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. The text presented here is by Kiyana and includes ten illustrations drawn by him.

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-maṇeto·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).

(1) e·hso·kihto·či oči·man·i, e·hašike·či, o·ni kišike·či, e·hnisawata·soči. e·h-so-kiht-o·či o-či·man-i, e·h-ašike-či. o·ni IC-kišike-či, e·hnisawata·so-či. AOR-tie-3>0/AOR 3-canoe-sg AOR build. house-3/AOR and 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·man·i ‘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·hāni·wa·či owi-hκa-nani
      o·ni   e·h-āmi·wa·či   owi-hκa·n-ani
      and then  AOR-move.camp-3P/AOR  3-friend-OBV
      And then he and his friend moved camp. [10I]

Note that owi-hκa-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  eyohayo·čini
      ma·hanı=ča·hi   1C-ayoh-ay-o·čini.
      these.INAN=so  1C-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 ketiwa, menesekı  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 (menesekı  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).
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. 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·kwi=ča·ni·na paši·meko·we·ta·se·we·neta·mimi·ni* *ni·yawi.*

*a·kwi=ča·ni·na* *paši=meko* *–=we·ta·se·we·neta·mimi·ni* *ni·yawi.*

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·wiči*

he *AOR—not–have.wife-3/AOR*

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).
Meskwaki

[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·kw i owiye-hani ki·wi-wi-te·ma·wa·čini.
    . . . a·kw i owiye-hani ki·wi-wi-te·ma·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-nesekwhkapa 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) ahpemekič-a hi awiwaki ke·teminawičiki.
    ahpemeki=ča· hi awi-waki 1C·keteminaw-ičiki.
    up.above=so be.there-3P/IND 1C·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-h’-), 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) \( aše=meko\ e·h\-ki\-wi\-wart\-amowa\či\ kehčika\mi\wi. \)
\( aše=\)EMPH AOR-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) \( .\ .\ .\ e·h\-keh\ke\-net\ama\-ni\ e·h\-kemo\-tem\-i\wa\-tehe\ aša\-haki. \)
\( .\ .\ .\ e·h\-keh\ke\-net\ama\ni\ e·h\-kemo\-tem\-i\wa\-tehe\ AOR-know-1>0/AOR AOR-steal.O2.from-3P>1/PAST.AOR\)
\( aša\-h\-aki\)
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 \( in-is\) ‘thus’ the clausal argument bears the oblique grammatical function and therefore appears to the left of the verb, as in (13).

(13) \( aše=meko=ipi\ wi\-ha\-čimoni\či\ e\-h\-ine\-nem\-a\či\)
\( aše=\)EMPH HRSY FUT-narrate-3’/AOR AOR-think.thus.of-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 A1+O (animate intransitive plus object) type verb (cf. Dahlstrom 2009).

(14)  e·howi·wiči nekoti e·škimeko-ki·šiki·hiničini
     e·h-owi·wiči nekoti 1c-aški–=meko
     AOR-have.O2.as.wife-3/AOR one 1c-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·man-i,” e·hiyowa·či we·či- i·ni- awatawoči oči·ma·ni.
     “še·ški mani ke-i-h-awat-o·pena či·man-i,”
     only this.INAN 2-FUT-take.along-21>0/IND canoe-SG
     e·h-iy·owači 1c-oči– i·ni
     AOR-say.thus-3P/AOR 1c-from– that.INAN
     –awatawoči o·či·man-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·hnepeni·či
    ic-kehke·nem-a·ta owiye·h-ani na·hina·hi wi·h-nep-ni·či
    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·hini·či e·hne·se·ni·čimeko ke·htena.
    ... ke·htena=meko e·h-pwa·wi–nep-o·hi·ni·či,
    truly=EMPH AOR-not–die-DIM-3>/AOR
\[ e\cdot h-ne\cdot se\cdot ni\cdot ti=meko \quad ke\cdot htena \]
AOR-live.on-3\(^{rd}\)/AOR=EMPH truly

\[ \ldots \text{and sure enough, they did not die, they recovered indeed. [5G–H]} \]

In the first clause of (17) the adverb \textit{ke\cdot 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 \textit{=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 -\textit{aho} ‘paddle’ occurs in \textit{pemaho} ‘paddle’ or ‘paddle along’ in 10J and elsewhere, \textit{ki\cdot waho} ‘paddle around’ in 11C, \textit{inaho} ‘paddle thither’ in 11I, \textit{we\cdot paho} ‘start paddling’ in 12P, and \textit{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 -\textit{a\cdot 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 \textit{ki\cdot w} ‘around’ in 11C, the same initial in 11E two lines down, the preverb \textit{ki\cdot 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, *iniča-hipi* ‘So then, it’s said,’ marking the beginning of the story proper. The end of the story is announced simply by *ini* ‘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 *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-ki* ‘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-ki* 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-ki* 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, SUBJUNCT 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.
1C-mahkate·wi·ta našawaye neniw-a.
1C-fast-3/PART/3 long.ago man-SG
A man who fasted long ago.

1A našawaye neno·te·wa e·h·ma·mahkate·wi·či.
našawaye neno·te·wa 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·kw1·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·neniwiči
mehtose·neniwahi.
na·hka| mehto·či=meko na·no·make·we
also like=EMPH REDUP-for.short.time
e·h-mehtose·neniwi·niči mehtose·neniwi·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
he thought, “It couldn’t be the spirit who created us!”

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

He went to live in some lonely place,

and for four years he lived by himself.

