Change and Continuity: Two Versions of an Omaha Text

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In 1990 I recorded Omaha elder Mrs. Mary Clay telling a story which she called “Medicine Tracks Steals the Potatoes.” Much to my delight this turns out to be essentially the same story as one Dorsey recorded exactly a century earlier, “Síthémakⁿⁿⁿ’s Adventure as a Deer,” told by an Omaha named Pathíⁿ-Noⁿʰazhi. (Dorsey 1890, pp. 57-60) Both texts are reproduced in the appendices to this paper. There are minor differences in the story line in the two versions, significant differences in narrative style, and small differences in grammar/syntax. In this talk I look at differences and similarities between the two versions of the text in use of evidentials and quotatives, appositive-like constructions, constituent order, use of direct and indirect speech, and other areas of syntax and discourse -- choosing what to look at somewhat idiosyncratically according to my own interests..

It would be satisfying to not only list differences, but also explain why they occur. In addition to 100 years between the two tellings (and thus inevitably some change in the language) other factors which may be relevant include a female vs. male storyteller, monolingual vs. bilingual storyteller, language attrition, tape-recording vs. writing sentence-by-sentence, the audience/situation, cultural change, etc. I won’t come to any strong conclusions here, but will make some suggestions.

First, let me summarize the plot. In both versions, Síthémakⁿⁿⁿ (or Sigthémóⁿⁿⁿ, Medicine Tracks) is a young man or boy who lives with his grandmother. When female relatives going out gathering food want him to come along and help, he pretends to be sick, and his grandmother covers for him, telling the women he is deathly ill. After giving the women time to collect plenty of food, he follows them, disguised as a wounded deer, and lures or scares them away from the food bags. He then steals the collected food, takes it home to grandmother, and is again lying down, pretending to be too sick to move, when the women come back to accuse him.

Differences in the Plot
Although the stories are very similar, there are naturally some minor differences in plot. To start with, the main character’s name is very close to the same, but not quite identical, and Dorsey gives no meaning for it, while modern speakers unhesitatingly translate the name as “Medicine Tracks”. I wonder if this might be a case of folk etymology at work? Since síté sounds close to sigthé ‘footstep, track’ and makⁿⁿⁿ sounds close to moⁿⁿⁿⁿᵉⁿ, somewhere along the line someone assumed that’s what they were supposed to be.

Other plot differences are the number of women and their relation to the grandmother, the type of food involved (beans vs. wild potatoes), the women’s reaction to the supposedly wounded deer (in Mrs. Clay’s version they are frightened by it and run away; in the Dorsey version they react in a way that seems more likely for people who regularly hunt and eat deer -- they chase it). In several parts of the story there is a difference in level of detail. The Dorsey version takes several lines to describe how Síthémakⁿⁿⁿ disguises himself, while Mrs. Clay just says he “acted
like” a crippled deer. Dorsey includes details of how and where the grandmother hid the food, and of the cooking, and eating of it, which Mrs. Clay omits. On the other hand, Mrs. Clay goes into detail in some areas where the Dorsey version does not; for instance, she shows the women discussing asking Sigthémóⁿʰοⁿ to go with them, describes the food-collecting bags, and points out the protagonists’ characteristics and relationships. Finally, the Dorsey version has a second section (left unfinished and apparently considered improper) in which it seems that Sithémakⁿʰοⁿ plays tricks on his own grandmother as well. MC does not even allude to this.

**Length and Division into Sentences**

In spite of differences in content, the two texts are similar in length. The Dorsey version has 53 sentences, of which 16 belong to the second incident -- Mrs. Clay’s version has 58 sentences, of which a dozen or so are introductory or false starts. So the overall number of sentences in the main part of the story is roughly comparable. In both texts there is some uncertainty about sentence boundaries. What I take to be sentences are shown in both texts as numbered lines. Some of these sentences are multi-clausal, and it is likely some of the numbered lines are actually more than one sentence. On the other hand, Mrs. Clay’s version has a couple of lines which perhaps should be considered phrases, not sentences; I have set these off as separate lines because of a following pause. In the Dorsey version I have followed his division into sentences even when his criteria for setting sentence boundaries are unclear.

**Differences in Rhetorical Style**

Some differences in how the story is narrated may have to do with the fact that for Mrs. Clay telling this story is a self-consciously “old timey” activity; she is being paid to talk in Omaha rather than English, into a tape recorder, and sees herself in a preservationist role, teaching the linguist, the others present, and future tape listeners about Omaha language and culture from the olden days. She thus does more talking about the story -- explaining that it isn’t necessarily true, describing the protagonist’s character, pointing out how people used to gather wild potatoes. I do not know what the situation was when Pathⁿⁿ-Noⁿⁿázhí was working with Dorsey, but presumably telling this type of story was closer to a normal everyday activity for him, even though speaking it for a linguist to write down was not.

In actual wording of the texts, the most striking difference between the two versions is the sentence endings. Just a glance at the Dorsey texts shows that nearly every sentence ends with quotative *ama*, usually in the combination *bi-ama*, with proximate/plural *bi*. In fact, only 2 sentences do not contain quotative *amá*. Six sentences (#6, 15, 16, 29, 34, 50) have two instances of *amá* apiece, in different clauses. So there are a total of 57 instances of quotative *amá* in 53 sentences. In short, *amá* is overwhelmingly prevalent. The two sentences which lack *amá* are both lines of dialog spoken by characters in the story, rather than standard narrative prose: (numbers are the line number in the text. I have changed Dorsey’s spelling to current Omaha standard orthography, but the glosses, morpheme and word divisions, and punctuation are his.)

   Oh! husband’s-sister she-told-the-exact-truth old-woman

32. Hiⁿⁿ⁺! winóⁿ, óⁿkazhí-xti-oⁿ hé.
   Oh! first-daughter not-so-very
Many other lines of dialogue do contain amá, though; it is not clear to me why these two do not.

In stark contrast, Mrs. Clay never uses quotative amá in her version of the narrative except in the very last line, the story-ending formula (though she does sometimes use it elsewhere in my recordings.) Instead, her sentences end either with an evidential th e or with no marker of evidentiality status. This is the same mix of sentence endings she would use to tell about what she saw yesterday. The positional-derived evidentials, including th e are usually said to indicate that the speaker vouches for the truth of the statement based on some direct evidence, which clearly is not true here. It’s not clear whether this indicates a change in the grammatical resources of the language (loss of the quotative, change in meaning of the evidential) or just a change in conventions of how to tell this type of story. Not all of Dorsey’s texts have ama every sentence, but it is typical for the higo mythological tales. None of the speakers I recorded used quotative ama very frequently. I have always wondered whether the extremely frequent repetition of “a-biama” in Dorsey was due to the way they were told; one sentence at a time, with pauses for writing it down, but there is probably no way to test this at this point.

