke'ni[si=]mi e=hne[tamakwe], e'hui[nac]i okuisani.
    your.sacred.pack see.21.0.AOR say.thus.to.3.3'.AOR his.son.OBV
    that we saw your sacred pack," he told his son.

    feel.shame.3.AOR boy
    The boy felt ashamed.

19 A o'in=’pi kapotue ki'hi-ki[i=]iki[ci],
    and.then=QUOT at.some.point PERP-be.grown.up.3.CHCONJ
    And then, it's said, at some point after he had grown up.

B e=mo[i=]hki[=]tawoci.
    attack.X.3(0).AOR
    they were attacked.

C ta'ni=’hi[ci]?
    how=PUT=say.thus.3.PRT.OBL
    What could he say?

    not-fix.3.0.AOR medicine
    He hadn't prepared any medicine.

E kapotue=’pi=’ni e=hna'topani[=]enabhi[i=]ki[ci]
    at.some.point=QUOT=then be.a.war.party.0.AOR
    Then at some point, it's said, there was a war party.

F e'hui[e]we[=ci].
    go.along.3.AOR
    and he went along.

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G okima:wani=meko e=hu[nac]i.
    chief.OBV=EMPH kill.3.3'.AOR
    He killed no less than a chief.

H na'ha[c]i okima:hi[whe=]se' se[ke]si han[hi],
    also chief.woman-young.woman.OBV
    and also the chief's teenage daughter.

I o'ni okima:wi-okima:we han[hi],
    and chief.young.man.OBV
    and the chief's teenage son.

J o'ni okima:wa[wpe]no han[hi],
    and chief.child.OBV
    and the chief's child.

K o'ni a'cimeko[sini]ci| na’ha meko keh[c]i=we=ta se wani,
    and be.told.about.3.PRT.3=also=EMPH great-warrior.OBV
    and also a great warrior who was renowned indeed,

L o'ni me'ni meko[h]o e'iki[i]ni[ci].
    and just.any.[kind] be.thus.3.PRT.3.P
    and some ordinary people.

M inis’pi e'si=nesac[i].
    that=QUOT thus-kill.3.3'.PRT.OBL
    That was the number that he killed, it's said.

N kekimesi=meko e=he[ci]te[=he na]c[i]
    everyone=EMPH pull.out.heart.3.3'.AOR
    He pulled out each one's heart.

O e=ka’khesaki met[H]i han[hi].
    dry.3.0.AOR hearts
    and dried the hearts.

P e=hu[te=shamawu]c[i].
    cut.out.O's.02.3.3'.AOR
    He cut them out of them.
q  meke=’nah=meko=’nini šwa-šika metecani eh=awatoči. pretty.much=those eight hearts carry.3:O.AOR
He took those eight hearts away.

20 A  i’ya h=pyeyαči,
there=come.3.CHCONJ
When he arrived there,

B  e=hnatowinonehkeči.
look.for.medicine.3:AOR
he looked for medicine.

C  e=hnatowinitakinehmateniki see.3:AOR stand.0’AOR
he saw some standing

D  e=ketahaki natowinoni.
dig.out.3:O.AOR medicine
and dug the medicine up.

E  e=ka’hesaki=meko=’ni=’ni.
dry.3:O.AOR=EMPH=also=that
He dried that completely, too.

F  ki’sahkateniki=meko e=taawahaki.
PERF.be.dry.0’CHCONJ=EMPH grind.together.3:O.AOR
After it was completely dry, he ground it.

G  ke htena=meko e=ka’ha’kesigiwaniki
truly=EMPH be.crushed.up.0’AOR
It really got all crushed up

H  ininina’hači | metecani eh=awiyahakahaki.
those.INAN=also hearts mix.together.with.3:O.AOR
and he mixed it with those hearts too.

I  ki’sihvoceniko $ fix.3:0.CHCONJ=EMPH
Right after he prepared it,

J  eh=spyēči=natopanihkatawoci. come-go.to.war.against.X:3(0).AOR
people came making war against them.

