

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, “Sithemak^hoⁿ’s Adventure as a Deer,” told by an Omaha named Pathiⁿ-Noⁿp^hazhi. (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, Sithémak^hoⁿ (or Sigthémoⁿk^hoⁿ, 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 sithé sounds close to sigthé ‘footstep, track’ and mak^hoⁿ sounds close to moⁿk^hoⁿ, 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 Sithémak^hoⁿ 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 Sigthémoⁿk^hoⁿ 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 Sithémak^hoⁿ 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 taperecorder, 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 Pathiⁿ-Noⁿp^hazhi 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.)

8. Hiⁿ+! shikóⁿ, wíⁿk^he-xchi-óⁿ wa’úzhiⁿga.
Oh! husband’s-sister she-told-the-exact-truth old-woman
32. Hiⁿ+! 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 *t^he* 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 *t^he* 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*ⁿ 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. Moⁿxúde ithích'ach'a-ch^he zhóⁿ á.
ashes yours-is-dying-when 3lie 3say
'He's lying in the ashes, about to die, she said.'
54. Nú t^he wéthiza-i-t^he á-i.
potato the 3take3p-P-evid 3say-P
'He took the potatoes, she said.'
55. Nóⁿ égoⁿ shti wóⁿ-azhi á-i-t^he.
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: *Hiⁿ+!* 'Oh!' (5 times, in 4, 8, 20, 32, 34) and *Na!* 'Why!' (line 31), the sound of crying *Hoⁿ hoⁿ hoⁿ* (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 Pathiⁿ-Noⁿp^hazhi'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^hoⁿ addresses his grandmother as *koⁿhá* virtually every time he speaks to her, and the other characters address each other as *winoⁿ*, *shikoⁿ*, and *wa'ú zhiⁿgá*, and *Sithémak^hoⁿ*. 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. Doⁿbá-biamá wa'ú thá**b**thiⁿ ak^há.
they-saw-him-they-say woman three the(sub)
'The three women saw him.'

1. Sithémak^hoⁿ ikóⁿ tígthe zhúgigthá-biamá ená-x**chi**.
his-grandmother dwelt-in-a-lodge he-with-his-own-they-say alone
'Sithémak^hoⁿ dwelt alone in a lodge with his grandmother.'

MC: 18. É athá-i-t^he wa'ú noⁿbá ama.
ref 3go-there-P-evid woman two the
'The two women went there.'

28. Thé ama wa'ú noⁿbá ama athá-i-t^he 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-moⁿk^hóⁿ ama thé ama táxti hí xóⁿ gágha.**
 the this the deer leg broken made
 'Medicine Tracks acted like a crippled deer.'

12. **Égi ... Égoⁿ thé ak^ha níkashiⁿga ak^ha núzhiⁿga ak^ha égoⁿ-i-t^he.**
 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:

28. **Koⁿhá, dúak^ha úzhiha ánoxth ihétha-ga, á-biamá.**
 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* (*koⁿhá* instead of *koⁿhó*) in Dorsey version.

*habitual *-hnoⁿ* in Dorsey becomes *-noⁿ* 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

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- Rudin, Catherine. 1993. Articles and the Structure of NP in Omaha. In Evan Smith and Flore Zephir, eds. *Proceedings of the 1992 Mid-America Linguistics Conference and Conference of Siouan-Caddoan Languages*. Columbia: University of Missouri. 361-371.
- 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. Wí ithápahoⁿ=mazhi ezhegóⁿ uthá=egoⁿ anóⁿ'oⁿ t^he goⁿ ubthá=ta=miⁿk^he.
 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 dshtóⁿ=t^hé.

story maybe=evid

'Maybe it's just a fairy tale.'

[híga = story, fairytale; not necessarily true.]

