Mosquito, who fasted too long and became a spirit

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Title  e-\(\)sa\-mekwama\-ta me\-neto\-wita sakime\-wa
IC-asamekwama\-ta IC-maneto\-wi\-ta sakime\-w-a
IC-fast.too.long\-3/PART/3 IC-be.spirit\-3/PART/3 mosquito\-SG

Mosquito, who fasted too long and became a spirit

1A  o\-'ni nekotenwi e\-'hma\-wa\-seto\-wa\-'ci neno\-'te\-'waki,
\-\(\) o\-'ni nekotenwi e\-'h-ma\-wa\-set-o\-'wa\-'ci neno\-'te\-'w-aki,
and.then once AOR-have.one\-'s.houses.all.together-3P>0/AOR Indian\-PL
And then one time when the Indians gathered for winter camp,

1B  ateh\-ci e\-'howi-kihe\-'ci me\-'hkate\-wi\-ta o\-'skinawe\-'ha.
ateh\-ci e\-'h-ow\-i\-kih\-e\-'ci IC-mahkate\-wi\-ta o\-'skinawe\-'h-a.
a.distance.off AOR-make.O.dwell.[there]-X>3/AOR IC-fast\-3/PART/3 young\-man\-SG
a certain young man who was fasting was made to live off by himself.

1C  “nahi, ki\-'hpo\-'ni\-mahkate\-'wi,”
“nahi, ke\-i\-'h-po\-'ni\-mahkate\-wi-\(\)\-\(\)\-\(\)O,”
well, 2\-FUT-stop–fast\-2/IND.IND
“Well, you should stop fasting,”

1D  e\-'hiko\-'ci maneto\-wahi ke\-'temina\-',ko\-'ci\-'hi.
e\-'h-\(\)O-iko\-'ci maneto\-w-ahi IC-keteminaw-eko\-'ci\-'hi.
AOR-say.[thus].to-3\->3/AOR spirit\-OBV.PL IC-bless\-3\->3/PART/OBV.PL
the spirits who blessed him told him.

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1 Kiyana’s text is manuscript number 2984 in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC; it was written around 1912 in the Meskwaki syllabary. The first line of each clause above transliterates the syllabary, supplying vowel length and /\(\)/, not written in the syllabary, and adding punctuation. The word boundaries in the first line correspond to those written in the original syllabic text, with a space indicating a boundary between full words and an en dash (–) indicating a boundary between a preverb and verb stem or between a pre-noun and noun stem. Places where a word boundary is expected but not written are indicated with an underline; a double vertical line || indicates the end of a page. The second line of each clause indicates morpheme boundaries (-), clitic boundaries (=), and the underlying form of morphemes. Abbreviations in the third line of each clause include: 21 1st person inclusive plural, 3’ obviative, 0 inanimate, 0’ inanimate obviative, ANIM animate, AOR aorist, DIM diminutive, EMPI emphatic, EXCLAM exclamation, FUT future, IC initial change (ablaut process required in some verbal paradigms), INAN inanimate, IND.IND independent indicative, LOC locative case, O (first) object, O2 second object, OBV obviative, PART participle, PL plural, POSS possessor, REDUP reduplication, S subject, SG singular, VOC vocative, X unspecified subject. Notation such as 1>3 means a 1st person singular subject acting on a 3rd person singular object. The paradigm of verb inflection is indicated following a slash (/). Verbs in relative clauses are inflected in the participle paradigm and bear an additional suffix agreeing with the head of the relative clause. The head agreement is indicated after the “PART” notation, e.g. 3/PART/3 – relative clause with a 3rd person singular subject and a 3rd person singular head.
He explained it to him, he told him, he said that they should stop fasting, he said to him.

Who was the one who said that to you? he asked him.

That's what I dreamed, he said to him.

Oh, is that it? he said to him.

Alright, tell me how many spirits blessed you then?

His father asked him.

He explained it to him,
nano·pehka e·ha·totamawa·či maneto·wahi.
    nano·pehka e·h-a-totamaw-a·či maneto·w-ahi.
    large.number AOR-tell.O.about.O2 3/3′ AOR spirit-OBV.PL
    telling him about the large number of spirits.