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

this is the kind in which people who fast for a long time live.
2A  *pe-po-nikini*
   IC-*pepo-~nikini*
   IC-*be.winter-0*/ITER
   In the wintertime

2B  *a’kwí nanaší pwa’wi-mahkate’wi-wačini.*
   *a’kwí nanaší pwa’wi-mahkate’wi-wačini.*
   not ever not–fast-3P/NEG
   they never fail to fast.

2C  *o’ni na’hina’hi manetowani e’hketemina’kočí,*
   *o’ni na’hina’hi manetowani e’hketemina’kočí,*
   and time *spirit-OBV AOR-bless-3*/AOR
   And at the time when a spirit blessed him,

2D  *e’ha’hpawa’wačí e’hketemina’kočí manetowani.*
   *e’ha’hpawa’wačí e’hketemina’kočí manetowani.*
   AOR-dream-3*/AOR  AOR-bless-3*/AOR  spirit-OBV
   he had a dream that he was blessed by the spirit.

2E  *na’hina’hi e’hmenwimeko-ketemina’kočí,*
   *na’hina’hi e’hmenwimeko-ketemina’kočí,*
   time  AOR-well=EMPH  ~bless-3*/AOR
   At the time when [the spirit] blessed him in a good way,

2F  *e’šimeko-natawe’netaki e’hiši-ketemina’kočí.*
   *e’šimeko-natawe’netaki e’hiši-ketemina’kočí.*
   IC-*iši=meko ~natawe-net-aki e’hiši-ketemina’kočí.*
   IC-thus=EMPH  ~seek-3*/PART/OBL  AOR-thus-bless-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.
That [illustration on the previous page of Kiyana’s manuscript (figure 2)] was of one spirit,

and that was kind of a strange arrow.

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

they aren’t really arrows.

All of the great spirits really blessed him:

the good spirits who are good,

not the little evil spirits who are bad.
3H kehči-maneto-wameko owi-hka'nahi i-ni hi ke-hkinawa-čiki-ničihi
kehči-maneto-w-a=meko ow-i-hka'n-ahi i-ni hi
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>/PART/3'/P
as being sent by the Great Spirit.

a'kwi ke-ko-hi iši-wareneška-hi-maneto-wiwačini not any.way thus--immoral-be.spirit-3/NEG
i niki IC-kehkinawa-čihči-ko-sočiki.
those.ANIM IC-be.made.with.such.markings-3/PART/3'/P
The ones who are made with such markings are not immoral spirits, in any way.

3K kehči-maneto-wa taswi e-no-hka-nači i nimeko e-šiḥči-ko-soniči.
kehči-maneto-w-a taswi IC-ano-hka-n-a-či
great-spirit-SG as.many IC-give.job.to-3>/PART/OBL
i ni=meko IC-šiḥči-ko-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 wisahke-hanä-hkači e-no-hka-načihi,
wisahke-ha=na-hkači IC-ano-hka-n-a-čihi,
W=also IC-give.job.to-3>/PART/3'/P
And also the ones that Wisahkeha sends,

4A i nimeko e-ši-kehkinawa-čiha-soniči
i ni=meko IC-ši-kehkinawa-čiha-so-niči
that.way=EMPH IC-thus-be.marked-3'/PART/OBL
they are marked in the same way

4B oni wisahke-ha aša-ti-himeko e'ye-ki.
oni_wisahke-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.
i niča hipi na te kwimeko ketemina kočini kehči maneto wani.
i ni = ča hi = ipi = ina IC-takwi = meko
that INAN = so = HRSY = that ANIM IC-join with = EMPH
- keteminaw ekočini kehči 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].

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.

oni e howi ke hi či ki škitepe hikan e heno te wina kwateniki.
oni e h owi k e hi či | ki škitepe hikan i
and AOR-dwell DIM - 3 / PART / LOC stump SG

e h heno 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.

e h nahimeko kakano neti ekwi či,
e h nahi = meko kakano neti h ekwi či
AOR-know how = EMPH - converse with 0 > 3 / AOR

It was able to talk to him,

e h nahimeko a čimo hekwi či

AOR-know how = EMPH - inform 0 > 3 / AOR

and it was able to tell him

ni ka ni wi hanemi išikeniki,
i ni ka ni IC-wi h anemi i išiken niki,
ahead IC - FUT - go on be thus 0 / PART / OBL

what will happen in the future,

na hka či wi hanemiši wa se ya niki.
na hka či IC - wi h anem i iši wa se ya niki.
also IC - FUT - go on thus be light 0 / PART / OBL

and also the way the days will be.
He knew exactly what the day would be like.

He also knew exactly when someone was going to die,

He would tell them outright,

and surely he always turned out to be right.

The things he said about someone happened to them, just as he said.
“This is the time when he will die,” he said about them,

and just at that time they would die.

Also, regarding those who were sick,

about some he would say, “He will not die,”

and sure enough, they did not die,

they recovered indeed.

“This is the time when he will recover,” he would say,

and right at that time they recovered.
And again, when someone was not sick at all,

he would say, it’s said,

“This is when he will die,”

and right then they would die.

And he fought against the Sioux.