Incidentally, in Mrs. Clay’s version, it’s not clear to me why some sentences are marked proximate and/or evidential, while others aren’t -- compare the following, which have the same verb, similar function (all are direct discourse by main participants, etc.). Sentence #57 has no marking on the final (matrix) verb; #54 has a proximate suffix; #55 has both proximate suffix and evidential clitic.

57. Mo’núde ithích’a-ch th e zhó n á.
   ashes yours-is-dying-when 3lie 3say
   'He's lying in the ashes, about to die, she said.'

54. Nú th e wétízha-i-th e á-i.
   potato the 3take3p-P-evid 3say-P
   'He took the potatoes, she said.'

55. Nó n égo n shti wo’n-azhi á-i-t th e.
   well thus too 3do3-neg 3say-P-evid
   'Well, he didn't do it, she [i.e. the grandmother] said.'

Another striking aspect of the rhetorical style of the Dorsey version is the frequent and colorful use of discourse particles in quoted speech, including exclamations: Hi+n+! ‘Oh!’ (5 times, in 4, 8, 20, 32, 34) and Na! ‘Why!’ (line 31), the sound of crying Ho+n ho+n ho+n (line 6), and the female-speaker assertion marker hé (9 times). Mrs. Clay does use the male-speaker assertion marker há a couple of times, but no exclamations or onomatopoeia. This is probably just indicative of a less dramatic storytelling style. Both versions use a great deal of direct discourse, but Pathi-no p’azhi’s style is more like acting out the lines of dialogue.

Similarly, the Dorsey version uses far more vocatives, another element that brings the dialogue to life. Sithémak òo adresses his grandmother as ko’há virtually every time he speaks to her, and the other characters address each other as wino’n, shiko’n, and wa’ú zhí’n gá, and Sithémak b o’n. On the other hand, in Mrs. Clay’s version no vocatives are used unless the somewhat unclear line 15 is one.
Differences (and similarities) in Grammar

Turning to grammar, I will look at just a couple of things in any detail at all, mostly throwing out a laundry list of things one might look at, given time and willpower. I’ll start with two syntactic phenomena which I’ve looked at before, both of which have been suggested to perhaps be late developments, due to English influence or language attrition in bilingual speakers. These are (1) the prevalence of a phrase following the verb and (2) a nominal-phrase construction with repeated articles, which may be analyzed as definiteness agreement or as an appositive. These two constructions give very different results when compared in the two texts. Let’s look first at the prevalence of postverbal material:

Postverbal XP

Although Omaha, like other Siouan languages, is basically a verb-final language, both versions of our text contain significant numbers of sentences with some material (other than sentence-final enclitics) following the verb. I refer to this postverbal material simply as XP, reflecting the fact that it is generally a phrasal category of some sort. The sentences in the texts which contain a postverbal XP listed here:

Dorsey sentences #1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 19, 24, 25, 35, 44, 49 (#6 has TWO)
12 sentences = 23% of 53
MC sentences #18, 19, 23, 28?
4 sentences = 6% of 58

The postverbal material is of various types; I give here one example from each text in which the postverbal XP is a DP (nominal phrase) and one in which it is a different type of phrase, an adverbial or VP/clause.

Dorsey: 7. Doⁿ>bá-biamá wa’ú thábthiⁿ akʰá.
they-saw-him-they-say woman three the(sub)
‘The three women saw him.’

1. Sithémákʰoⁿ ikóⁿ tígthe zhúgigthá-biamá ená-xchi.
his-grandmother dwell-in-a-lodge he-with-his-own-they-say alone
‘Sithemákʰoⁿ dwelt alone in a lodge with his grandmother.’

MC: 18. É athá-i-tʰe wa’ú noⁿ>bá ama.
ref 3go-there-P-evid woman two the
‘The two women went there.’

28. Thé ama wa’ú noⁿ>bá ama athá-i-tʰe núgthe uné.
these the woman two the 3go-P-evid potato 3look-for
‘The two women went to look for potatoes.’

I have counted postverbal XP in other texts, and both Dorsey’s 19th century speakers and the late 20th century speakers I recorded average around 10% of sentences with some type of postverbal phrase. (See Rudin 1998.) The present text is higher than average for Dorsey (with 23% of sentences containing at least one postverbal phrase), a bit lower than average for Mrs. Clay (her story has only 6% postverbal phrases). But in any case it’s clear that this is NOT a construction
which is in any way due to language attrition. (And it’s possible that MC’s percentage is artificially lower because when in doubt about where to divide sentences I look for the verb.)

Repeated Article Construction
For the appositive-like repeated article construction the picture is very different. This construction is very common, not only in Mrs. Clay’s version of this text, but in all texts I recorded from modern speakers. However, it is rather rare in Dorsey, and, in fact, nonexistent in this text. The percentage of sentences containing a repeated article construction in each of our two texts is:

Dorsey: 0%
   NO clear examples (sentence #28 may be an appositive, but with no repeated article)

MC: 17%
   10 out of 58 sentences #9, 12*, 13, 20, 24, 28, 29, 37, 39, 41
   (*=triple; 37 has N before dem)

A couple of typical examples from Mrs. Clay’s text are given below (see also her #28 above).

37. Sigthé-moⁿkⁿóⁿ ama thé ama táxti hí xoⁿ gágha.
    the this the deer leg broken made
    'Medicine Tracks acted like a crippled deer.'

12. Égi ... Égoⁿ thé akⁿa nikashiⁿga akⁿa núzhiⁿga akⁿa égoⁿ-i-tⁿ.e.
    finally thus this the person the boy the so-P-evid
    'Well, so this boy was like that.'

The one borderline example from Dorsey is the following:

    Grandmother this-one-here sack hiding put-away said-he-they-say
    'Grandmother, put this sack in a hiding place, said he.'

In the past (e.g. Rudin 1993) I have worried about whether this repeating article construction is an appositive structure or whether it would be better analyzed as definiteness agreement, with each word of the nominal phrase being optionally marked with the definite article. It is so prevalent in my texts (and used so fluently) that it is unlikely to be simply a hesitation effect. Regardless of its correct analysis in the modern language, it does seem to be a fairly new phenomenon, a change in the language in the last century.

There are certainly plenty of other things one could look at in these texts. One that strikes me is the rather frequent use in the Dorsey version of expressions translated as “suddenly” or “all at once.” I have not looked into these, but they might be interesting and might represent a difference from Mrs. Clay’s version, where nothing appears to happen “suddenly”.