3. Égi wa'ú zhiⁿgá wíⁿ égithe núzhiⁿ[ga] itúshpa tígthe
 finally woman small one finally boy her-grandchild 3live
 zhúgigtha=i=t^he.
 3together=prox=evid
 'An old woman lived with her grandson.'
4. Itúshpa tígthe zhúgigtha=i=t^he [ki é].
 her-grandchild 3live 3together=prox=evid ?
 'She lived with her grandson.'
5. Góⁿki wa'ú ázhi nóⁿba edí=t^he.
 and woman different two there=evid
 'There were two other women there.'
6. Wóⁿdoⁿ ishíkoⁿ k^híthe=nóⁿ=i=t^he.
 both sister-in-law 3called=usually=prox=evid
 'She called them both sister in law.'
7. Ishíkoⁿ k^hítha=i=t^he.
 sister-in-law 3call=prox=evid
 'She called them sister in law.'
8. Égithe óⁿba wíⁿ égithe...
 finally day one finally
 'And then one day...'
9. Thé ak^há níkashiⁿga wa'ú zhiⁿgá ak^há itúshpa tígthe zhúgigthe ak^há
 this the person woman small the her-grandson 3live 3together the
 Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ izházhe athíⁿ=i=t^he.
 track medicine name 3has3=prox=evid
 'The man, the old woman's grandson who lived with her, was named Medicine Tracks.'
10. Níkashiⁿga amá águdi=shte gá t^he íⁿch^hoⁿ xti dshtí awánoⁿoⁿ=noⁿ=moⁿ.
 person the wherever that the now very ? 1hear3=usually=I
 'That person, I hear people saying this about him everywhere.'
11. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ, sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ gággha=i=t^he, é awánoⁿoⁿ=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 ak^há níkashiⁿga ak^há núzhiⁿga ak^há égoⁿ=i=t^he.
 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 núgthe pahóⁿga=di núgthe é=noⁿ
 these the woman two the wild-potato first=at potato 3dig=usually
 égoⁿ [égoⁿ=t^he ?]
 thus thus=evid?
 'These two women used to dig wild potatoes in the old days. (It was like that??)'
14. Oⁿshke núgthe é thé=wathe é=t^he 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 thishikoⁿ 'your sister-in-law' ?)
 ? is this vocative??
16. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ é móⁿghe=wathe á=i.
 ref ask=lets 3say=prox
 'Let's ask Medicine Tracks [to go with us] they said.'
17. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ zhúgthe thé=wathe á=i.
 together go=let's 3say=prox
 'Let's go with Medicine Tracks, they said.'
18. É athá=i=t^he wa'ú noⁿbá amá.
 ref 3go-there=prox=evid woman two the
 'The two women went there.'
19. Édi wa'ú zhiⁿgá thiⁿk^hé di ahí=bi, wa'ú zhiⁿgá thiⁿk^hé.
 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. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ ak^há shé amá wa'ú noⁿbá amá a=i=i ha
 the those the woman two the 3come=prox decl
 á=i=[t^he].
 3say=prox=evid
 'Medicine Tracks said "those two women are coming".'
21. Awák^hetá=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. Noⁿ shi úwagitha=ga oⁿwóⁿk^héga áchHoⁿ 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. Egoⁿ shti wázhe ki shóⁿ.
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^há Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ ak^há wak^héga gággha zhóⁿ=i.
this the the 3sick 3do3 3lie=prox
'Medicine Tracks was lying down pretending to be sick.'
25. Wa'ú zhiⁿgá ak^há úwagitha=i.
woman small the 3tell3=prox
'The old woman told them.'
26. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ ak^há ú... wak^héga ehé á=i=t^he.
the wound? 3sick 1say? 3say=prox=evid
'Medicine Tracks says he is sick, she said.'
27. Wak^héga achóⁿ egóⁿ zhúthigthe athé=t^he thí'a=ta=ak^há 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 noⁿbá amá athá=i=t^he 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^há Sigthé Moⁿk^hóⁿ ak^há é=shti ukígthi'aga=i.
this the the ref=too 3lazy=prox
'Medicine Tracks was lazy.'
30. Wathígthoⁿ gággha=i=t^he.
mind 3did=prox=evid
'He made up his mind.'
31. I thé amá nú wóⁿdoⁿ úzhiha athíⁿ.
? those the potato both sack 3have
'Those [ones] both had sacks [for] potatoes.'