And these are the things that he used.
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 ovi·či škwe·hahi.
 ma·ma·ne=meko  e·h·ča·katahwa·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·meškočini,
 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·hnekoτi·hiči  e·hmi·ka·ti·či.
      e·h-nekoτi·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 neκoti e·hkehekwiči.
 nekotenwi=meko  neκoti  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  neκoti kehči·ma·wa·kani e·h·ma·nwikamikesi·niči  aša·hahi,
 neκoti_ 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.
 neκoti=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-neκoti.
   i·ni=meko  iši·neκoti.
      that=EMPH  thus–one
That was the only one.
It was a young teenage boy, it's said, who gave him the slip.

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

is why he didn't go and kill him.

He took scalps to his heart’s content,

maybe one bagful,

and carried the scalps home on his back.

They had a big celebration,

and were dancing and dancing for a very long time.

IC-have.O2.as.enemy-3/PART/3’ AOR-surround-3’>3/AOR
The people who were his enemies surrounded him.

“me·me·čikimeko wi·hnes·api!”
“I’m sure = EMPH FUT-kill-X>3/IND.IND
“Surely he will be killed!”

He began to make a speech,

He began to make a speech,

He began to make a speech,

He began to make a speech,

He began to make a speech,

He began to make a speech,

He began to make a speech,

He began to make a speech,

But here’s the thing: as he was being shot at

he continued with the speech as if nothing were wrong.

When he finished his speech,

2. Kiyana wrote (e ta na ne ke to ne mo tti).
8I  e·hwe·pimeko-kemiyarniki.  
e·h-we·pi=meko  kemiya·niki.  
AOR-begin=EMPH rain-0'/AOR  
right away it started to rain.

8J  e·hapasete·nikike·hwina,  
e·h-apasete·niki=ke·hi=win·a,  
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·škameko e·hanemi-ahpi·hči-kemiyarniki,  
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  kapotwemeko e·hkehči-kemiyahiniki.  
kapo·twe=meko e·h-kehči=kemiyahini.  
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-awiči.  
he=moreover in.middle AOR-REDUP-be.there-3/AOR  
But as for him, he stayed right in the middle.

8O  e·hkosekočičke·hwinameko owi·ćiškwe·hahi,  
e·h-kos-ekočiči=ke·hi=win·a=meko owi·ćiškwe·hahi,  
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-anahpawa-či.  
   IC-appear.thus-OV/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 kotwašikenwi.
   e·hča-katahamaw-ekoči nenemehkiw-ahi kotwašikenwi
   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·hča-ki-nep-niči IC-kepoškaw-ekočihi aša-hahi.  ||
   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.
He came back to where his friend was staying, and [his friend] was glad.

He explained what happened to him, and told him about the way he had summoned his dream-power. He summoned the thunderers by reciting his dream of them, and they blasted the others.

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

he said to him.
And then he and his friend moved camp.

Later they started canoeing,

they would move on whenever they felt like it.

This is the canoe they used,

and these paddles.
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·wahowachi.*
    *meta·swawahi me| e·h-ki·wah-o·wa·či.*
    ten.years AOR-paddle.around-3p/AOR
    For ten years they traveled around by canoe.

11D  *e·hoškinawehiwačikehi,*
    *e·h-oškinawe·hi-wa·či=ke·hi,*
    AOR-be.young.man-3p/AOR=moreover
    And they were young men,

11E  *mešemeko e·hki·wakihawahachi.*
    *meše=meko e·h-ki·wa·ki·wah-owachi.*
    freely=EMPH AOR-REDUP-paddle.around-3p/AOR
    they kept on paddling around, just any place.

11F  *winwa·wakemeko i·ni e·hiši-niši·hiwači,*
    *winwa=ke·hi=meko i·ni e·h-iši-niši-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·kwí owiye·hani ki·wi·wi·te·ma·wa·čini.
    a·kwí 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-kí·wi·wa·pat-amowa·či  kehčikami-wi.
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-pemí·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  meta·swawahi·makateniki
    IC=meta·swawahi·makat-niki
IC=be.ten.years-0'/CH.C
After ten years

11L  ayapami e·hpya·wa·či we·či·wa·či.
    ayapami· e·h-pya·wa·či| IC·či·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·hpwa·wi–owi·wiči,
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  *iniyemeko e·hayo-či či ma-ni.*
*i·niye=meko  e·hay-o-či  či ma-ni._*
that.INAN.ABSENT=EMPH AOR-use-3>0/AOR canoe-SG
He used the same canoe.

12J  *e·ha-čimo-či,*
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  “*iniyemeko wi·htahtane·nemiye·kwe,”*
“*i·niyemeko wi·htahtane-nemiye·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·číhi.*
e·hina-či  či·nawe·m-a·číhi.*
AOR-say.thus.to-3>3/AOR IC-be.related.to-3>3/PART/3’P
he said to his relatives.

12O  “*hao,“ e·hineči.*
“*hao,“ e·h-in-eči.*
all.right AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR
“All right,” he was told.
He started paddling,

and continued paddling for eight days.

After eight days,

he came to that island.

It was of fair size,

but not big, it's said.

He tied up his canoe,

and built a house.
13B  oni kišikeći,
oni  IC-kišike-ći,
and  IC-finish.build.house-3/CH.C
And after he built his house,

13C  e̤-hni-sawatakoci.
e̤-h-ni-sawata-so-ći.
AOR-take.down.one’s.things-3/AOR
he unloaded his things.