“meše nekoti me·mečine·hi ketemino·hke,
“meše nekoti me·mečine·hi keteminaw·ehke,
    just one last.time bless-3(p)>2/SUBJUNCTIVE
    “When they bless you just one last time,

i·ni wi·hpo·ni·mahkate·wi·yani,” e·hina·či okwisani.
i·ni wi·h-po·ni·mahkate·wi·yani,” e·h·ina·či o·kwis·ani.
    then FUT-stop–fast-1/AOR AOR-say.[thus].to-3>3′/AOR 3·son-OBV
    that will be the time for you to stop fasting,” he told his son.

o·ni e·škimeko·mehpo·hiniki,
o·ni IC-aški—meko—mehpo·hi-niki,
    and.then IC-first—EMPH snow.DIM-0′/CHANGED.CONJUNCT
And then, when it had snowed a little for the very first time,

e·hanawiwa·či.
e·h-anawi-wa·či.
AOR-go.on.a.distant.hunt-3p/AOR
    they went hunting.

osi·me·hani e·hwi·tema·či,
osi·me·h-ani e·h·wi·te·m-a·či,
    3-younger.sibling.DIM-OBV AOR-go.with 3>3′/AOR
He went with his little brother,

anemya·ka e·hiši·anawiwa·či.
anemya·ka e·h-iši·anawi-wa·či. ||
    downstream AOR-[thither]—go.on.hunt-3p/AOR
and they went downstream to hunt.

e·hahkawiha·wa·či e·sepa·hani,
e·h-ahkahwih-a·wa·či e·sepa·h-ani,
AOR-find.O’s.tracks-3p>3′/AOR raccoon-OBV
    They found the tracks of a raccoon,

e·hna·kana·wa·či.
e·h-na·kan-a·wa·či.
AOR-follow-3p>3′/AOR
    and they trailed him.
2C  *ani*pi-*kipi* e-*hako*si-*hkawe*-niči.
ani- py-ekii =ipi e-h-ako-si-hkawe-niči.
elm-loc=HEARSAY AOR-S’s.tracks.climb.up-3’aOR
His tracks, it's said, climbed up an elm.

2D  či-*ka*hkiwe e-*hnemate*-ki i ni meš–ani-pi,
či- ka*hkiwe e-h-nemate-ki i ni meš-ani-py-i,
exto.hill AOR-stand.[there]-0’/PART/OBL that.INAN big-elm-SG
Next to a hill is where that big elm stood,

2E  e-hwe-činowatenikike-hi.
e-h-we-činowat-niki=ke-hi.
AOR-be.easy-0’/AOR=and
and it was easy [for them to climb it].

2F  “ako*si*htawi,” e-*hina*či osi-me-hani.
“ako-si-hlaw-i,” e-h-iná-čí o-si-me-hani.
climb.up.after.O-2/3/IMPERATIVE AOR-say.[thus].to-3>3’aOR 3-younger.sibling.DIM-OBV
“Climb up after him,” he told his little brother.

2G  “hao,” e-*hiči* i na atenawí e-*hpi*hčiki-hita,
“hao,” e-h-i-čí i na atenawí IC-ahpi-hčiki-híta,
okay AOR-say.[thus]-3/aOR that.ANIM less IC-be.[so].old.DIM-3/PART/3
“Okay,” that one who was younger said,

2H  e-*hako*si-či.
e-h-ako-si-čí.
AOR-climb-3/aOR
and he climbed up.

2I  iya*hi pye-*ta*si-či,
iya-hí IC-pye-ta-si-čí,
there IC-come.[thither],climbing-3/CHANGED.CONJUNCT
When he came climbing up there,

2J  kaši, mya*nahi*waníči-hí i nahi e-*hskešišiniči!  
kaši mya-nahi-w-ani=čí hi i.nahi e-h-skékiš-iniči!
why, catfish-OBV=EXCLAM there AOR-lie.[there]-3’aOR
why, there was a catfish lying there!