32. Úzhiha gthé wóⁿdoⁿ thége wiⁿdé=t^hoⁿ=ha ná akítthe ha nú
 sack upright? both these half=extent= ? both-of-them ? potato
 núgthe k^he 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 wiⁿdé=t^hoⁿ=ha goⁿ athá=i=t^he.
 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 moⁿk^hóⁿ ak^há wa'ú noⁿbá amá gát^hoⁿdi úzhiha
 the woman two the by-now sack
 ugípi=kítha=i=t^he.
 3fill3=refl-cause=prox=evid
 'Medicine Tracks [said] by now the two women must have filled their sacks.'
35. Hiⁿdé (e)dí bthé=te á=i.
 let's-see there 1go=fut 3say=prox
 'I'll go there, he said.'
36. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ amá édi athá=i.
 the there 3go=prox
 'Medicine Tracks went over there.'
37. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ amá thé amá táxti hí xóⁿ gágha.
 the this the deer leg broken made
 'Medicine Tracks acted like a crippled deer.'
38. Wahíthage shti thé amá éthoⁿba édi ahí
 lame very that the too there 3arrived
 'He came there pretending to be lame.'
39. Thé amá wa'ú noⁿbá amá thé Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ é=t^he íbahoⁿ=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 nóⁿp^ha
 deer this 3afraid
 'They were afraid of the deer.'

41. Égi thé amá wa'ú noⁿbá amá óⁿha=i=t^he
so these the woman two the 3flee=prox=evid
'So the two women ran away.'
42. Thé k^he nú á t shóⁿ e dshtóⁿ.
these the potato (at^hashoⁿ??) ref must-be
'They left the potatoes behind.' (?)
43. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ amá thé t^he wa'ú noⁿbá amá nú t^he óⁿtha athá=i
the that the woman two the potato the 3left3 3go3=prox
t^hedi=ki, Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ [b] thíza egoⁿ éiⁿ agthá=i=t^he.
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. Athíⁿ agthá=i.
3have3 go-back=prox
'He took them home.'
45. Égi ikóⁿ thiⁿk^hé=ta athíⁿ ak^hi=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=t^he.
woman two the 3arrive-back-here maybe=fut=the 3say=prox=evid
'Those two women may come back here, he said.'
47. Úwagitha=ga shé oⁿwóⁿk^hega thoⁿdí thaz[ə]m[ə].
tell-them=imp that? 1sick ?
'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 shé oⁿwóⁿk^hega shét^hoⁿ=noⁿ íudoⁿ=moⁿ=zhi 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. Oⁿwóⁿk^he=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 ak^hi(=t^he)
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 zhiⁿgá thiⁿk^hé uítha=i=t^he.
 woman small the 3tell3=prox=evid
 'They told the old lady something.'
51. Sigthé moⁿk^hóⁿ amá á=i=t^he 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 óⁿk^hi á=i
 potato 4dig3? 3say=prox
 'We dug the potatoes, she said.'
53. Óⁿshti é=t^he wíuwaxa=i=t^he
 do-too ref=prox? 3fool4=prox=evid
 'He fooled us.' (?)
54. Nú t^he wéthiza=i=t^he á=i.
 potato the 3take3p=prox=evid 3say=prox
 'He took the potatoes, she said.'
55. Nóⁿ égoⁿ shti wóⁿ=azhi á=i=t^he.
 well thus too 3do3-neg 3say=prox=evid
 'Well, he didn't do it, she [i.e. the grandmother] said.'
56. Sigthé moⁿk^há íⁿt^hoⁿ é=shti thé=k^he wak^héga áchoⁿ.
 now he=too this=the 3sick very
 'Medicine Tracks is very sick now.'
57. Moⁿxúde ithích'ach'a=ch^he 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.'