Other aspects of the morphosyntax, including use of articles, motion verbs, sentence length and complexity, frequency and use of lexical NPs as opposed to pronominal arguments, and sentence
introducers such as égithe would also be worth looking at. These are all areas where one might expect to see some effects from language attrition and/or English influence, but as far as I can see from a superficial glance at them, there are no obvious or significant differences between the two texts in any of these.

On the other hand there ARE a couple of phonological changes since Dorsey’s time evident in the two texts. The ones that I noticed are:

* male vocative has há, not modern hó (ko”há instead of ko”hô) in Dorsey version.
* habitual -hno” in Dorsey becomes -no” in modern speech

I’m willing to bet you -- the audience of Siouanists at this conference -- have spotted things I have missed. I hereby open the floor for your observations.

WORKS CITED


Rudin, Catherine. 1998. Postverbal Constituents in Omaha-Ponca. Presented at Siouan and Caddoan Languages Conference, Bloomington

APPENDICES:

Appendix A  Story recorded by me, told by Mrs. Mary Clay, 1990
Appendix B  Story recorded by Dorsey 1890, retranscribed
Appendix C  Scanned pages; Dorsey’s original version of the text in Appendix B.

APPENDIX A:

MEDICINE TRACKS STEALS THE POTATOES

told by Mary Clay, 1990
Rudin field tape #16 A.

1. Wi ithápahón=mazhi ezhegórızuthá=egońanóń”o”n t’h e gońubthá=ta=mi”nh’d e.
   I 1know=neg but? 3tell=having 1hear when thus 1tell=fut=1aux
   'I don’t know myself, but I heard this, so I’ll tell it.'

2. Híga dshthé”=t’h’é.
   story maybe=evid
   'Maybe it’s just a fairytale.'
   [híga = story, fairytale; not necessarily true.]
3. Égi wa’ú zhi’gá wiⁿ égithe núzhi’[ga] itúshpa tígthe
finally woman small one finally boy her-grandchild 3live
zhúgigtha=i=tʰe.
3together=prox=evid
'An old woman lived with her grandson.'

4. Itúshpa tígthe zhúgigtha=i=tʰe [ki é].
her-grandchild 3live 3together=prox=evid ?
'She lived with her grandson.'

5. Gó’ki wa’ú ázhi nó’ba edí=tʰe.
and woman different two there=evid
'There were two other women there.'

6. Wó’doⁿ ishíkoⁿ kʰithe=nóⁿ=i=tʰe.
both sister-in-law 3called=usually=prox=evid
'She called them both sister in law.'

7. Ishíkoⁿ kʰitha=i=tʰe.
sister-in-law 3call=prox=evid
'She called them sister in law.'

8. Égithe óⁿba wiⁿ égithe...
finally day one finally
'And then one day...'

9. Thé akʰá níkashi’ga wa’ú zhi’ná akʰá itúshpa tígthe zhúgigthe akʰá
this the person woman small the her-grandson 3live 3together the
Sigthé mo’nkʰóⁿ izházhe athíⁿ=i=tʰe.
track medicine name 3has3=prox=evid
'The man, the old woman's grand
son who lived with her, was named Medicine Tracks.'

person the wherever that the now very ? 1hear3=usually=I
'That person, I hear people saying this about him everywhere.'

11. Sigthé mo’nkʰóⁿ, sigthé mo’nkʰóⁿ gágha=i=tʰe, é awánoⁿ oⁿ=noⁿ=moⁿ.
track medicine track medicine 3do=prox=evid REF 1hear3=usually=I
'Medicine Tracks did it, that's what I hear.'

12. Égi ... Égoⁿ thé akʰá níkashi’ga akʰá núzhi’ná akʰá égoⁿ=i=tʰe.
finally thus this the person the boy the so=prox=evid
'Well, so this boy was like that.'
13. Thé amá wa’ú noⁿbá amá núgt the pahóⁿga=di núgt the é=noⁿ
these the woman two the wild-potato first=at potato 3dig=usually
égoⁿ [égoⁿ=tʰ’é ?] thus thus=evi’d
'These two women used to dig wild potatoes in the old days. (It was like that??)'

14. Oⁿ’shke núgt the é thé=wathe é=tʰ’e á=i.
by-the-by wild-potato 3dig go=let's ought/apt 3say=prox
'Let's go dig wild potatoes, they said.'

15. Nishíkoⁿ ... [the] shíkoⁿ
your-sister-in-law [repetition]? (variant of thíshíkoⁿ 'your sister-in-law' ?)
? is this vocative??

16. Sigté moⁿkʰóⁿ é móⁿghe=wathe á=i.
ref ask=lets 3say=prox
'Let's ask Medicine Tracks [to go with us] they said.'

17. Sigté moⁿkʰóⁿ zhúgt the thé=wathe á=i.
together go=let's 3say=prox
'Let's go with Medicine Tracks, they said.'

18. É athá=i=tʰ’e wa’ú noⁿbá amá.
ref 3go=there=prox=evid woman two the
'The two women went there.'

19. Édí wa’ú zhiⁿgá thiⁿkʰé di ahí=bi, wa’ú zhiⁿgá thiⁿkʰ’é.
there woman small the at 3arrive=there=prox woman small the
'They came to the old woman's place, the old woman's.'
(no break before the postverbalNP -- I assume it's all one sentence)

20. Sigté moⁿkʰóⁿ akʰá shé amá wa’ú noⁿbá amá a=í=i ha
the those the woman two the 3come=prox decl
á=i=[tʰ’e].
3say=prox=evid
'Medicine Tracks said "those two women are coming".'

21. Awákʰétá=shte zhuóⁿgthe shti athé góⁿthe=ta=ama.
wherever they-with-me too comitative-go 3want=fut=the
'They'll want me to go somewhere with them.'
22. No\textsuperscript{n} shi úwagitha=ga o\textsuperscript{h}wó\textsuperscript{n}k\textsuperscript{h}ega áchHo\textsuperscript{n} é úwagitha=ga ha á=i.
well and 2tell3=imp 1sick very ref 2tell3=imp decl? 3say=prox
'And he said "tell them I'm very sick, tell them that".'

23. Ego\textsuperscript{n} shti wázhe ki shó\textsuperscript{n}.
thus too cry out? ?? completely?
'He wasn't sick at all.' [he cried out?]
I'm still confused by this one. There's no break between 23 and 24 -- may be all one sentence.