2K  “ni*sa*he*no, ki*hwača*hopena!” e-*hina*či,
“ni-sa-he-no,  ke-i-h-wača-ho-pena!” e-h-in-a-čí,
throw.O2.dowm-2/IMPERATIVE 2-fút-cook.O2-21/IND.IND AOR-say.[thus].to-3>3’aOR
“Throw it down, we'll cook it!” he told him,
and he threw it down.

They set up camp a little ways off

They cooked the catfish.

That catfish tasted as good as could be

They went so far as to eat it all up.

“Gosh! We just ate it all up!” they said.

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2 Kiyana wrote <nya na i wa ni>.
A little later,

“nahi, nesi-hi, nepi-hka na·tawino!”

“Hey, little brother, go get me some water!”

he told his little brother.

The little brother took their kettle.

Finally he got tired.

from carrying water for his big brother.

Finally he took off his leggings.

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3 Kiyana wrote <e a ye gi tti>.
The preverbs and he went over there to check on him.

Much later he really drank.

"Over there is where you could really drink all you want!" he said to him.

Sure, little brother," he said to him.

He went over there

and really drank.

Much later he got tired of waiting for his big brother,

and he went over there to check on him.

4 The preverbs eši-pwawí– here form an idiom ‘Why don’t [you]…?’ as a suggestion.
Here he was lying sticking halfway out!

When [the older brother] realized he was there,

He was frightening his older brother,

as he went around trying to get a grip on him.

Half of his big brother was a fish.

Finally he was crying over his big brother,

as he chased his big brother around and around.
The analysis of this word was suggested to me by Ives Goddard (p.c.) with the following morphological breakdown: pa- reduplication, initial pi- 'small', final -a-na-kami- 'be a hollow in the water' II. Goddard points out, however, that it is peculiar for a stem containing the initial pi- to not bear a diminutive secondary final. (No current speaker of Meskwaki has been found who recognizes this word.)
He told him,

“ko:sen’a na ki ha:čimo ha:wa,”  e·hikoči.  
“ke-o:s-en-a n-a ke-i-ha:čimo ha:wa,”  e·h-Ø-ikoči.  
2-father-21-SG 2-FUT-inform-2>3/IND.IND  AOR-say.[thus].to-3’>3/AOR  
“You should tell the story to our father,” he said to him.

“You should say to him, ‘My big brother turned into a half-fish.’

And as for this large hill, they said, ‘You should call it ‘Mosquito Hill’.”

You should call it ‘Mosquito Hill’.

And as for this large hill,

“ki:nawi:na, ahpene:čimeko ki:me:ne:wi,”  
“ki:na=wi:na_ ahpene:či=meko ke-i:h-ne:ne:wi-Ø,”  
you=CONTRASTIVE always=EMPH 2-FUT-REDUP-see-2>1/IND.IND  
“But as for you, you will always be seeing me,”

he was told.

he said to his little brother.

“so right now you should leave,” he told him.
5A e·hna-kwa·či i na oškinawe·he·ha.
e-h-na-kwa·či i-na_ oškinawe·he-h-a.
AOR-leave-3/AOR that.ANIM young.man.DIM-SG
That young teenage boy left.

5B i·ya·hi pye·ya·či,
i·ya·hi IC-pya·či,
there IC-come.[thither]-3/CHANGED.CONJUNCT
When he came there,

5C “nešihka kepya?” e·hineči.
“nešihka ke-pya·Ø?” e·h-inči.
alone 2-come-2/IND.IND AOR-say.[thus].to-X>3/AOR
he was asked, “Did you come alone?”

5D “ehe·he, po·hkwi=ko hi neme·si=wi wa nesese·ha,“
“ehe·he, po·hkwi=ko hi neme·si=wi=wa ne-sese·h-a,“
yes half=certainly be.fish-3/IND.IND 1-older.brother-SG
“Yes, my big brother has turned into a half-fish,“

5E e·hiči.
e·h-i-či.
AOR-say.[thus]-3/AOR
he said.

5F pašito·ha ke·htena·hi e·hkehči–mayo·či,
pašito·h-a_ ke·htena·hi e·h-kehči–mayo-či,
old.man-SG surely AOR-greatly–cry-3/AOR
The old man surely cried hard,

5G “o·hwa! nekwisa!” e·činimeko
“o·hwa! ne-kwis-a!” IC-i-čini=meko
oh.no! 1-son-SG IC-say.[thus]-3'/ITERATIVE=EMPH
and whenever he said, “Oh, my son!”