11. Óⁿtha-biamá.
they-left-him-they-say
'They left him.'
12. Óⁿtha athá-bi ki Sithémak^hoⁿ ak^há pahoⁿ áthiátha-biamá.
leaving-him they-went-they-say when the(sub) arose suddenly-they-say
'When they went and left him, Sithemak^hoⁿ arose suddenly.'
13. Koⁿhá, thé-k^he tashníⁿgthishkahá úzhiha íⁿ'ithá-ga á-biamá.
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.'
14. Gí'i thétha-biama.
gave-him suddenly-they-say
'She tossed it to him suddenly.'
15. Sithémakoⁿ bthúga ugínazhíⁿ-bi-amá, taxti gaghá-biamá.
the-whole stood-in-his-own-they-say deer made-they-say
'Sithemak^hoⁿ stood in the whole of it, he became a deer.'
16. Égoⁿ thié bahóⁿ-xti thoⁿ móⁿ wiⁿ ubáxoⁿ gaghá-bi-amá,
so side middle-of-rounded-part-very the(ob) arrow one sticking-in made-they-say,
i wamí 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. Nóⁿge goⁿ athá-biamá.
running so he-went-they-say
'So he went running.'
18. Wa'ú thábthiⁿ wa'é-ma-ta ahí-biamá.
woman three those-hoeing-to arrived-they-say
'He reached the women who were hoeing.'
19. Hoⁿbthíⁿge wa'é móⁿthíⁿ-biamá wa'ú amá.
beans hoeing walked-they-say woman the(sub)
'The women went along hoeing beans.'
20. Hiⁿ+! shikóⁿ, táxti wiⁿ the t'éthe-xtióⁿ í thiⁿ 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.'
21. Athíⁿ athá-biamá.
having-him they-went-they-say
'They went along with it.'
22. Shóⁿ wóⁿgithe-xti wa'ú amá thixá-biamá.
and all-very woman the(sub) chased-it-they-say
'And all the women chased it.'

23. Athíⁿ athá-bi góⁿ ut^hiⁿ ki gashnóⁿgi góⁿ
 having-him they-went-they-say so they-hit when missed-when-it-got-to-him so
 wéahidé-xti wáthiⁿ ahí-biamá.
 far-very having-them he-arrived-they-say
 ‘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.’
24. Wíubeni agí-biamá Sithémak^hoⁿ amá.
 going-round-them coming-back-they-say the(sub)
 ‘Going around them, Sithemak^hoⁿ was returning.’
25. Agí-bi egóⁿ úzhiha ginóⁿshnudá-bi egóⁿ hoⁿbthiⁿge
 coming-back-they-say having bag pulled-off-they-say having beans
 it^hégithe uzhi-biamá úzhiha k^he.
 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. ‘íⁿ thétha-bi egóⁿ agthá-biamá ikóⁿ thiⁿk^hé.
 carried suddenly-they-say having he-went-homeward-they-say his-gr.mother the(ob)
 gitápe
 drew-near-his-own
 ‘Putting it on his back suddenly, he went homeward to his grandmother, who was nearby.’
27. Ikóⁿ thiⁿk^hedi ‘íⁿ ak^hi-biamá.
 his-grandmother to-the carrying he-reached-home-they-say
 ‘He carried it home to his grandmother.’
28. Koⁿhá, dúak^ha úzhiha ánoxth ihétha-ga, á-biamá.
 Grandmother this-one-here sack hiding put-away said-he-they-say
 ‘Grandmother, put this sack in a hiding place, said he.’
29. Xáde noⁿde k^héta égih ithétha-biamá, ánoxth 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. K^hi wa’ú thábthiⁿ agí-biamá.
 And woman three coming-back-they-say
 ‘And the three women returned.’
31. Na! wa’úziⁿga thitúshpa hoⁿbthiⁿge oⁿkí’ai tóⁿshti
 Why! old-woman your-grandchild beans we-hoed-for-ourselves heretofore
 wóⁿgithé-xti wé’iⁿ agí t^he 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. Hiⁿ+! winóⁿ, óⁿkazhí-xti-oⁿ hé.
 Oh! first-daughter not-so-very
 ‘Oh! first daughter, it is not so at all.’
33. Thék^he wak^hége shtóⁿbai t^he shoⁿshóⁿ-xti-oⁿ 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. Doⁿbá-biamá ki, Hiⁿ+! shikóⁿ, wíⁿk^he-xti-oⁿ hé, náthuhá-xchi
 they-saw-they-say when Oh! brother's-wife she-told-the-exact-truth . nearly-very
 t'é k^he 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. Koⁿhá, k^hé uhóⁿ-ga á-biamá.
 Grandmother come cook-them said-he-they-say
 'Grandmother, come, cook them, said he.'
37. Wathát^he zhúgigthá-biamá.
 eating he-with-his-own-they-say
 'He ate them with her.'
38. Koⁿhá, uágashoⁿ bthé t^he á-biamá.
 Grandmother I-travel I-go will said-he-they-say
 'Grandmother, I will go traveling, said he.'
39. Máⁿde k^he gthíza-bi egóⁿ athá-biamá.
 bow the(ob) took-his-own-they-say having he-went-they-say
 'Having taken his bow he departed.'
40. Shóⁿ-xti xáde shkúbe sidúhi shkúbe údoⁿ-xti thoⁿ 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 ithóⁿ-biamá.
 grass he-made it-round-they-say
 'He became round, lying curled up in the grass.'
42. Shóⁿ-xti agthé amá.
 all-at-once he-went-homeward they-say
 'All at once he went homeward.'
43. Ak^hi-bi egóⁿ ghagé-hnoⁿ gághe thíⁿ-biamá.
 reached-home-they-say having crying-regularly made he-sat-they-say
 'Having reached home, he sat pretending to be crying.'
44. Eát^hoⁿ thagháge á, á-biamá, ikóⁿ ak^há.
 why you-cry ? said-she-they-say his-grandmother the(sub)
 'Why do you cry? said his grandmother.'
45. Óⁿhoⁿ, koⁿhá, úshkoⁿ wiⁿ óⁿbahi 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 t^héxi ki góⁿ ushné t^he hé, 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, wachígaghe óⁿbahi, á-biamá.
 Grandmother to-dance I-am-picked-out said-he-they-say
 ‘Grandmother, I am selected for a dance..’
48. Éde, koⁿhá, úthaze zhúwigíthe t^he 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. Áwat^he t^héxi t^he góⁿ édi oⁿgáthe t^he á-biamá wa’úzhiⁿga ak^há.
 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 nóⁿt^he thistóⁿ
 there arrived-they-say when Grandmother this but dancing finished
 ák^híághai k^he, 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 móⁿde zhíⁿga gthíza-bi egóⁿ nóⁿt^há-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 thiⁿk^hé úthazá-biamá.
 his-grandmother the(st.one) chorused-they-say
 ‘His grandmother (sitting) sang the chorus.’
53. Ikóⁿ thiⁿk^hé uthúgixá-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-noⁿp^hazhi said that the rest of this myth was “shameful,” so he would not tell