24. Thé ak\textsuperscript{h}á Sigthé mo\textsuperscript{n}k\textsuperscript{h}ó\textsuperscript{n} ak\textsuperscript{h}á wak\textsuperscript{h}ega gágha zhó\textsuperscript{n}=i.
this the the 3sick 3do3 3lie=prox
'Medicine Tracks was lying down pretending to be sick.'

25. Wa'ú zhi\textsuperscript{g}á ak\textsuperscript{h}á úwagitha=i.
woman small the 3tell3=prox
'The old woman told them.'

26. Sigthé mo\textsuperscript{n}k\textsuperscript{h}ó\textsuperscript{n} ak\textsuperscript{h}á ú... wak\textsuperscript{h}ega ehé á=i=t\textsuperscript{h}e.
the wound? 3sick 1say? 3say=prox=evid
'Medicine Tracks says he is sick, she said.'

27. Wak\textsuperscript{h}ega achó\textsuperscript{n} ego\textsuperscript{n} zhúthigthe athé=t\textsuperscript{h}e thi\textsuperscript{a}=ta=ak\textsuperscript{h}á á=i.
3sick very being with-you comm-come=? 3unable=fut=the 3say=prox
'Since he's very sick, he won't be able to come with you.'

28. Thé amá wa'ú no\textsuperscript{n}bá amá athá=i=t\textsuperscript{h}e núgthe uné.
these the woman two the comm-go=prox=evid potato 3look-for
'The two women went to look for potatoes.'

29. Thé ak\textsuperscript{h}á Sigthé Mo\textsuperscript{n}k\textsuperscript{h}ó\textsuperscript{n} ak\textsuperscript{h}á é=shti ukíghthi'aga=i.
this the the ref=too 3lazy=prox
'Medicine Tracks was lazy.'

30. Wathígtho\textsuperscript{n} gágha=i=t\textsuperscript{h}e.
mind 3did=prox=evid
'He made up his mind.'

31. I thé amá nú wó\textsuperscript{h}o\textsuperscript{n} úzhiha athí\textsuperscript{n}.
? those the potato both sack 3have
'Those [ones] both had sacks [for] potatoes.'
32. Úzhiha gthé wo^n=do^n thé=ge wi^n=dé=t^b^o^n=ha ná akithe ha nú sack upright? both these half=extent= both-of-them potato nü=th=ke k^b=e ú=a=i.
wild potato the therein-digging-them=prox
'Both of these sacks they had filled half full of wild potatoes [which] they dug as they went along. [I'm not sure where to break this -- all one sentence? No break before next one]

33. Ítha=i úgipi'u wi^n=dé=t^b^o^n=ha go^n athá=i=t^b=e.
3find3=prox 3fill-up-own3 half=extent= thus? 3go=prox=evid
'They found them and filled up their [sacks] half full as they were going.'

34. Sigthé mo^n=k^b=ó^n ak^b=á wa'ú no^n=bá amá gá^t=ó^n=di úzhiha
the woman two the by-now sack
ugipi=kit=ha=i=t^b=e.
3fill3=refl-cause=prox=evid
'Medicine Tracks [said] by now the two women must have filled their sacks.'

35. Hi^n=dé (e)di bthé=te á=i.
let's-see there 1go=fut 3say=prox
'I'll go there, he said.'

36. Sigthé mo^n=k^b=ó^n amá édi athá=i.
the there 3go=prox
'Medicine Tracks went over there.'

37. Sigthé mo^n=k^b=ó^n amá thé amá táxti hi xo^n gágha.
the this the deer leg broken made
'Medicine Tracks acted like a crippled deer.'

38. Wahíthage shti thé amá étho^n=ba édi ahí
lame very that the too there 3arrived
'He came there pretending to be lame.'

39. Thé amá wa'ú no^n=bá amá thé Sigthé mo^n=k^b=ó^n é=t^b=e íbaho^n=bazhi.
these the woman two the this ref-evid 3know=neg
'The two women didn't know that it was Medicine Tracks.'

40. Táxti the nó^n=p^a
deer this 3afraid
'They were afraid of the deer.'
41. Égi thé amá wa’ú noⁿbá amá öⁿha=i=tʰe
so these the woman two the 3flee=prox=evid
'So the two women ran away.'

42. Thé kʰe nú ṣhọⁿ e dshtóⁿ.
these the potato (a³ʃʰoⁿ??) ref must-be
'They left the potatoes behind.' (?)

43. Sigthé moⁿkʰóⁿ amá thé tʰe wa’ú noⁿbá amá nú tʰe öⁿtha athá=i
the that the woman two the potato the 3left3 3go3=prox
when ? 3take3 having carry-on-shoulder 3go-back=prox=evid
'Medicine Tracks, when the women left the potatoes and went, Medicine Tracks took them
and carried them home over his shoulder.'

[all laugh] (last phrase is mostly obscured by laughter)

44. Athⁱⁿ agthá=i.
3have3 go-back=prox
'He took them home.'

45. Êgi ikóⁿ thiⁿkʰé=ta athⁱⁿ akʰi=i.
finally his-grandmother the to 3have3 3arrive-back-there
'He took them back home to his grandmother.'

46. Wa’ú noⁿbá amá agthí dshtóⁿ=ta=ama á=i=tʰe.
woman two the 3arrive-back-here maybe=fut=the 3say=prox=evid
'Those two women may come back here, he said.'

47. Úwagitha=ga shë oⁿwóⁿkʰega thoⁿdí thaz[ɔ]m[ɔ].
tell-them=imp that? I sick ?
'Tell them I'm still sick; I don't feel any better.'
[The underlined part is what I hear on the tape. In playback the speakers gave something very different; the
whole sentence in my notes from playback session is:
Úwagitha=ga shë oⁿwóⁿkʰega shëtʰoⁿ=noⁿ judoⁿ=moⁿ=zhí xti=moⁿ
so-far=usually good=1aux=neg very=1aux
Underlined portion of this isn't on the tape at all, as far as I can hear.

48. Oⁿwóⁿkʰe=xti=moⁿ é úwagitha=ga á=i.
1sick=very=1aux ref tell-them=imp 3say=prox
'Tell them I am very sick.'

49. Égi wa’ú nóⁿba amá égi edí akʰi(=tʰe)
finally woman two the finally there 3arrive-back-there
'Eventually the two women came back there.' (=the not audible-- they say should be there.)
50. Wa’ú zhi’gá thiⁿkʰé uitha=i=tʰ’e.
woman small the 3tell3=prox=evid
'They told the old lady something.'

51. Sigthé moⁿkʰóⁿ amá á=i=tʰ’e wá=thizhu=b=azhi á.
the 3-say=prox=evid us=mistreat=prox=neg 3say
'Medicine Track, they said, he says he didn't mistreat us.' (??)