K  ki’si’neseči.11 PERF-kill.X:3P.CHCONJ
After [the Meskwaki] got beat up,

L  e=henonici aša hahi.
set.out.3’AOR Sioux.OBV.PL
the Sioux went off.

M  orisi’pi e=wa=šiweči _ moši | -mehtokwina’kani and.then=QUOT borrow.3:OAR big.wooden.bowl
And then, it’s said, he borrowed a big wooden bowl

N  te=wehikanani e=wa=šihači.
drum.OBV make.3:3’AOR
and made a drum.

O [captions:] te=wehikaneni-mehtoki / ase mawa e=aseči ||
drum.stick tobacco place.there.X:3.PRT.OBL
drumstick / where the tobacco is placed

Figure 4.

21 A  nehkanitepehkwi e=hanwe wehkeči.
all.night drum.3:AOR
He drummed all night.

B  nahnahwi nai towitokhikni, when be.midnight.0’CHCONJ
When it was midnight.
C  "nahi, a:kwahki=nahi  we-we-iwiweko.
now, be:weapon.O:PRT:0=EMPH place.O.ready.2P:0.IMP
"Well, now you can put your weapons handy.

D  ma:maya=meko  ki:h=to:hki, |  e neniyiyan.e
early.morning=EMPH FUT=wake.up.2.IND be.man.2:PRT:VOC
You are to wake up very early, you men.

E  ayor=meko  wi:hespa=kwawu:ci |  i niye:ka,
here=EMPH FUT=lie.along.3P:PRT:OBL those.ABSTENT
Right here is where those people will be lying along.

F  nekot=ca=meko  ki=waikwa:pua  wi=wa:ci:mo:ta, _
one=so=EMPH FUT=spare.2P:3.IND FUT=tell.story.3:PRT:3
e:weinei, say.thus.to.X:3:AOR
So you will spare just one, who will tell the story," they were told.

G  "ni=meko _ wi=wi:iashiye:kwe,
that=EMPH FUT=do.thus.2P:PRT:OBL
"That’s exactly what you will do.

H  mani=meko  iisi-naha patene:hike
this=EMPH thus.be.viable.3IM.0:SUBJUNCT
Just when it is first light

I  ini  wi:hoski:hia:we:kwe,
then FUT=attack.2P:3(P):AOR
is when you will attack them.

J  ie:i=ki=ke=meko  ki=wa:ma:te:hwa:puw
only=and=EMPH FUT=club.along.2P:3(P),IND
And you will just go along clubbing them.

K  akwi  wi=ma:wechke:wacini  _kaaki
not FUT=move.arm.3P:NEG able
They won’t be able to move their arms

L  meh=meko  e nahinatahwa:we:kwe:ni
just.any.[way] REDUP.club.thus.2P:3(P),INFRT:OBL
no matter how you strike them.

don’t fear.2P:3(P),PROHIB say.thus.to.X:3:AOR
Don’t be afraid of them," they were told.

N  i ini=pi |  e=hepenuwena:ci?
thenuf=QUOT REDUP.set.out.3P:AOR
Then, it’s said, they went to their homes.

O  in=ke=ke:hi,
those.yonder.[far]=and
And as for those others,

P  ne:topa:habki=pi=’ni
e=heponi:wa:ci  ke:tsi:wa:paniki,
members.of.warparty=QUOT=then camp.3P:AOR almost.be.dawn.O:CHCONJ
it’s said the warparty then camped when it was almost dawn.

Q  e=he:nepa:wa:ci, ||
sleep.3P:AOR
and they slept.

be.dawn.O:CHCONJ whoop.at.X:3(P):AOR
In the morning, they were whooped at.

thenuf=QUOT only=EMPH truly REDUP.go.around.clubbing.3P:3:AOR
Then, it’s said, they really just went around clubbing them indeed.

not=EMPH any.way -thus:able.begin.to.flee.3P:AOR
They [the Sioux] couldn’t flee in any way at all,

also have.paralyzed.arm.3P:AOR=EMPH
and also their arms were completely paralyzed.