APPENDIX C:

Dorsey’s original, scanned.

Appendix C

Dorsey 1890

SIĀEMAKA'S ADVENTURE AS A DEER.

57

to bring the drums hither for me." And on that day Ictinike had put on a very bad and worn-out piece of an old tent-skin. And he had worn the clothing of the Rabbit's son, but he was about to give it back to him. And he kicked off all (*i. e.*, the Rabbit kicked off what he had on, Ictinike's former clothing.) "Take that your own again in order to wear it," said the Rabbit's son. And he gave it to him. The Rabbit took that, his own. Having put it on, he stood in his own (clothing), he also put on (his) moccasins. And the Rabbit's son having caused them to beat the drums, sent Ictinike up high in the air. And when he reached a distant point, he caused him to come back falling thence. And Ictinike died by falling.

SIĀEMAKA'S ADVENTURE AS A DEER.

TOLD BY ḐAḐIⁿ-NAⁿPAJĪ, AN OMAHA.

SiĀemakaⁿ iġaⁿ ūgġe júgigġá-biamá ená-qtcī. Égġe wa'ú ġábġiⁿ
 SiĀemakaⁿ his dwellt in he with his they say alone. It happened woman three
 grandmother a lodge own

aġe amáma. SiĀemakaⁿ-é, wa'é aṅgáġe taí hé, á-biamá. Hiⁿ+! winaⁿ,
 were going, they say. SiĀemakaⁿ O! to hoc we go will said they say. Oh! first daughter
 they,

ġéġe wakég edegaⁿ ġáġuhá-qtcī iⁿ't'e hé, á-biamá iġaⁿ aká. ġajái ġi 3
 this sick but nearly dead to said, they say his the You doubt if
 (lg. ob.) me grandmother (sub.).