52. Nú óⁿkʰí á=i
potato 4dig3? 3say=prox
'We dug the potatoes, she said.'

53. Óⁿshti é=tʰ’e wiuwaxa=i=tʰ’e
do-too ref=prox? 3fool4=prox=evid
'He fooled us.' (??)

54. Nú tʰ’e wéthiza=i=tʰ’e á=i.
potato the 3take3p=prox=evid 3say=prox
'He took the potatoes, she said.'

55. Nóⁿ égoⁿ shti wóⁿ=azhi á=i=tʰ’e.
well thus too 3do3-neg 3say=prox=evid
'Well, he didn't do it, she [i.e. the grandmother] said.'

56. Sigthé moⁿkʰá iⁿtʰoⁿ é=shti thé=kʰ’e wakʰéga áchoⁿ.
now he=too this=the 3sick very
'Medicine Tracks is very sick now.'

57. Moⁿxúde ithich’ach’a=chʰ’e zhá á.
ashes yours is dying=when 3lie 3say
'He's lying in the ashes, about to die, she said.'

[all laugh]

58. É íuthoⁿ amá. That's it.
ref 3tell quote
'That's what they say.'
APPENDIX B:
SITHEMAKʰOⁿ'S ADVENTURE AS A DEER
Told by Pathiʰ-Noⁿʰazhi, an Omaha. (Dorsey 1890)
Retranscribed to reflect current Omaha orthography, and arranged into numbered lines. Glosses, word divisions, sentence divisions are Dorsey's. Scan of Dorsey's original version is appendix C, below.

1. Sithémakʰ oⁿ ikóⁿ tígthe zhúgíthá-biamá ená-xchi.
   ‘Sithemakʰ dwelt alone in a lodge with his grandmother.’

2. Égithe wa’ú thábthiⁿ athé amáma.
   ‘It came to pass that three women were going (along).’

   ‘O Sithemakʰ, said they, we are going to hoe (our ground).’

4. Hiⁿ⁺! winóⁿ, thé-kʰe wákʰ eg edegóⁿ tháthuhá-xchi í’t’e hé, á-biamá ikóⁿ akʰá.
   ‘O first daughter, said she, this one lies sick and he is nearly dead to me.’

5. Thazhá-i ki doⁿ bá=i-a hé, thékʰ e, á-biamá.
   ‘If you doubt it, look at him as he is lying.’

6. Doⁿbá-bi ki maxúde kóⁿ ha kʰ édi shóⁿ-xtí ukípaᵗʰ oⁿ zóⁿ-biamá,
   ‘When they saw him, just so was he lying, turning himself by the edge of the ashes. Sithemakʰ lay crying, “Hoⁿ! hoⁿ! hoⁿ!”

7. Doⁿbá-biamá wa’ú thábthiⁿ akʰá.
   ‘The three women saw him.’

8. Hiⁿ⁺! shikóⁿ, wïⁿ kʰ e-xchi-óⁿ wa’úzhiⁿ'ga.
   ‘Oh! husband’s sister, the old woman told the exact truth.’

9. Tháthuhá-xchi t’é kʰ e, á-biamá.
   ‘He lies very nearly dead, said one.’

10. Athá-biamá wa’ú thábthiⁿ amá.
    ‘The three women departed.’
11. Óntha-biamá.
they-left-him-they-say
‘They left him.’

12. Óntha athá-bi ki Sithémak ho n ak há paho á thiátha-biamá.
leaving-him they-went-they-say when the(sub) arose suddenly-they-say
‘When they went and left him, Sithemak ho n arose suddenly.’

Grandmother that(lg.obj) spotted-fawn-skin bag hand-to-me said-he-they-say
‘Grandmother, hand to me that spotted fawn-skin bag, he said.’

gave-him suddenly-they-say
‘She tossed it to him suddenly.’

15. Sithémako nthúg a gínazhi-bi-amá, taxti gaghá-biamá.
the-whole stood-in-his-own-they-say deer made-they-say
‘Sithemak nthúg a stood in the whole of it, he became a deer.’

16. Égo thié bahó-xti tho n mó n wi n ubáx o gaghá-bi-amá,
so side middle-of-rounded-part-very the(ob) arrow one sticking-in made-they-say,
i wami gaghá-biamá.
mouth blood made-they-say
‘He made an arrow sticking right in the middle of his side; he made his mouth bloody.’

17. Nó ge go n athá-biamá.
raining so he-went-they-say
‘So he went running.’

18. Wa’ú thábthi wa’é-ma-ta ahi-biamá.
woman three those-hoeing-to arrived-they-say
‘He reached the women who were hoeing.’

19. Ho nthúg ge wa’é mo nthí-biamá wa’ú amá.
beans hoeing walked-they-say woman the(sub)
The women went along hoeing beans.’

20. Hi n+! shikó, táxti wi n the t’éthe-xtió n i thi n hé, á-biamá.
Oh! brother’s-wife deer one this badly-wounded he-is-coming . said-she-they-say
‘Oh! brother’s wife, this deer is coming badly wounded, said one.’

having-him they-went-they-say
‘They went along with it.’

22. Shó wó githe-xti wa’ú amá thixá-biamá.
and all-very woman the(sub) chased-it-they-say
‘And all the women chased it.’
23. \(\text{Athi} \text{a} \text{á} \text{bi} \text{go} \text{n} \text{ut} \text{i} \text{ki} \text{gashno} \text{gi} \text{go} \text{n}\) having-him they-went-they-say so they-hit when missed-when-it-got-to-him so \(\text{wéahidé-} \text{xti} \text{wáthi} \text{ah} \text{-biamá.}\)

far-very having-them he-arrived-they-say

‘Having gone along with it, they hit it and missed it, the weapon striking in the air. So he took them to a very great distance.’

24. \(\text{Wiubeni} \text{agí-biamá} \text{Sithémak} \text{o} \text{amá.}\)

going-round-them coming-back-they-say the(sub)

‘Going around them, Sithemak\text{o} was returning.’

25. \(\text{Agí} \text{bi} \text{egó} \text{úzhíha} \text{ginó} \text{shnudá} \text{bi} \text{egó} \text{ho} \text{bthi} \text{ge}\) coming-back-they-saying having bag pulled-off-they-saying having beans

\(\text{it} \text{égithe uzhi-biamá úzhíha k} \text{e}.\)
putting-together put-in-they-say bag the(ob.)

‘Having returned he pulled off his sack at the feet, and collecting the beans he put them in the sack.’