13D  oni pehkoteniki,
oni   IC-pehkote-niki
and.then  IC-be.night-0'/CH.C
And then, that night

13E  e̤-hpemahonithehe ne̤-topa-hahi aša-hahi,
e̤-h-pemaho-nićehe  ne̤-topa-hahi\]
AOR-paddle.along-3'/PAST.AOR  people.on.warpath-OBV
aša-hahi,
Sioux-OBV.PL
a Sioux war party had paddled by,

13F  e̤-hawata-kotehe oći ma-ni.
e̤-h-awataw-ekotehe\ oći ma-n-i.
AOR-take.along.O’S.O2-3'/PAST.AOR  3-canoe-SG
and they had taken his canoe.

13G  mamayameko e̤-hawa-pataki,
mamayameko  e̤-h-mawa-pataki,
earl=EMPH   AOR-go.to.look.at-3>AOR
When he went to check on it early in the morning,

13H  e̤-hašenonikići hi oći ma-ni!
e̤-h-ašeno-niki=ći hi  oći ma-n-i!
AOR-be.gone-0'/AOR=it.was.discovered  3-canoe-SG
why, his canoe was gone!

13I  e̤-hmayo-ći,
e̤-h-mayo-ći\ AOR-weep-3/AOR
He cried
because he had no idea what could have happened to it.

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

Because they said, “We’ll take only this canoe,”
“Whenever I pass out from hunger,

I’ll pass out,” he thought.

And then a big sky-dwelling eagle took him,

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-wa-waki=meko ke-meso·ta-naki,”
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·ni=ča·hi=mani kehč’ahpemekí
that=so=this.INAN great-up.above
1C-očiwen-ekoči
1C-carry.O.from.there-3>/3/PART/ OBL
menes-i,
island-SG
So this is the island from which it carried him way up into the sky, 3

3. Kiyana wrote (me se si).
15A nanawimeko menesi kehčikami·ki.
  nanawí=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·hoičwenekoči,
  menes-eki  e·hočiwen-ekoči,
  island-LOC  AOR-carry.O.from.there-3'>3/AOR
  It carried him from the island,

15C wečičimeko e·hpyněkoči,
  IC=či·či=meko  e·hpyn·ekoči,
  IC=be.from.there-3/PART/OBL  AOR-carry-3'>3/AOR
  and brought him right where he came from,

15D e·hmenwimeko-pye·nekoči iya·hi.
  e·h·menwi=meko  e·hpyn·ekoči  iya-hi.
  AOR-well=EMPH  AOR-carry-3'>3/AOR  yonder
  and brought him there very comfortably.

15E kehtenameko e·hněwači omesotarnahi iya·hi,
  kehtena=meko  e·h·new·ači  o·meso·tar·nahi  iya-hi.
  truly=EMPH  AOR-see-3'>3/AOR  3-parent-OBV.PL  yonder
  Sure enough, he saw his parents there,

15F e·hačimoči e·šawiči.
  e·h·ačimo·či  IC=šawi·či.
  AOR-narrate-3/AOR  IC=fare.thus-3/PART/OBL
  and he told what had happened to him.

15 le·hakhto neči·mani,“
  “ne·a·akohto  neči·mani,“
  1-lost-1>0/IND  1-canoe-SG
  “I lost my canoe,”

15H e·hinači o·sani,
  e·h·ina·či  o·sani,
  AOR-say.thus.to-3'>3/AOR  3-father-OBV
  he said to his father,
“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,

e·h·kkehke·netama·ni e·hkemo·temiwa·tehe aša·haki."

But after I came back here,

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.”

keye·hapake·hipi·ni menesi e·šite·he·či mesihkwameko.

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

It was also after he had arrived

AOR-know-3>AOR that.ANIM.OBV ice-OBV=EMPH
that he realized that it was an iceberg.

Then he felt frightened.

“Here, I want to talk to you.”

necessarily a.great.distance FUT-go.and–fast.there-2/AOR
Did you think it was necessary to go very far away to fast?"

16F  *e·hineči, e·hikoči o·sani.*

\[ e·h·in·e·či, \quad e·h·Ω·ikoči \quad o·o·s·ani. \]

he was asked, his father asked him.

16G  "*ke·htenakohi,*"  *e·hinači,*

"*ke·htena=kohi,*"  *e·hина·či,*

truly=certainty  AOR-say.thus.to-3>/AOR

"That’s right,” he said to him

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

"*i·noki=ča·hi a·kwı=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·hinači.*

\[ e·hinači. \]

he said to him.

16J  "*penani·hka natawi-owi·wino!*"

\[ pena=ni·hka \quad natawi–owi–wi–no! \]

please=man's.expl.  seek.to–have.wife-2/IMP

“Darn it, why don’t you try to get married?”

16K  *e·hineči.*

\[ e·h·in·e·či. \]

he was asked.

16L  "*ši! a·kwıya·piní·hka kana·kwa!*"  *e·hinači,*

"*ši! a·kwı=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>/AOR

“Hell no! That’s impossible!” he said to him,
16M “ke•wakimeko nenatawene·neta
“ke•waki=meko ne-nataw•net-a
still=EMPH 1-seek-1>/0/IND
“I still really want

16N wi•h•we•ta•se•wi•yarni,” e•hina•či o•sani.
wi•h•we•ta•se•wi•yarni,” e•h•in•a•či o•o•s•ani.
FUT-be.warrior-2/AOR  AOR-say.thus.to-3>/AOR 3-father-OBV
to be a warrior,” he said to his father.

16O e•hnekotihekočiyoke•hi.
e•h•nekoti•h•ekoči•=i=yo•=ke•hi. ||
AOR-have.one-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•Ω,”
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•Ω•ikoči.
AOR-say.thus.to-3>/3/AOR
he said to him.