daⁿbái-á hé, ġéġe, á-biamá. Daⁿbá-bi ġi maġúde ġaⁿ'ha kġ'di caⁿ'-qti
 look at him this the said they say. They saw they when ashes edge by the just so
 (lg. ob.) she him say

uġġdataⁿ jaⁿ'-biamá, xagé jaⁿ'-biamá SiĀemakaⁿ aká, Haⁿ! haⁿ! haⁿ!
 turning himself he lay they say, crying he lay they say SiĀemakaⁿ the (sub.), Haⁿ! haⁿ! haⁿ!
 he lay they say, crying he lay they say

Daⁿbá-biamá wa'ú ġábġiⁿ aká. Hiⁿ+! ġiġaⁿ, wiⁿ'kġ-qtcī-aⁿ wa'újġnga. 6
 They saw they say woman three the (sub.). Oh! husband's she told the exact truth old woman.
 him sister,

ġáġuha-qtcī t'é k'é, á-biamá. Aġá-biamá wa'ú ġábġiⁿ amá. Aⁿ'ġa-
 Nearly very dead he lies, said, they say. Went they say woman three the (sub.). They left
 him

biamá. Aⁿ'ġa aġá-bi ġi SiĀemakaⁿ aká páhaⁿ átiáġa-biamá. ġaⁿ'há,
 they say. Leaving him they they when SiĀemakaⁿ the (sub.) arose suddenly they say. Grand-
 went say mother.

ġéġe ġaoniⁿ'ġeġkahá újġa iⁿ'ġá-gá á-biamá. ġí'í ġéġa-biamá. Siġe- 9
 that spotted fawn skin bag hand to me said they say. Gave suddenly they say. Siġe-
 (lg. ob.) he, him

makaⁿ bġúga uġġinajiⁿ'-biamá, ġáqti gaxá-biamá. Égaⁿ ġié bahaⁿ'-qti
 makaⁿ the whole stood in his own they say, deer made they say. So side middle of very
 rounded part

ġaⁿ maⁿ' wiⁿ ubáxaⁿ gaxá-biamá, i wamí gaxá-biamá. Naⁿ'ge gaⁿ
 the arrow one sticking in made they say, mouth blood made they say. Running so
 (ob.)

aġá-biamá Wa'ú ġábġiⁿ wa'é-ma-ġa ahí-biamá Haⁿbġiⁿ'ge wa'é maⁿ'ġiⁿ- 12
 he went, they say. Woman three those hoeing to arrived they say. Beans hoeing walked
 they say woman the (sub.). Oh! brother's deer one this badly wounded he is com- said they say.
 wife ing she