E  mane=meko  e=hesse:ci  a:iha:ki.
many=EMPH kill.X:3(P),AOR Sioux.PI
Very many Sioux were killed.
F  ori=pi  nekoti  e=h=askwaheci,  
and.then=QUOT  one  spare:X.3.AOR
And then, it's said, one was spared.

G  e=h=a-ciimoeici  wi=h=imeunoeici  
tell:X.3.AOR  FUT=speak.thus.3.PRT.OBL
and he was told what to say.

H  e=haunauaci=ke=hi  keheci=asameci  
stop.to=and  greatly-feed:X.3.AOR
But first he was given a good meal

I  na=hkaici  e=haunawpugheci  wi=hanemi-mamiweici  owiyasi.  
also  give.food.for.trip:X.3.AOR  FUT=away-REGION.eat:3:OBL.0  meat
and also he was given meat to eat on his way.

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

K  assi-kanaunyanci  
first.time-speak.2.SUBJUNCT
when you first speak:

L  ki=haunauaci  keheci-mente=saiamipua,  "  ki=hi,  "  
FUT=stop.to-greatly-well-feed:2P=1.IND  FUT=say.thus.2.IND
"e=hi=ineci,  
say.thus.to.X.3.AOR
'You should first give me a lot of good food,' you will say," he was told.

M  "ki=ii seniyanci=ni  
PERF.eat.2.SUBJUNCT=then
"When you finish eating.

N  'neca=kihekopena,  "  ki=hi,  "  e=hi=ineci.  
kill.all:X.1P.IND  FUT=say.thus.2.IND  say.thus.to.X:3.AOR
then, 'We were all killed,' you will say," he was told.

O  "aya: pami=meko  pye=pi=poni=wa=keni,  "  ki=hi,  "  
back=EMPH  come-camp.1P=INT  FUT=say.thus.2.IND
"Don't be afraid in any way," he was told.
24 A  

\[ \text{nina'pi='na} \]  
\[ \text{na} \text{tw} \text{we} \text{kahikata} \]  
then=\text{QUOT=}that.ANIM  
\text{bring} \text{people} \text{by} \text{drumming} \text{3} \text{PRT} \text{3}  
\[ \text{e} \text{ha} \text{a} \text{cimohaci} \]  
\text{me} \text{to} \text{see} \text{neniuwhi} \text{,}  
tell.3.3 \text{AOR}  
people.\text{OBV}  

Then, it's said, the one who makes people come by drumming told the people,

B  

\[ \text{a}=\text{meko} \]  
\[ \text{awita} \text{ka} \text{ki-pemuiyama} \text{sa} \]  
merely=\text{EMPH}  
not able-shoot.3(P)21.\text{FUT}  

"Was it by mere chance that they weren't able to shoot at us?"

C  

\[ \text{keteihiisi} \text{ke} \text{puwa} \text{toke} \]  
REDUP think thus.2P.DUBIT  
you have probably been wondering.

D  

\[ \text{ni} \text{n}=\text{apehe} \]  
\[ \text{ini} \]  
\[ \text{e} \text{awiyani} \]  
I=always  
that fare.thus.1 \text{PRT} \text{OBL}  

That is what always happened to me

E  

\[ \text{ki} \text{si} \]  
\[ \text{a} \text{kawa} \text{ppe} \text{ki} \text{yani} \text{ni} \]  
PERF get.out.of water.1 ITER  
every time I got out of the water,

F  

\[ \text{e} \text{ha} \text{pepo} \text{ni} \]  
\[ \text{aneniyani} \]  
winter-swim.1 AOR  
when I swam in the winter.