17C “a•kwi•ča•hni na pašimeko•we•ta•se•we•netam•a•nini ni•yawi,”
“a•kwi=ča•hi=ni=paši=meko –we•ta•se•we•net•ama•nini
not=so=l 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•Ω•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.
So then, it’s said, he went to fast.

His father made a place for him some distance away,

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

He told him each time,

he told him straight out.

And then once, when his father came,
he said to him, “I was told that I will see a spirit.

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

When he saw [the spirit].

His grandfathers killed him for him.

So that [the spirit] would not fool him

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

The thunderers killed him for him.
18F “ke·htena maneto·wi·yane,
   “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-ači.
   AOR-say.thus.to-3>3′/AOR
   he told him.
"manī-wi-na: a-kwi me-kwe-he maneto-wi-yaniini," "manī=wi-na:] a-kwi_ me-kwe-he maneto-wi-yanini,"
this.INAN=but not I.believe be.spirit-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-wači=kohmeko-makekine ayo·hi ahki-ki"
"a-kwi! ne-ma-wači=ko=k=meeko =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-wači=meši-maneto·wi!" e·hikoči.
"ne-ma-wači=meši=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-nenaniini
"a-kwi=ča-hi=meko| aka·wa-n-enanini
not=so=EMPH desire-1>2/NEG
"Well, I don’t want you

19I wi·hketeminawiyani," e·hina·či.
wi·hketeminaw-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).
“For the ones that blessed me live up above,”

e·hinači.
e·h-in-ači.
AOR-say.thus.to-3>/AOR
he said to him.

“Oh, who are they?” he asked him.

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

“Oh, I don’t think they could bless you.

After all, those guys don’t know anything,”

e·hikoči.
e·h-Ø-ikoči.
AOR-say.thus.to-3'>3/AOR
he said to him.

“No! They obviously blessed me!” he insisted to him.
“na-hka ketiwa,
also  eagle-ANIM.SG
“And also an eagle,

20B meneseki e-hawiyan-i,
mes-e-k| e-h-a-wi-yani,
island-LOC  AOR-be.there-1/AOR
when I was on an island,

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

20D e-hina-či.
e-h-in-ači.
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-ači.
AOR-say.thus.to-3>3/AOR
he told him.

20G “a-kwi=wi=na mani nemhepekomi wi-nahkonamaw-iyanini?”
“a-kwi=ihi=we-na| mani ne-mhepekom-i
not=in.fact this.INAN 1-stick-SG
wi-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.
“a·kwikohme·ci menwe·netamono·na·ni.
“a·kwi=kohi=me·ci menwe·netamaw·ena·ni.
not=certainty=really like.O’s.O2
“Certainly not, I really don’t like [that staff] of yours.

asa·m-ahkonwi,” e·hina·ci.
asa·m=ahkon-wi,” e·h-in-a·ci.
too.much=be.so.long -0/IND AOR-say.thus.to-3’s/AOR
It’s too long,” he said to him.

“neni·ške·netameko ta·taki,” e·hina·ci.
“ne-ni·ške·net=a=meko ta·taki,”
1-consider.clumsy-1>0/IND=EMPH sort.of
e·hina·ci.
AOR-say.thus.to-3’s/AOR
“I think it’s kind of clumsy,” he said to him.

“nahkonamane,
“nahkon-ame, |
accept-2>0/SUBJNCT
“If you accept it,

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,”

e·hina·ci mači·maneto·ha.
e·hina·ci mači=maneto-h-a.
AOR-say.thus.to-3’s/AOR bad=spirit.DIM-ANIM.SG
the evil spirit told him.

“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].

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>0/SUBJNCT
You may, if you like, if you think ill of someone,
i·tepi kihiši-nemenamawa·wa,
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i·tepi ke·i-hiši·nemenamaw-a·wa,
to.there 2-FUT-thither-point.02.at-2>/3/IND
you should point it at them there,

wi·hkehkahama·wači
wi·h·kehkahama·wači
FUT-designate.02.for-2>/3/3/AOR

na·hiši wi·hnepeki.
na·hiši wi·h·nep-ki.
time FUT-die-3/AOR
when they would die.

inina·hmeko wi·hnepeki.
inina·hmeko wi·h·nep-ki.||
that.time=EMPH FUT-die-3/AOR
Right at that time they will die.

na·hina·hi=meko ke·hkahikawa·wate·ni,
a·hina·hi=meko ke·hkahikaw-a·wate·ni,
time=EMPH IC-designate.for-2>/3/CH.INTERR
Just at whatever time you designate for them,

inina·hmeko wi·hnepo·hiči,”
inina·hmeko wi·h·nep-o·hiči,”
at.that.time=EMPH FUT-die-DIM-3/AOR
right then they will die,”

e·hinekoči.
e·hinekoči.
AOR-say.thus.to-3’>3/AOR
he said to him.

“önina·hka ihkwe·wa natawe·nemate,
“önina·hka ihkwe·wa natawe·nemate,
and=also woman-SG want-2>/3/SUBJNCT
“And another thing, if you want a woman,
manimeko mehtekwi wi-hayoyani
\(\text{mani}=\text{meko} \quad \text{mehtkw-i} \quad \text{IC-wi-h-ay-o-\text{yani}}\)
this.INAN=EMPH stick-SG IC-FUT-use-2>0/PART/0
this same staff is what you will use

\(\text{wi-haya} \quad \text{winnenikawa\text{\textcyr}}.\)
\(\text{wi-h-aya} \quad \text{winnenikaw-\text{\textcyr}}.\)
FUT-signal.to.with.gesture-2>3/AOR
to wave at her.