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- Açi^{n'} aça-biamá. Ca^{n'} wañ'giçë-qtı wa'ú amá çiqa-biamá. Açi^{n'} aça-bi
Having they went, they say. And all very woman the (sub.) chased it, they say. Having they went
him them they say.
- ga^{n'} uti^{n'} xı gaona^{n'}gi ga^{n'} wéahidë'-qtı wáçi^{n'} ahı-biamá. Wıubeni agı-
so they hit when missed when it so far very having he arrived, they say. Going round coming
got to him them say. them back
- 3 biamá Siçémaka^{n'} amá. Agı-bi ega^{n'} újiha gina^{n'}onudá-bi ega^{n'} ha^{n'}bçin'ge
they say Siçémaka^{n'} the (sub.). Coming back, having bag pulled off they having beans
they say say
- itëgiçë ujı-biamá újiha kë. 'In' çéça-bi ega^{n'} agçá-biamá ixa^{n'} çin'ké
putting put in they say bag the Carried sud- they having he went they say. his the (ob.)
together (ob.) deny say homeward grandmother
- giádë. İxa^{n'} çin'ké'di 'in' akı-biamá. Xa^{n'}há, dúaka újiha ánaçq
drew near His to the carrying he reached home. Grand- this one sack hiding
his own. grandmother they say. mother, here
- 6 ihéça-gä, á-biamá. Qáde nan'de ké'ıa égih içéça-biamá, ánaçq ihéça-
put away, said they say. Grass side of tent at the headlong she sent they say, hiding she put it
he suddenly
- biamá. Kı wa'ú çábçi^{n'} agı-biamá. Nâ! wa'újınga çiúcpa ha^{n'}bçin'ge
they say. And woman three coming back, Why! old woman your grand-
they say. child beans
- añı'ai çá^{n'}ctı wañ'gicë'-qtı wé'in' agı të hé, á-biamá. Hi^{n'}! wina^{n'},
we heed for heretofore all very carrying was coming said, they say. Oh! first
ourselves she back daughter,
- 9 añ'kajı'-qtı-a^{n'} hé. Çékë wakége cta^{n'}bai të ca^{n'}ca^{n'}-qtı-a^{n'} hé, á-biamá.
not so very This sick you saw as he continues very said they say.
(lg. ob.) (lg. ob.) she
- Da^{n'}bá-biamá xı, Hi^{n'}! ciça^{n'}, wiñ'kë-qtı-a^{n'} hé, náçuhá-qtı t'é ke hé,
They saw they say when, Oh! brother's she told the exact truth nearly very dead he lies
wife,
- á-biamá. Agçá-biamá wa'ú amá. Xa^{n'}há, ké, uhan'-gä, á-biamá.
said they say. Went they say woman the (sub.). Grandmother, come, cook them, said they say.
she homeward he
- 12 Waçáte júgigçá-biamá Xa^{n'}há, uágaca^{n'} bçé te, á-biamá. Man'dë kë
Eating he with his they say. Grandmother, I travel I go will said they say. Bow the
own (ob.)
- gçıza-bi ega^{n'} aça-biamá. Ca^{n'}-qtı qáde ckúbe sidúhi ckúbe úda^{n'}-qtı
took his they having he went, they say. All at once grass deep siduhi deep good very
own say
- çá^{n'} é'di ahı-biamá. Qáde çibú iça^{n'}-biamá. Ca^{n'}-qtı agçé amá. Akı-
the there he they say. Grass he made it round they say. All at once he went they say. Reached
(ob.) arrived homeward home
- 15 bi ega^{n'} xagé-hna^{n'} gáxe gçi^{n'}-biamá. Eáta^{n'} çaxáge á, á-biamá ixa^{n'}
they having crying regu- made he sat they say. Why you cry ? said they say his grand-
sary mother
- aká. A^{n'}ha^{n'}, xa^{n'}há, úcka^{n'} wi^{n'} a^{n'}bahi éde téqi hégajı, á-biamá. Edáda^{n'}
the Yes, grand- deed one I am picked but difficult not a little, said, they say. What
(sub.) mother, out he
- téqi xı ga^{n'} uoné te hé, á-biamá. Xa^{n'}há, wacığaxe a^{n'}bahi, á-biamá.
difficult if so you tell it will said, they say. Grandmother, to dance I am picked said, they say.
she out, he
- 18 Éde, xa^{n'}há, úçaze júwigigçé te aí, á-biamá. Áwate téqi të ga^{n'} é'di
But grandmother, to chorus I with you will they he they say. Where difficult the still there
said, said (ob.)
- añgáçe té, á-biamá wa'újınga aká. É'di ahı-biamá xı, xa^{n'}há, çé éde
we go will, said, they say old woman the (sub.). There arrived, they say when, Grandmother, this but

na^{n'}te ϕ icta^{n'} ákiágçai ke, á-biamá. Ca^{n'}-qti graⁿ man'dě jīn'ga gçíza-
dancing finished they have gone said, they say. All at once bow little took his
homeward he own
bi ega^{n'} na^{n'}tá-biamá. Içá^{n'} ϕ iñké úçazá-biamá. Içá^{n'} ϕ iñké uçúgiçá-
they having he danced they say. His grand- the chorused they say. His grand- the he made sport
say mother (st. one) mother (st. one) of his own
biamá.
they say.

3

NOTES.

Sanssouci said that Mactciñge-iⁿ, the Rabbit, was SiŦemakaⁿ. The latter name cannot be translated, the meaning being unknown.

57, 9. çáñiñçickaha, *i. e.*, çaqti jīnga, ha kě gçeje, the spotted skin of a fawn.