G  

\[ \text{ini}=\text{ca} \text{hi} \text{=ni} \text{ki} \text{we} \text{ci} \text{puwa} \text{wi}=\text{meko} \]  
\[ \text{ke} \text{ko} \text{hi} \text{=isi-amehamewa} \text{ci} \]  
that=to=those from-not=EMPH any.way  
thus.REDUP react.3P.PRT.OBL  

So that is why those people did not react in any way:

H  

\[ \text{e} \text{h} \text{ane} \text{ne} \text{ye} \text{hpa'cuwa} \text{ci} \]  
be.paralyzed.by.cold.3P.AOR  
you were paralyzed by the cold.

I  

\[ \text{ini}=\text{we} \text{ci} \text{=mei} \text{me} \text{ko} \text{=pematahuwa} \text{ke} \text{,} \text{a} \text{=i} \text{si} \text{amehamewa} \text{=ci} \]  
that from anyhow  
club.along.21(P).PRT.OBL  

That is why we clubbed them at will,*
K "a kui=ke h=mani ki=ke nowenwiswini.
not=and=this be.clan feast.0.NGO

*This isn’t a clan feast.

L mana _ meneha | neketenna kwa ke teminawita.
this ANIM first bless.3:1.IND bless.3:PRF.3

This one who blessed me first blessed me.

M ni=na _is=mi mi=na mami | -ki=shiyo ya ya,
that from not. sacred packs -fix.1:0.PRT.OBL

That’s why I didn’t make sacred packs,

N ki=hi | ki=shiyo hka has=meko ‘yo we.
although fix.1:0.POT=EMPH=FST
although I could have made one before.

O neneta=meko.
see.1:0.IND=EMPH
I did see one.

P mo=hi ci no=sa netamwa || mi=sa mi we=nuk=kan ni=mi katenikini,
even my father see.30:IND sacred pack have.wings 0’PRT.0

Even my father saw the sacred pack which had wings,

25 A =ho pe miser mi katenikini netamwa, =ho=si=we ci.
fly by 0’AOR see.3:0.IND declare thus 3:AOR

as it was flying by he saw it,” he declared.

B "o=si=ab wi=ke hi,
shine 0:IND and

“And it was shining.

C mani=we na mani ene nemi ci |
this=CONTRAST now think thus of 3:1.PRT.OBL spirit

But as it is, this is the way that the spirit blessed me.

D =shahono hwi=meko ta=taki.
be.short 0:IND=EMPH sort of

It’s really kind of short.

E ko=hi | wi=si=ya wi ne=h=mani, |
although be.strong 0:IND also=this

Although this way is also powerful,

F swe na ni=na=meko e hpi=he=ne se yani
but 1=EMPH to such extent be.alive 1:PRF.OBL

but only as long as I shall live

G i n=nehki i ni wi=ine nemi ci.
that long that FUT=think thus of 3:1.PRT.OBL

is how long he blessed me that way.

H nepo=hi ya ne,
die 1:SUBJUNCT
When I die,

I a kui=na =na=ha=ha i ni wi=ine nemi ci.
not=that ANIM=again that FUT=think thus of 3:1.NEG

that one won’t bless me that way again.

J i ni=meko _i mani wi=ahwike=ki na tue we=kahi we=ken.
that=EMPH this FUT=be.so.long 0.PRT.OBL bring by drumming

That’s just as long as this making people come by drumming will last.

K i ni=yo=me=he=he=nomi wi=hi=sii ayo rakwe,
that=for only this FUT=thus-use 21:0.PRT.OBL

For that is the only way we will use this,

L na tue we=kah wak wi mehtose neni wa.
bring by drumming 21:3:ITER person

whenever we make people come by drumming.

M swe na i ni=meko wi=hi sii _pu=wi ka sii nes rakwe
but that=EMPH FUT=thus-not-able-kill 3:P 21:0.AOR

na tue we=kaha so haki, ||
brought ones

But the brought ones won’t be able to kill us, just as we’ve seen.