\(\text{inimeko} \quad \text{t\textnt{-tep\textnt{\textcyr}} i\textnt{h-\textnt{\textcyr}}.}\)
\(\text{ini}=\text{meko} \quad \text{t\textnt{-tep\textnt{\textcyr}} wi\textnt{-h-a-\textnt{\textcyr}}.}\)
then=EMPH to.there FUT-go.there-3/AOR
Right away she will go there.

\(\text{na-hina-hmeko e\textnt{-}hapamika\textnt{-}pawinotawaw\textnt{-}wate\textnt{-}ni,}\)
\(\text{na-hina-hi}=\text{meko} \quad \text{e\textnt{-}h-pakamika\textnt{-}pawinotawaw\textnt{-}wate\textnt{-}ni,}\)
\(\text{time}=\text{EMPH} \quad \text{AOR-arrive.and.stand.facing.O-2>3/AOR.INTERR}\)
At whatever time you go and stand in front of her,

\(\text{inina-hmeko wi\textnt{-}h-a\textnt{-}htawa\textnt{-}na\textnt{-}ci,} ''\)
\(\text{inina-hi}=\text{meko} \quad \text{wi\textnt{-}h-a\textnt{-}htawaw\textnt{-}na\textnt{-}ci,} ''\)
\(\text{at.that.time}=\text{EMPH} \quad \text{FUT-place.O.on.back-2>3/AOR}\)
is the time when you will lay her down on her back,’’

\(\text{e\textnt{-}hineko\textnt{\textcyr}}.\)
\(\text{e\textnt{-}h\textnt{-}in\textnt{-}eko\textnt{\textcyr}}.\)
AOR-say.thus.to-3'>3/AOR
he told him.

\(\text{e\textnt{-}he\textnt{-}niki\textnt{-}kwe\textnt{\textcyr}}\textnt{-}cka\textnt{-}ci e\textnt{-}hapane\textnt{-}ni\textnt{-}ci.}\)
\(\text{e\textnt{-}h\textnt{-}e\textnt{-}niki\textnt{-}kwe\textnt{\textcyr}}\textnt{-}cka\textnt{-}ci e\textnt{-}h\textnt{-}apane\textnt{-}ni\textnt{-}ci.\)
AOR-show.amusement.on.face-3/AOR AOR-laugh-3/AOR
[The young man] smiled slightly and laughed.

\(\text{‘‘na\textnt{-}hka\textnt{\textcyr}}\textnt{-}ci, \text{‘ni\textnt{-}hwe\textnt{-}ta\textnt{-}se\textnt{-}wi,} \text{‘i\textnt{-}site\textnt{-}he\textnt{-}yane} \)
\(\text{‘na\textnt{-}hka\textnt{\textcyr}}\textnt{-}ci, \text{‘he\textnt{-}i\textnt{-}h\textnt{-}we\textnt{-}ta\textnt{-}se\textnt{-}wi-O,} \text{‘i\textnt{-}site\textnt{-}he\textnt{-}yane} \)
\(\text{also} \quad \text{1-FUT-be.warrior-1/IND} \quad \text{think.thus-2/SUBJNCT}\)
“Also, if you want to be a warrior
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,

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.

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

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,

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

i·nimeko wi·hporni·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,

mešemeko·ni wi·hpematahwa·či,” e·hineči.
meše=meko=i·ni wi·h-pematahwa·či,”
freely=then FUT-club.along-2>3(P)/AOR
AOR-say.thus.to-X>3/AOR
and you can just club one after another,” he was told.

ke·htenameko e·hkatawi-wanimeko·či.
ke·htena=meko e·h-katawi–wanim-eko·či.
truey=EMPH AOR-almost-trick.by.speech-3’>3/AOR
Sure enough, he had almost fooled him.
“And four times you will take a captive,

four other times you will be a warrior,

again four times you will lead a war party,” he was told.

He had completely fooled him indeed.

As soon as it was offered to him,

and it was just the right length.

It was just the right size around,

and it was just the right length.

5. Kiyana wrote (i ne kwa kwa to i ni ki).
He admired it.

“Oh my! I see now. He truly is a spirit!”

He thought,

and he carried the little staff around in his hand.

“Grandson, you will have power from both sides,”

he told him.

He believed him.

“Moreover, if anyone is about to get the better of you,
22R  mani wa·patano nesowa·nowi.
  mani  wa·pat-anо  ||  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·nemenanini,
  a·kwí=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·hikočí.
  e·h-Ø-ikočí.
AOR-say.thus.to-3>3/AOR
he told him.

23G  “‘o· kete·pwe·hto·ne,’ išiyane,
  “‘o· ke·te·pwe·htaw·ene,’  i-in·iyane,
O,  2-believe-1>2/IND  say.thus.to-2>1/SUBJNCT
“If you say to me, ‘O, I believe you,’
i·ni=wi·hišawiyani,"
then=that.INAN IC-FUT-fare.thus-2/PART/OBL
then that is what will happen to you,”

23I

e·hikoči.
ea·h-Ø-ikoči.
AOR-say.thus.to-3'/3/AOR
he told him.