26. \(\text{i} \text{n} \text{thétha} \text{bi} \text{egó} \text{agthá-biamá ikó} \text{thi} \text{k} \text{é}.\)
carried suddenly-they-say having he-went-homeward-they-say his-gr.mother the(ob)

gitépe
drew-near-his-own

‘Putting it on his back suddenly, he went homeward to his grandmother, who was nearby.’

27. \(\text{Iko} \text{ë} \text{thi} \text{k} \text{é} \text{edi} \text{i} \text{ak} \text{hi} \text{-biamá.}\)
his-grandmother to-the carrying he-reached-home-they-say

‘He carried it home to his grandmother.’

28. \(\text{Ko} \text{h} \text{á} \text{há, dúak} \text{á} \text{úzhíha ánaxth ihétha-ga, á-biamá.}\)

Grandmother this-one-here sack hiding put-away said-he-say

‘Grandmother, put this sack in a hiding place, said he.’

29. \(\text{Xáde no} \text{de k} \text{éta égih íthétha-biamá, ánaxth ihétha-biamá.}\)

grass side-of-tent at-the headlong she-sent-suddenly-they-say hiding she-put-it-they-say

‘She plunged it suddenly under the grass at the side of the lodge; she put it away and hid it.’

30. \(\text{K} \text{i} \text{wi} \text{á} \text{úzhíga} \text{thambthi} \text{agí-biamá.}\)

And woman three coming-back-they-say

‘And the three women returned.’

31. \(\text{Na! wáùzhíga} \text{thitushpa ho} \text{bthi} \text{ge o} \text{ki} \text{a} \text{tö} \text{shti}\)

Why! old-woman your-grandchild beans we-hoed-for-ourselves heretofore

\(\text{wó} \text{githé-} \text{xti} \text{wé} \text{i} \text{agii} \text{h} \text{hé, á-biamá.}\)

all-very carrying-for-us was-coming-back . said-she-they-say

‘Why! old woman, your grandchild was coming back hither carrying away from us all the beans that we had been hoeing for ourselves, they said.’

32. \(\text{Hi} \text{n} \text{+} \text{wínó, o} \text{khazh-xti-o} \text{h} \text{é}.\)

Oh! first-daughter not-so-very

‘Oh! first daughter, it is not so at all.’

33. \(\text{Thék} \text{he} \text{wákége} \text{shto} \text{bait} \text{t} \text{he} \text{sho} \text{shó-xti-o} \text{h} \text{hé, á-biamá.}\)

this(lg.ob.) sick you-saw as he-continues-very . said-she-they-say

‘This one lying sick continues just as you saw him, said she.’
34. Do^n-bá-biamá ki, Hi^n+! shikó^n, wi^n-k^h-e-xti-o^n hé, náthuhá-xchi they-saw-they-say when Oh! brother’s-wife she-told-the-exact-truth. nearly-very t’ê k^hê hé, á-biamá. dead he-lies. said-she-they-say ‘When they saw him they said, Oh! brother’s wife, she told the exact truth. He lies very nearly dead.’

35. Agthá-biamá wa’ú amá. went-homeward-they-say woman the(sub) ‘The women went homeward.’

36. Ko^n-há, k^hê uhó^n-ga á-biamá. Grandmother come cook-them said-he-they-say ‘Grandmother, come, cook them, said he.’

37. Wathá^h é zhúgíthá-biamá. eating he-with-his-own-they-say ‘He ate them with her.’

38. Ko^n-há, uágasho^n bthé he á-biamá. Grandmother I-travel I-go will said-he-they-say ‘Grandmother, I will go traveling, said he.’

39. Má^h de k^hê gthíza-bi egó^n athá-biamá. bow the(ob) took-his-own-they-say having he-went-they-say ‘Having taken his bow he departed.’

40. Shó^n-xti xáde shkúbe sidúhi shkúbe údo^n-xti tho^n édi ahí-biamá. all-at-once grass deep siduhi deep good-very the(ob) there he-arrived-they-say ‘All at once he arrived at the very good and deep siduhi (deep grass).’

41. Xáde thibút ithó^n-biamá. grass he-made it-round-they-say ‘He became round, lying curled up in the grass.’

42. Shó^n-xti agthé amá. all-at-once he-went-homeward they-say ‘All at once he went homeward.’

43. Ak^h-i-bi egó^n ghagé-hno^n gáchhe thí^n-biamá. reached-home-they-say having crying-regularly made he-sat-they-say ‘Having reached home, he sat pretending to be crying.’

44. Eá^h o thagháge á, á-biamá, ikó^n ak^há. why you-cry? said-she-they-say his-grandmother the(sub) ‘Why do you cry? said his grandmother.’

45. Ó’ho^n, ko^n-há, úshko^n wi^n ó^n-bahi éde t’héxi hégazhi, yes grandmother deed one I-am-picked-out but difficult not-a-little á-biamá. said-he-they-say ‘Yes, grandmother, I am selected for a deed, but it is very difficult, said he.’
46. Edádoₙ tʰéxi ki góⁿ ushné tʰe hę, á-biamá.
What difficult if so you-tell-it will . said-she-they-say
‘If anything is difficult, still you will tell it, said she.’

47. Koⁿhá, wachághe óⁿbahí, á-biamá.
Grandmother to-dance I-am-picked-out said-he-they-say
‘Grandmother, I am selected for a dance.’

48. Éde, koⁿhá, úthaze zhúwigithe tʰe aí, á-biamá.
but grandmother to-chorus I-with-you will they-said he-said-they-say
‘But grandmother, I must take you with me to sing the chorus, said he.’

49. Áwatʰe tʰe xi góⁿ édi oⁿgáthe tʰe á-biamá wa’úzhíⁿga akʰá.
where difficult the(ob.) still there we-go will said-they-say old-woman the(sub.)
‘Let us go where the difficult thing is, said the old woman.’

50. Édi ahí-biamá ki, Koⁿhá, the éde nóⁿtʰe thishtóⁿ
there arrived-they-say when Grandmother this but dancing finished
ákʰíágtai kʰe, á-biamá.
they-have-gone- homeward said-he-they-say
‘When they arrived there he said, Grandmother, this is it, but they have finished dancing and gone
homeward.’

51. Shóⁿ-xti goⁿ móⁿ de zhiⁿga gthea-bi égóⁿ noⁿʰá-biamá.
all-at-once bow little took-his-own-they-say having he-danced-they-say
‘All at once he took his little bow and danced.’

52. Ikóⁿ thiⁿkʰé úthazá-biamá.
his-grandmother the(st.one) chorused-they-say
‘His grandmother (sitting) sang the chorus.’

53. Ikóⁿ thiⁿkʰé úthúgixá-biamá.
his-grandmother the(st.one) he-made-sport-of-his-own they-say
‘He made sport of (deceived) his grandmother.’