26 A swe na a kui=pieni si wi=na tue we kah wak wi,
but not of own accord FUT=bring by drumming 21:3:P.NEG

But we should not make them come for no reason,
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B mehtone h=meko ki=i-pye-ci-nesenakuwi
only=EMPH PERF-come-kill.3(P):21.ITER
only whenever they have come to kill us

C i:ni ahhwet m=na h=aphuwa wi=henesakwe,
then later.DM=again=them FUT=kill.21-3(P).AOR

\[ e=ni=n'aa\]
say thus.to.3:3\'.AOR
then a little later again is when we will kill them," he told them.

D *i:na ma h=ca h=nhopo hiya ne,
at that.far.time=so=die.1.SBJUNCT
"So in the distant future when I die,

E mei=ni=n'ahi=ni e=sauue kwenei,
if.one.likes=EMPH do.thus.2P.IMPRT.ORG
whatever you may do at that point [you may do],

F mei=meko=ni h.
just.anything
just anything at all.

G wi=pa=kehi nahikebe
in.case=but be.proper.0.SBJUNCT
But if it should be

H wi=na tue we kahe ke wue mehtose neniuwa
FUT=bring.by.drumming 2P-3.AOR person
that you make people come by drumming

I wi=we wenunuwe, * e=hi='uuwee.
FUT=be.good.0.IND declare.thus.3.AOR
it will be good," he declared.

J o'ni=pi ki=i-a-sy=imoci,
and.then=QUOT PERF-REDUP.tell.story.3.CHCONJ
And then, it's said, after he had finished telling his stories,

K \[ e=penopenuwaa\]
REDUP.set.out.3P.AOR
they went their separate ways.

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1. \[ ce=wi=na h=meko ome=te na=n'ahi e=ha=he=kwamatamini=ci \]
same.time=EMPH his.parent.OBV be.sick.3:3\'.AOR
His parents got sick at the very same time

M na=ha=he=ci e=ha=he=ni=me=ko \[ ce=we=ni \] - na=he=pe-ne-ni=ci.
also become=EMPH -REDUP.same.be.thus.sick.3:3\'.AOR
and they also got sick with the very same disease.

N menwine=kei=he=me=ko e=he=ne-se-ni=ci,
good.while=and=EMPH survive.3:3\'.AOR
For quite a while they stayed alive,

O \[ ce=wi=na h=meko e=he=ne-hop=hi=ni=ci \]
same.time=EMPH die.3:3\'.AOR
but they died at the very same time,

P \[ e=ni=si=si=ne-mene=ci \]
place.as.two.X:3\'.AOR
and were buried together.

Q \[ e=hi=wa=cite=he=ci ki=sa=ko=ci=me=ko \]
feel.lonely.3.AOR as.much.as.possible=EMPH
He really felt as sad as could be.

27 A kapow=we=meko\[ pi=ni, \]
"nahi, ni=hi=pone=me=ko=ne=he=ni=na\]
at.some.point=EMPH=QUOT=then now, FUT=stop=EMPH=also=I
\[ ayo=h=ki=i=wi=na, \]
here =stay.around.1.IND
Then at some point, it's said, "Well, I really shouldn't stay here any more
either."

B e=hi=te=he=ci.
think.thus.3.AOR
he thought.

C \[ me=ke=we=ca=hi ma=ci=na=wa=ni=ni=he=ne=ke=netaka \]
probably=so bad-medicine know.3:0.PRT.3
"Probably the one who knows about bad medicine

D ke=ko=hi ine=ne=me=wa neme=to=n'ahi, e=hi=te=he=ci.
some.way think.thus.of.3:3\'.IND my.parent.OBV think.thus.3.AOR
wanted my parents for something," he thought.
E  e’hemayomayo’ci:ke h=mehoko.  
    REDUP.weep.3.AOR=and=EMPH  
    And he really wept and wept.

F  o’ne’ mani  e=hin:ha:pa:w:i: 
    and.then this dream.thus.3.AOR  
    And then he dreamed this [i.e., the figure].

    set.out.2.IMP say.thus.to.X:3’AOR first  
    bless.3’.3.PRT.3”  
    “Go away,” the one who first blessed him was told.