23J

kapo·twe neníwa, “o·ke·tepwe·hto·ne,” e·hinači.
kapo·twe neniw-a, “o·ke·tepwe·htaw·ene,”
at.some.point man-SG O, 2-believe-1>2/IND
e·h-in-ači.
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.
ea·h-Ø-ikoči.
AOR-say.thus.to-3'>3/AOR
he told him.

23O

“ni·nakoh noši·he,
“ni·na=kohi ne-oši·he,
1=certainly 1-grandchild.VOC
“As for me, grandchild,
23P  a·kwí owiye·ha mačinawičíni ayo·hi ahkwitahkamiki maneto·waki.
a·kwí owiye·ha mačinaw·ičíni ayo·hi
not someone- SG dare in regard to -3/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·wa·hi meši·maneto·wí,
ni·nameko ne·ma·wa·hi meši·maneto·wí-Ø,
I=EMPH 1-of all- big- be spirit- 1/IND
I myself am the biggest spirit,”

23R  ehíničí.
e·hí-ničí.
AOR- say thus- 3′/AOR
he said.

23S  “nahí, noší-h, i·ni wi·hna·na·kwa·yakwe,” e·híničí.
“nahí, ne-oší-h, i·ni wi·hna·na·kwa·yakwe,” ||
well, 1-gr. child- VOC then FUT- REDUP- leave- 21/AOR
e·hí-ničí.
e·hí-ničí.
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·ni,
mani=me ko IC- iši- kohkika·pa·ničí,
own=EMPH IC- thus- turn around from standing position- 3′/CH.C
Just as he turned from where he was standing,

24B  e·hpemí·seskešé·niki,
e·h-pemí·seskešé·niki,
AOR- along- be sparks- 0′/AOR
there was a series of sparks,

24C  e·hpakamecí omešo·mesani.
e·h-pakam-emečí o-mešo·mes-ani.
AOR- hit- X> 3′/AOR 3-grandfather- OBV
and his grandfather was struck by lightning.
The lightning struck him so hard he was even vomiting

and defecating.

He was made to die a horrible death.

After he had been killed,

[the young man] found out about him.

It was explained to him:

“Well, he just went ahead and fooled you!

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·menatesome 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·hiwhkapake·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-nesekwhkap i ni mehtekwi,
    "meše=meko=i·nahi taši–nes·kwahkapa i ni mehtekwi,
any=EMPH=there  there–kill-0>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/POT=moreover=EMPH=PAST=that.ANIM
and, moreover, that one would have even eaten you,

24Q  pwa·wike·hni·na·na·ki sa·či·keteminaw-enakehe,"
    pwa·wi=ke·hi=ni·nana –ki sa·či–keteminaw-enakehe,"
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·hkwhahki," 
    "ke·i·h·war·pat-a 
2–FUT–look.at-2>0/IND
IC–inekihkwa·hkwhat-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·hinekikhwa·hkateniki ani·pi.
nano·pehka·či=meko || e·h-inekikhwa·hkwt-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·hwisetono,"
"ke·šeh·eki pemimo·na·hwiset-o·no,"
2-stomach-LOC along-place.[wood].thither-2>0/IMP
"Lie down and lay the staff on your stomach,"

25B i·ni=ke·hi wi·hinenekehe.
i·ni=ke·hi wi·hin-enekehe.
that.INAN=moreover FUT-say.thus.to-X>2/IRREALIS
is what you would have been told.

25C i·ni išiset-o'yanehe,
i·ni išiset-o'yanehe,
that.way place.thus-2>0/IRREALIS
If you had done that,

25D i·ni mani wi·hinikekhwahkehe,"
i·ni mani wi·hinikekhwahkehe,"
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 1C·keteminaw-ekočini.
    AOR-say.thus.to-3'/3/AOR really 1C·bless-3'/3/PART/3'
the one who really blessed him told him.

25H  “ki·hpo·nimoko·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·čimohenesena
    ke·ki·ši=koči -a·y-a·čimoh·enesena
    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·eši·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·hišawí-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·howi·wi=Ø=ke·hi=mohči  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·howi·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.
“ki·hašiha·wača·hi
“ke-i-h-aših-a·wa=ča·hi
2-FUT-make-2>3/IND=so
“And you will make

wi·hotahkohkwi·yanana, o·ni ši·ši·kwani nekoti,
wi·h-otahkohkwi·yanana, o·nišiši·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,

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

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.

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

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  
\[\text{e·hmi·hkečihwe·či} \ e\text{·nwe·we·hwačini},\]
\[\text{AOR-doctor.people-3/AOR}\]
\[\text{1C-anwe·we·hw·ačini},\]
\[\text{IC-make.O.sound.by.beating-3>3'/PART/3'}\]
The one that he drummed on when he doctored people,

26D  
\[i·ni=na·hka \ ši·ši·kwani.\]
\[\text{that.INAN=also rattle-SG}\]
and also the rattle.

26E  
\[\text{mehteno·hmeko} \ ki·ši-ne·se·hačini,}\]
\[\text{mehteno·hi=meko IC-ki·ši-ne·se·h·ačini,}\]
\[\text{only=EMPH IC-PERF-cure-3>3'/ITER}\]
Only after he had cured someone

26F  
\[i·ni=ni=ha·o·či \ e·hni·mihači.\]
\[\text{those.INAN AOR-use-3>0/AOR AOR-cause.to.dance-3>3'/AOR}\]
did he use those things and have them dance.