......

*Dorsey footnote (59,3):
“Pathiⁿ-noⁿpʰazhi said that the rest of this myth was “shameful,” so he would not tell

APPENDIX C:
Dorsey’s original, scanned.
Appendix C

SIČEMAKA’S ADVENTURE AS A DEER.

TOLD BY IČÁTÁ’I’-NAJAI, AN OMABA.

Sičemaka a'nya, nagge júgiçča-biamá ená-qtei. Egíiwa’úi čábebih.

Bótemaka, his 3 will to he with his they say alone. It happened woman three

Táča amáma. Sičemaka-a’i, wa’úe angáwe taf hé, á-biamá. Hi’é! wina’u.

Bótemaka a’i, O! to be we go will they say. Oh! first daughter they,

Čéčé wakęég edega’u čátehú-qtei in’té héká, á-biamá a’nya aká. Ča’iwi 3

Uxu’išiigda’u ja’-biamá, xagé ja’-biamá Sičemaka aká. Ha! ha! ha!

Du’bá-bá bi si maqúde si’ha ke’di ca’-qtí

Turn himself he say they crying he say they. They say they when alone 

Stótemaka the (subh.). Ha! ha! ha!

Du’bá-bí-bí wa’ú čábebi2 aká. Hi’é! ciya’a, win’ké-qtei-a’i wi’wa’uqjína. 6

They say they say woman three the (subh.). Oh! husband’s she told the great truth old woman 

Nájiwa’-qtei té ke, á-biamá. Áča-biamá wa’ú čábebi amá. A’-u-qa’-

Té very dead he lie, said they. Went they say woman three the (subh.). They left him 

Bíamá. A’u-qa’-bi si Sičemaka aká páha’u átíáa-biamá. 8

They learn them they when Bótemaka the (subh.) arose suddenly they say. They went away 

Céčé na’míí’i’egečkáhal újiha i’i’i’éga’-á-biamá. Gī’i čéga-biamá. 9

That spotted fawn skin bag hand to me said they. Gave suddenly they say. She- 

Stótemaka be’gga uginjí-wá-biamá, paqí gi’axá-biamá. Ega’u čéi ba’ha’-qtí

The whole stood in his own they, deer made they say. So side middle of very 

Wa’u ra’u wi’ubáxá’u gi’axá-biamá, i wamí gi’axá-biamá. Na’íi-ga’a

The arrow one sticking made they say, mouth blood made they say. Running so 

A’uqá-biamá Wa’ú čábebi’u wa’éc-ma’-ta ahi-biamá Ha’bèi’i’ge wa’éc ma’egi’u. 12

He went they say. Woman three these boxes to arrived they say. Biamá having walked 

Bíamá wa’ú amá. Hi’é! ciya’a, paqí wi’u té’te’qta’i’i èi’hi héká, á-biamá.

They say woman the (subh.). Oh! brother’s doer one this badly wounded he came 

He said they say, 

she.
THE CHEYEA LANGUAGE—MYTHS, STORIES, AND LETTERS.

Aği‘iwa ačá-biamá. Ca‘iwa waŋgi‘iče-quito wa‘ú amá čeqá-biamá. Aği‘iwa ačá-bi him they went, they say. And all very woman the (sub.) chosed it, they say. Having they went him they say.

gna‘u uti‘u wa na‘na‘u waša‘i-quito wa‘úi‘u ahi‘biamá. Wiubeni aği‘i got to him so they hit when missed when it so far very having he arrived, they say. Going round coming them back.

3 biamá Sicémaka‘i amá. Aği‘iwa egna‘u újija gina‘u onudá-bi egna‘u ha‘bëińge they say hice‘maka‘i the (sub.). Coming back, having bug pulled off they having beans they say.

itėgi‘iče uji‘biamá újija ké. ‘I‘i‘i čeqa‘i bi egna‘u agns‘i-quito aqsa‘i čeqe together put in they say bug the Carried and they having he went they say, his the (ob.) homeward grandmother deely say.

gišučé. Izai‘i čeqe‘di ‘i‘u aki‘biamá. Ya‘há, dúaka újija anaqíté draw near his to the carrying he reached home. Grand- this one sack hiding his own, grandmother.

6 ihéča-gá, á-biamá. Qáde nan‘de k‘a áegi‘i ičeqa‘i-biamá, anaqíté ihéča‘i put away, said they say. Grass side of tent at the homestead where they say, hiding she put it suddenly they say.


aŋxai‘u ega‘u eti‘waŋgi’i-quito wé‘i‘u agi‘i té he, á-biamá. Hi‘i! wínna‘u, we heed for ourselves herefore all very carrying was coming, said they say. Oh! first daughter, she said they say.

9 aŋxai‘u-quito-a‘i hé. Čeqé wakége ega‘u bai té ca‘uca‘u-quito-a‘i hé, á-biamá. not so very ‘I‘i‘u very This sick you saw as he continuos very they say. She said they say.

Da‘há-biamá xi‘i. Hi‘i‘u ciwa‘u, wé‘i‘u-quito-a‘i hé, náčuńa‘qtei té ke hé, They saw they say when, Oh! brother’s she told the exact truth, nearly very dead he lies.

á-biamá. Agé‘i-biamá wa‘ú amá. Ya‘há, ké, uharn‘ga, á-biamá. she said they say. Want woman the (sub.). Grandmother, come, cook them, they say. Said they say.

12 Wáča‘i júgičeqa‘i-biamá. Ya‘há, úgaca‘i béč te, á-biamá. Man‘de ké Eating he with his they say. Grandmother, I travel I go will said they say. How he the they say. (ob.)

giśza‘i-quito ačá-biamá. Ca‘iwa-quito quáde ekvé sé díui ekvé úda‘-quito took his they having he went, they say. All at once Grass deep deep side Grass very good very they say. (ob.)

gai‘u čdi ahi‘biamá. quáde čińu ‘ińu‘-biamá. Ca‘iwa-quito agé‘i amá. Ak‘i the there he they say. Grass he made it round they say. All at once he went they say. Reached home the homeward.

15 bi egna‘u xágé-haa‘u gaxé gai‘u-biamá. Etá‘u čaxáge ‘i, á-biamá iya‘u they having crying regularly made they say. Why you cry I said they say his grandmother she.

aká. A‘wai‘u, ya‘há, účka‘u wi‘a‘u bahi ‘éde téqí ‘héga‘jí, á-biamá. Edáá‘u Yes, grand-deed one I am picked but difficult not a little, they say. What he the (sub.)
téqí ‘i‘u gna‘u uné te hé, á-biamá. Ya‘há, wačiťga‘e a‘u‘bahi, á-biamá. the difficult if so you tell it will they say. Said they say. Grandmother, to dance I am picked out, she said they say.