57, 10. ϕ ié baha^{n'}, the projecting part of the side of an animal. The side of a human being cannot have this term applied to it.

58, 2. utiⁿ gacna^{n'}gi to strike at an object, missing it when the weapon reaches it.

58, 3. ujiha gina^{n'}çnuda-bi, he pulled off his skin (or sack) by the feet.

58, 4. iⁿ çeçá-bi, he put it on his back suddenly. Giçade 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 quavering voice.

58, 13. siduhi. See Dictionary.

58, 14. Qade çibuç içaⁿ-biamá. F. La Flèche read, Qáde kě'di çibuç içaⁿ-biamá: Grass, on the, he became round (by pulling his legs and body together as he lay down).

58, 16. aⁿbahi, from bahí, to pick up, gather up; used here instead of aⁿçáⁿha, I am selected.

59, 3. çáçíⁿ-naⁿpaji said that the rest of this myth was "shameful," so he would not tell it.

TRANSLATION.

SiŦemakaⁿ dwelt alone in a lodge with his grandmother. It came to pass that three women were going (along). "O SiŦemakaⁿ," 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. SiŦemakaⁿ lay crying, "Haⁿ! haⁿ! haⁿ!" 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, SiŦemakaⁿ arose suddenly. "Grandmother, hand to me that spotted fawn-skin bag," he said. She tossed it to him suddenly. SiŦemakaⁿ 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, SiŦemakaⁿ 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

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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 siduhi (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.

ICTINIKE, THE TURKEYS, TURTLE, AND ELK.

TOLD BY ɗAÇIⁿ-NAⁿPAJĪ.

- Zizika d'úba édi amáma hégaçtəwaⁿ/jĪ. Maⁿ jedé maⁿ/ciadí-qti maⁿ/sa-
 Turkey some there were, they by no means a few. Ground edge very high arrow-
 qti maⁿ/tadí-qti wabáhi amáma Ictínike amá é'di cé amá Wéça-bi egaⁿ/
 weed altogether within they were feeding, they Ictinike the there went they Found them, having
 say. say. they say
- 3 caⁿ/-qti bamámaxe qáça agí-biamá. Eátaⁿ ámaⁿ wi bçát etédaⁿ, eçégaⁿ-bi
 at once bending his head back he was coming, How I do I I eat apt? thought, they
 repeatedly again they say. say
- egaⁿ/ wéçigçaⁿ gaxá-biamá. Caⁿ/-qti miçá-ha waiiⁿ betaⁿ/taⁿ-bi egaⁿ/ í'ⁿ
 having decision he made they say. At once raccoon-skin robe rolled up several having some-
 times, they say thing
 for carrying
- gaxá-biamá. Iⁿ/-bi egaⁿ/ caⁿ/-qti ɗaⁿçíⁿ/-biamá. Zizika wabáhi-ma
 he made, they say. Carried, having at once he ran they say. Turkey feeding the
 they say ones
- 6 wéna'ú-qtcí ɗaⁿçíⁿ/-biamá. Wuhu+! iⁿ/c'áge 'aⁿ/ egaⁿ. Daⁿbái-gă, á-biamá
 passing close by he ran they say. Wuhu+! old man something is
 them the matter. See him, said, they say
- Zizika amá. Nă! iⁿ/c'áge 'aⁿ/ éiⁿte, á-biamá. Aⁿ/haⁿ, égaⁿ-qti-aⁿ, á-biamá
 Turkey the Why! venerable something may said they, they Yes, it is just so, said, they say
 (sub.). man be the matter say.
- Ictínike aká. Taⁿ/waŋçáⁿ d'úba ewéquça te aí égaⁿ, aŋ'gi-ahí égaⁿ
 Ictinike the (sub.). Village some I sing for them will said having, come for me having
- 9 waⁿ/aⁿ/ tē agí'ⁿ áçí'hé áça, á-biamá. Uhú! iⁿ/c'áge, aŋ'gú cti aⁿ/naⁿ/t égaⁿ
 song the I have been carrying indeed, said they say. Oh! venerable we too we dance some-
 (ob.) mine he what