5H e·hče·če·keki.
e·h-če·če·k-ki.
AOR-sob-3/AOR
he sobbed.

5I e·hma·ciweneči nešiwi taswi mehtose·neniwaki,
e-h-ma·ciwen-eči nešiwi taswi mehtose·neniw-aki,
AOR-lead-X>3/AOR terribly so.many person-PL
An enormous number of people were led over
Kiyana wrote a word boundary between 5J and 5K.

5J e\-ne\-śi\-wi\-i\-ne\-kikh\-wa\-niki me\-śi\-nepi\-si.
e\-h-ne\-śi\-wi\-i\-ne\-kikh\-wa\-niki me\-śi\-nepi\-si.
AOR-terribly\-be.so.big-0'/PART/OBLIQUE.HEAD big\-lake-SG
to where the lake had become huge.

5K ši\-hih\-wi\! e\-h-ne\-śi\-wi\-ni\-wa\-niki!
ši\-hih\-wi\! e\-h-ne\-śi\-wi\-kwa\-niki!
gosh! AOR\-appear.terrifying-0'/AOR
Gosh! It looked scary!

5L e\-hke\-h\-ci\-čapo\-kis\-ah\-a\-wa\-či neno\-te\-wi\-nese\-ma\-wani.
e\-hke\-h\-ci\-čapo\-kis\-ah\-a\-wa\-či neno\-te\-wi\-nese\-ma\-wani.
AOR-greatly\-throw.in.water-3P\>3'/AOR Indian\-tobacco-OBV
They threw a lot of Indian tobacco into the water.

5M sakim\-e\-wa\-pi\-ni is\-i\-sow\-a na\-ša\-wai\-wey,
sakim\-e\-wa\-a=i\-ni i\-si\-sow\-a na\-ša\-wai\-wey,
mosquito-SG\=HEARSAY\=that.ANIM be.[thus].named-3/IND.IND long.ago
That [man] of long ago was named Mosquito, it's said,

5N e\-sa\-mek\-wama\-ta me\-ne\-to\-wita na\-ša\-wai\-wey.
IC\-asa\-mek\-wama\-ta IC\-maneto\-wi\-ta na\-ša\-wai\-wey.
IC\-fast.too.long-3/PART/3 IC\-be\-spirit-3/PART/3 long.ago
the one who fasted too long and became a spirit long ago.

5O o\-ni\-na o\-škin\-a\-we\-ha ne\-śi\-hka i\-tepi e\-ya\-cini,
o\-ni=i\-ni o\-škin\-a\-we\-h-a ne\-śi\-hka i\-tepi IC\-a\-cini,
and.then that.ANIM young\-man-SG alone there IC\-go.[thither]-3/ITERATIVE
And then as for that young man, whenever he went there alone,

5P e\-hne\-w\-a\-či\-mek\-o o\-se\-se\-ha\-ni.
e\-h-ne\-w\-a\-či\=meko 6 o\-se\-se\-h\-ani.
AOR\-see-3\>3'/AOR\=EMPH 3-older.brother-OBV
he would in fact see his brother.

5Q kap\-o\-twe e\-hpo\-ni\-n\-e\-wa\-či,
kap\-o\-twe e\-h-po\-ni\-n\-e\-w\-a\-či,
at.some.point AOR\-stop\=see-3\>3'/AOR
At some point he stopped seeing him,

5R še\-ški\-pa\-pe\-he my\-na\-name\-k\-wahi e\-hke\-h\-ci\-mo\-hki\-ni\-či.
še\-ški=i\-pi\=a\-pehe my\-na\-name\-k\-ahi e\-h-ke\-h\-ci\=mo\-hki\-ni\-či.
only\=HEARSAY\=always catfish-OBV.PL AOR\-greatly\=emerge-3'/AOR
there would only be a lot of catfish coming out of the water, it's said.

\[6\] Kiyana wrote a word boundary between e\-hne\-w\-a\-či and =meko.