18 Éde, ya‘há, účazer júgičeqe te a‘i, á-biamá. Áwate téqí ‘i‘u gna‘u čdi But grandmother, to changes I with you will they he they say. Where difficult the still there she said, said (ob.)

angúče te, á-biamá wa‘újinya aká. É‘di ahi‘biamá xi‘i, ya‘há, če čéde we go will, said, they say old woman the (sub.). There arrived, they say when, Grandmother, this but
Sičemaka's Adventure as a Deer.

Na"te čičta" ákiágéai ke, á-biamá. Ca"'-qti ga" man’dé jin'ga geža-đanog finished they have gone said, they say. All at once bow little took his own bi ega" na"tá-biamá. iyá" čiňké účazá-biamá. iyá" čiňké utúquiá-they having he danced they say. His grand- the chorused they say. His grand- the he made spurt mother (st. one) he mother (st. one) of his own biamá.

they say.

NOTES.

Sanssonei said that Maketiŋe-i, the Rabbit, was Sičemaka". The latter name cannot be translated, the meaning being unknown.

57, 9. ʔaŋniŋčiŋčaka, t. e., ʔaqui jünga, ha ké gêje, the spotted skin of a fawn.
57, 10. ʔi̊é bahá"-u, the projecting part of the side of an animal. The side of a human being cannot have this term applied to it.
58, 2. utí' gačanamgí to strike at an object, missing it when the weapon reaches it.
58, 3. ujiha ginačundu-bi, he pulled off his skin (or sack) by the feet.
58, 4. i'u čęża-bi, he put it on his back suddenly. Gipade shows that his lodge was near the place where he stole the beans.
58, 8. The reply of the old woman to the three was in a quawing voice.
58, 13. sidíhi. See Dictionary.
58, 14. Qade čibu' ita"-biamá. F. La Fleche read, Qáde ke'či čibu' ita"-biamá: Grass, on the, he became round (by pulling his legs and body together as he lay down).
58, 16. a'bahi, from bahi, to pick up, gather up; used here instead of a'sa'ha, I am selected.
59, 3. ʔaqui-na"paft said that the rest of this myth was "shameful," so he would not tell it.

TRANSLATION.

Sičemaka" dwelt alone in a lodge with his grandmother. It came to pass that three women were going (along). "O Sičemaka" said they, "we are going to hoe (our ground)." "Oh! first daughter, this one lies sick and he is nearly dead to me," said his grandmother. "If you doubt it, look at him as he is lying." When they saw him, just so was he lying, turning himself by the edge of the ashes. Sičemaka" lay crying, "Ha! ha! ha!" The three women saw him. "Oh! husband's sister, the old woman told the exact truth. He lies very nearly dead," said one. The three women departed. They left him. When they went and left him, Sičemaka" arose suddenly. "Grandmother, hand to me that spotted fawn-skin bag," he said. She tossed it to him suddenly. Sičemaka" stood in the whole of it, he became a deer. He made an arrow sticking right in the middle of his side; he made his mouth bloody. So he went running. He reached the women who were hoeing. The women went along hoeing beans. "Oh! brother's wife, this deer is coming badly wounded," said one. They went along with it. And all the women chased it. Having gone along with it, they hit at it and missed it, the weapon striking in the air. So he took them to a very great distance. Going around them Sičemaka" was returning. Having returned he pulled off his sack at the feet, and collecting the beans he put them in the sack. Putting it on his back suddenly, he went homeward to his grandmother, who was near by. He carried it home to his grandmother. "Grandmother, put this sack in a hiding-place," said he. She plunged it suddenly under the grass at
the side of the lodge; she put it away and hid it. And the three women returned
"Why! old woman, your grandchild was coming back hither carrying away from us all the beans that we had been hoeing for ourselves," they said. "Oh! first daughter, it is not so at all. This one lying sick continues just as you saw him," said she. When they saw him they said, "Oh! brother's wife, she told the exact truth. He lies very nearly dead." The women went homeward. "Grandmother, come, cook them," said he. He ate them with her. "Grandmother, I will go traveling," said he. Having taken his bow he departed. All at once he arrived at the very good and deep sidhú (deep grass). He became round, lying curled up in the grass. All at once he went homeward. Having reached home, he sat pretending to be crying. "Why do you cry?" said his grandmother. "Yes, grandmother, I am selected for a deed, but it is very difficult," said he. "If anything is difficult, still you will tell it," said she. "Grandmother, I am selected for a dance. But, grandmother, I must take you with me to sing the chorus," said he. "Let us go where the difficult thing is," said the old woman. When they arrived there he said, "Grandmother, this is it, but they have finished dancing and gone homeward." All at once he took his little bow and danced. His grandmother (sitting) sang the chorus. He made sport of (deceived) his grandmother.

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**ICTINIKE, THE TURKEYS, TURTLE, AND ELK.**

**TOLD BY JACIT-NAPALI.**

Zizika d'úba ődl ăma má hégacte wá'ji. Ma' xéde ma' ciadí qtí ma' sa-
Turkey something there were, they by no means a few. Grounds edge very high straw.
qtí ma' tadi qtí wabál' amáma Ictinike amá cdi Éc amá Wé'nah bi ega
wood altogether within they were feeding, they say.
3 ca' qtí bamamáxe qáa aghí- biamá. Esta' áma wi beát étéda, Éc ega' bi
at once bending his head back he was coming, repeatedly again they say.
ega' wé'cigea gaxá- biamá. Ca' qtí mixá-ha wáii' beta' na' bi ega' ri'
having decision he made they say. At once raccoon-skin robe rolled up several times, they say.
gaxá- biamá. I' bi ega' ca' qtí ma' ci' biamá. Zizika wabál' ma
they say. Carried, having at once he ran they say. Turkey feeding the enes
6 wéna'ú- qtei ta' ci' biamá. Wuhu! i c'áge 'a'g' ega
passing close by he ran they say. Wuhu! old man something is the matter.
Zizika amá. Ná! i c'áge 'a'w' di te, á-biamá. A' xá, éga' qti- a', á-biamá
Turkey the thing. Why! venerable something may be the matter they say.
Ictinike aká. Ta' wángxá d'úba éwéqsa te aí éga, an' gui-ahí éga
Village some I sang for them will say having come for me having
9 wa' in' te aghí' xá, á- biamá. Uhul! i c'áge, angú eti a' na' t éga
song the I have been carrying indeed, said they say. Oho! venerable we too we dance some