26G  
\[\text{ki·šipimeko·ne·se·hačini} \ e·hni·miči.\]
\[\text{IC-ki·ši=ipi=meko ne·se·h·ačini e·hni·miči.}\]
\[\text{IC-PERF=HRSY=EMPH cure-3>3'/PART/3' AOR-dance-3>3'/AOR}\]
The person who had been cured by him, it’s said, danced.
For exactly the length of time he was doctoring, it’s said,

was as long as that small drum would be there in the house,

also that rattle,

and also that small bowl,

and also that medicine.

And also he himself, for exactly four days, would spend the night there.

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.
AOR-leave-3/AOR
he would leave.

27G  kaho·nipi e·howi·wiči.
so.then=HRSY AOR-have.wife-3/AOR
So then, it’s said, he got married.

27H  pe·hkimeko e·hkaškima·či i nini ow·wani,
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·mi·neči,
AOR-not-give-X>3/AOR
she wasn’t given to him,

27J  ašemeko pe·hki e·hkaškima·či.
just=EMPH really AOR-persuade-3>3/AOR
he just convinced her to say yes.

27K  kočí·hipi manemeko e·ha·šimemeco owiyawi ihkwe·wahi,
although=HRSY many=EMPH AOR-urge.O2.on-X>3/AOR him
ihkwe·wahi,
woman-OBV.PL
Although, it’s said, many women were being urged to go after him,

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

27M  i nihi wi·howi·wiči.
those.OBV FUT-have.O2.as.wife-3/AOR
to marry any of them.
So then, it’s said, he made the first move in talking to that other one,

and he married her indeed.

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

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

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

and he never courted others.

9. Kiyana wrote (na ma ne).
That was the only wife he had, it’s said,

and he and his dear wife had their own place.

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

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

He was married to her very quietly,

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

That, it’s said, was just the way that woman was, she was very quiet.

Kiyana wrote (me na tti).
She wasn’t immoral, it’s said.

She wouldn’t ever do anything wild, it’s said.

Also, she was a very industrious person,

and she really took care of herself,

so they had a very good marriage.

And then, it’s said, whenever they doctored someone,

the woman would shake the rattle

and=HSY man-SG AOR-make.O.sound.by.beating-3/>AOR
ahkohkw-ani.
drum-OBV
and the man, it’s said, would beat the drum.

29I aniwe-we-kesi-niwanipi pe'hki i ninih akohko-ani,
aniwe-we-kesi-niwanipi pe'hki i nini akohkw-ani,
have.loud.sound-3'/IND=HSRY really that.ANIM.OBV drum-OBV
That drum really had a loud sound, it’s said,

29J omi'hke'cihiwe'-w-ahkohko'ni.
o-mi'hke'cihiwe'-w-ahkohkw-ani.
3-doctor.people–drum-OBV
his doctoring drum.

29K mo' hicmekopi e'hseotaminiči,11
mo'-hči=meko=i e'-hseot-aminčiči,
even=EMPH=HSRY 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-sest-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' hmekos e'khehtwe'-wesiči i na neniwa.
e'-ye'-ki=ke'-hi=meko
as.well=moreover=EMPH
e'-h-kehtwe'-wesiči i na neniwa. ||
AOR-have.the.knack.of.getting.game-3/AOR that.ANIM man-SG
And also that man was a very good hunter.

30A mešekemo'nahi e'hno'hkiha'či mi'čipe'hahi.
meše=meko=i nah12 e'-h-no' hkih-a'či mi'čipe'hahi.
any AOR-kill.easily-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 ni niti).
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
    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·waki
    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·wenesi·čiki.
    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.
Some of them, it’s said, had assumed their success was assured,

but that little bitch went and pushed them aside.

That’s how they felt, it’s said.

the woman whose husband was a doctor was a midwife.

Much later someone who was having her period ate with her and the man.
Soon after, it’s said, the man got sick and died.

The woman spent ten years in mourning, and she never married again.

The men couldn’t get anywhere at all with her, though they tried repeatedly to court her, they didn’t have any success with her at all.

And she had a little boy,
who was now an orphan,

and he was the prettiest of all the children.

On top of everything else, he was hated by some of the people.

But some loved him,

rather, just as many as knew about bad medicine hated him,

And then the woman started crying and crying,
32F  o ni mači-maneto:hani e·hketeminakoči.
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:wi-meko-mahkate·wi·či,
o·make:wi·=meko  –mahkate·wi·či,
IC–no·make=wi  –E=MH–fast-3/CH.C
After she had fasted for a little while,

32H  e·hwe·pesi·hiwció,  e·h-we·pesi·hiwi·či,
AOR-be.crazy-3/či
she went crazy.

32I  a·kwipi kekhe-netakini,
a·ki=ipi  kekhe-net-akini,
not=HRSY–know-3>0/NEG
She didn’t know what she was doing, it’s said,

32J  e·hmeškemeškekha·či.
e·h-meške-mėshkeka·či.
AOR–REDUP–expose.self-3/AOR
she would expose herself repeatedly.

32K  meše·nahmeko neniwahi e·hpapi·tanwa·pamekoči,13
meše=i·nahi=meko  neniw=a
just.go.ahead.and  man-OBV.PL
e·hpapi·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·hiwiči
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·hpapi·tanwa·pamekoči ‘they (obv.) looked in (the door) at her’ is a guess.
Meskwaki

32N e·hne-po·hiči i na ihkwé·wa.
   e·h-nep-o·hi-či] i na_ ihkwé-w-a.
   AOR-die-DIM-3/AOR that.ANIM woman-SG
   and died.

32O i ni.
   i ni.
   that.INAN
   That’s it.