H  [caption:]  nenote:wa ne:pa:ta  
    Indian sleep.3.PRT.3  
    Sleeping Indian.

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    not-set.out.2.SUBJUNCT PUT-kill.1:2.IND say.thus.to.X:3’AOR  
    "If you don’t go away, I will kill you," he was told.

B  "e’hemetina:w:ci=mahi oway:ha  
    bless.X:3.AOR=after.all someone  
    "After all, when someone is blessed

    not his.parents.OBV FUT-kill.O’s.O2.X:3.AOR think.thus.of.X:3.NEG  
    he is not intended to have his parents killed on him.

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    you=CONTRAST now like=EMPH pay.debt.to.O with.O2.3:2.IND  
    i:mi:  
    those.OBV  
    As for you, however, now it’s as if he paid his debt to you with them.

E  mani=meko  i:ji’ki:ji’-  ini_ -’sawici_  enenemaci,  
    this=EMPH thus-PERF that -do.thus.3.PRT.OBL think.thus.of.2:3.PRT.OBL  
    Just as he finished doing that which you blessed him to do,

F  ini=meko  e’ho:ci kii kwemaci:  
    then=EMPH eat.meat.off.bones.of.2:3’AOR  
    omeso:ta:nahi  
    his.parents.OBV right then you gnawed the bones of his parents clean.

G  ki:na:mana  kemayomaya:wa  
    you=this.ANIM make.weep.2:3.IND  
    You made this guy weep

    but nevertheless=EMPH come.to.2:3.IND say.thus.to.X:3:AOR  
    ome:si:mesani  
    his.grandfather.OBV  
    but still you came to him,” his grandfather was told

I  e’ho:po:ma:monici,  
    flee.3’.AOR  
    and he fled.

J  "ini ni:na ma:shiya  we:ci_ -ia:kwene:nesani  
    that I this.ABSSENT from.be.unwilling for.1:2.PRT.OBL  
    “That’s why I didn’t want this one

K  e’ho:ki:wi:sa:wi_ ’imehki_  nii:hi:  
    around-advice.to.do.things.3:2.AOR VOC  
    to go around advising you to do things, grandchild.

L  ini:wi:na  enenemehki,  
    that=CONTRAST think.thus.of.3:2.PRT.OBL  
    As for that way he blessed you,
M kemanika:wa=meko, rob.of 2:3 IND=EMPH you’ve taken it away from him completely.

N ini=meko=win=ni keta:shwa e nenemekhi=’yowe,” that=EMPH-CONTRAST-then do.thus.2:IND think.thus.of.3:2:PRF.OBL=PSF even though you did just what he wanted you to do,”

29 A e=h-iiko:ci iniini we:neki:wi:kanini:ci:ni. say.thus.to.3:3:AOIR that.OBV have.wings.3:PRF.3:3 that one with wings told him.


C e:si:mi:wa:neteniki wi=tor=tor=to:ki e=h=izenemekhi,* thus-be.bad.0:PRF.OBL. FUT=do.thus.to.3:2:AOIR think.thus.of.3:2:AOIR because he intended to treat you in a bad way,”

D e=h-iiko:ci. say.thus.to.3:3:AOIR he told him.

E “inah=meko wi=ne:hi wi=h=oci:awana:ka:we ketemenemekowa:wa. there=also FUT=from-carry.3:2:AOIR think.thus.of.3:2:AOIR “And he also intended to take all of you away through that same hole.

F wanimenes=ke=home=meko=’yowe,.. deceive.by.speech.3:2:POF=and=EMPH=PSF And he would have fooled you completely.

G na:be:ke:ho=meko itimenes again=something=EMPH promise.thus.3:2:POF He would have promised you something else


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1 ini _ “ponite:he:no | no:shi hi. then stop.feeling.agitated.2:IMP grandchild.VOC Then, “Stop worrying about it, grandchild.

J keta:shiki ke:wa:ki mani _ e=h-iiko:ci _ be.young.2:IND still now say.thus.to.3:3:AOIR You are still young now,” he told him.

K ke:hen=pa _ e=h=ponite:he:ci. truly=QUOT stop.feeling.agitated.3:AOIR Really, it’s said, he stopped worrying.

L ini:ne:ki e=ha:ci:ha:ci:ma:ci=meko _ that.ABSENT.OBV=and REDUP.tell.about.3:3:AOIR=EMPH And he told the story of that aforementioned one, over and over.

M ahpeci:ci ini ena:ci:mei:ci _ always that tell.thus.about.3:3:PRF.OBL. That is what is always told about him

N e=ha:ya:ci:me _ ne:hi:na:to:we:ka:hika:ta. REDUP.tell.about.X:3:AOIR know.how.to.bring.people.by.drumming.3:PRF.3 when stories are told about the one who knew how to bring people by drumming.

O e=hi:ki:ci. be.so.long.3:PRF.OBL. That’s the end of his story.

Notes

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

Abbreviations. The following abbreviations are used: 0 = inanimate; 0' = inanimate obviative; 1 = first person; 1P = first-person exclusive plural; 2 = second person; 21 = first-person inclusive plural (you and me'); 3 = animate third-person proximate; 3' = animate third-person obviative; ABSENT = absentative demonstrative pronoun; ANIM = animate; AOR = aorist conjunct; AORINT = aorist interrogative; CHOCNJ = changed conjunct; CHUNIR = changed unreal; CONTRAST = contrastive; DIM = diminutive; DUNIT = dubitative; EMPH = emphatic; KNCALM = exclamative; FUT = future; IMP = imperative; IND = independent indicative; INAN = inanimate; INFINT = interrogative participle; INT = plain interrogative; ITER = iterative; LOC = locative; NEG = negative; O = (first) object; O2 = second object; OBL = oblique (as head of relative clause); OBV = obviative; PERF = perfective aspect; P, PL =
plural; POT = potential; PROHIB = prohibitive; PROG = progressive aspect; PROX = proximate; PRT = conjunct participle, PST = past; PSTAG = past aspect conjunct; PSTARG = conjunct past participle; QUOT = quotative; RECIP = reciprocal; REDUP = reduplication; SUBJUNCT = subjunctive; VOC = vocative; X = unspecified subject or possessor.

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

1. The spelling of this verb is odd; one would expect petyewew-kah-wa.ta, with a medial -we-w-‘noise, sound’, as in the related forms seen in lines 110, 158, 233, 251, 253, and 260.

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

3. The noun nepi ‘water’ is so frequently used with nata- ‘go after’ that the combination is sometimes treated as a single word, with verbal inflection prefixes attached to the left of nepi ‘water’. The absence of a word boundary symbol after nepi in line 51 may suggest that in this instance, too, the combination is considered a single word.

4. Kiyana writes oč.ne nya ka.

5. In much of the system of verb inflection, obviative third-person subjects are not specified for number. It is therefore left vague on the quoting verbs of lines 61–70 whether the underwater spirit who is speaking is singular or plural. I have translated the subject of these verbs as ‘they’ in lines 61 and 64 to match the use of ‘we’ inside the quotes, and as ‘he’ from line 68 onward, when the spirit starts referring to himself as ‘I’.

6. Kiyana writes wí.na ne ne wé wé wá wá tó.

7. Kiyana writes oč.ne mi a kí wi ge ni, with no initial change.

8. Kiyana writes oč.ne to bi ni wé wi ki kí.

9. Kiyana writes oč.ne to bi ni tu wi ki to tu, with a misplaced word boundary.

10. Kiyana writes oč.na to bi ni ka ta wo tu.

11. The word nes- ‘kill’ is used idiomatically to mean ‘beat up’.

12. Kiyana first wrote pematiahuwe kwe (2p-3p).


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**References**

Appelbaum, Irene

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1995 Topic, Focus, and Other Word Order Problems in Algonquian. The Belcourt
Contact among Some Mayan Languages: Inferences from Loanwords

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

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

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

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