

THE CROW LANGUAGE
GRAMMATICAL SKETCH
AND ANALYZED TEXT

BY
ROBERT H. LOWIE

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PREFACE

IN THE SUMMER of 1931 a grant from the Committee on Native Languages of the American Council of Learned Societies enabled me to resume field work on the Crow Reservation in southeastern Montana, with emphasis on the language. As a result, a fair amount of textual material was obtained, including some prayers, a long historical tradition, several trickster tales, a version of the Creation story, and a full variant of "Old Woman's Grandchild," the most popular Crow hero tale. I have published the prayers in text,* and four of the tales in English, utilizing the tradition for ethnographic purposes.† The text of "Old Woman's Grandchild" being now ready for publication‡ with grammatical notes, it seems best to defer more adequate grammatical treatment, and to prefix a preliminary sketch. The data presented naturally supersede those accompanying a very brief text communicated some years ago.§ For illumination of grammatical points I have drawn freely upon the texts I recorded on other field trips, undertaken under the auspices of the American Museum of Natural History, in 1907 and 1910-1916. Unfortunately, Zellig Harris' and C. F. Voegelin's edition of "Hidatsa Texts, with Grammatical Notes and Phonograph Transcriptions"¶ was issued too late for me to make use of it.

R.H.L.

* R. H. Lowie, *Crow Prayers*, AA 35:433-442, 1933.

† *Idem*, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1935), 119-171, *passim*.

‡ Most of the typing done in the preparation of this paper was by Work Projects Administration employees, to whom I here express my thanks.

§ R. H. Lowie, *A Crow Text, with Grammatical Notes*, UC-PAAE 29:155-175, 1930.

¶ *Indiana Historical Society, Prehistory Research Series, Vol. I, No. 6* (Indianapolis, 1939).

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
SYNTAX	5
SECTION	
1. Types of simple sentence	5
2-12. Position of words	5
2. Subject, predicate, and object	5
3. Indirect object	6
4. "Genitive"	7
5. Postpositions	7
6. Adverbial modifiers	8
7. Adjectives	8
8. Various nominal and pronominal relations	9
9. Verbal juxtaposition	9
i. Participles	9
ii. Auxiliaries	9
iii. The verb bi'a, to want	11
iv. Miscellaneous	11
10. Demonstrative of identity	11
11. <i>Suus-eius</i> distinction	12
12. Plurality	12
13-18. Complex sentences	13
13. Subject and object clauses	13
14. Relative clauses	13
15. Temporal subordination	14
16. Conditional sentences	15
17. Final and causal expressions	15
18. Various connectives	15
MORPHOLOGY	17
19-24. Processes	17
19. Juxtaposition	17
20. Composition	17
21. Reduplication	17
22. "Infixation"	18
23. Prefixes	18
i. Possession	21
24. Suffixes	23
i. Noun classifiers	23
ii. Aspectual	25
iii. Modal suffixes and particles	27
iv. Verbalizing	29
v. Vocative, emphatic, diminutive	30
vi. Plural	30
25-29. Verbs	31
25. Independent pronouns	31
26. Participles	32
27. Future conjugation	33
28. Aorist-present	34
i. Regular prefixless stems	34
ii. Causative forms	34
iii. Initial vocalic stems	35
iv. Instrumental prefixes	35
v. Irregular verbs	36
29. Pronominal subject and object	37
TEXT AND TRANSLATION	38
K'a'ricba'pi'tuac (Old Woman's Grandchild)	38
ANALYZED TEXT	63
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS USED	141

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INTRODUCTION

CROW AND HIDATSA constitute a distinct branch of the Siouan stock, and Crow is the more remote from proto-Siouan. Both differ from Dakota in substituting initial *d* for *tc* and *y*, as well as *ts* for Dakota *s*, and both lack vocalic nasalization.¹ Since my experience with Hidatsa has been slight and Matthews's grammar is inadequate, I can point out only a few noteworthy differences and similarities. Crow substitutes *ts* for initial Hidatsa *k* and at least sometimes *k'* for terminal Hidatsa *ts*; Hidatsa lacks the characteristic palatalized Crow stop written *ky* (actually intermediate between *ky* and *ty*); Crow often substitutes *s* for Hidatsa *t*. Grammatically, the two languages share a conjugation of the future by suffixed pronouns instead of expressing that tense by an invariable particle (e.g., Dakota *kte*); and Crow does not *regularly* denote possession by the subject through a verbal prefix.

The following lexical comparisons illustrate some of the foregoing statements:

Dakota	Hidatsa	Crow	English
<i>ti</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>ace'</i>	tent, lodge
<i>ite</i>	<i>i'te</i>	<i>ɨ's(e)</i>	face
<i>pte</i>	<i>bite'</i>	<i>bice'</i>	buffalo
<i>to</i>	<i>tohi</i>	<i>cu'ə</i>	blue
<i>tcaje</i>	<i>dazi</i>	<i>da's</i>	name
<i>tceji</i>	<i>dezi</i>	<i>de'əce</i>	tongue
<i>t'a</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>sa, ce</i>	dead
<i>ya</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>da, de</i>	to go
<i>yuta</i>	<i>duti</i>	<i>du'ci</i>	eat
<i>yuza</i>	<i>dutsi</i>	<i>du'tsi</i>	seize
<i>haska</i>	<i>hatski</i>	<i>ha'tsgye</i>	long
<i>k'i</i>	<i>tsi</i>	<i>tsi'</i>	to carry on the back
<i>xpa'ya</i>	<i>xapi</i>	<i>xapi'</i>	to lie down
<i>ape'tu</i>	<i>bape</i>	<i>ba'pe'</i>	day
<i>zi</i>	<i>tsi(ri)</i>	<i>ci're</i>	yellow
<i>cupe</i>	<i>cipe</i>	<i>ci'pe</i>	bowels

Though Crow is lexically remote from Dakota, Teton texts reveal a number of interesting resemblances of detail, both linguistically and stylistically. Thus, though the usual Dakota word for "very" is *lila*, there is an occasional substitution of *it'a'pi* (lit., they are dead by it),² which corresponds exactly to *ice'*,

¹ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), pp. 75-80, 84.

² Ella Deloria, *Dakota Texts*, AES-P 14:265, 1932.

the usual Crow word for "very." More striking is the constant use in both languages of the diminutive nominal suffix (Dakota *-la*, Crow *-kata*) as a verbal suffix to suggest the speaker's sympathy with the subject.³ Again, disapproval of a person present is generally expressed by substituting the *third* for the second person in an ironic query.⁴

The symbols here used to render Crow generally bear the significance attached to them in my previous text in this series. Greek iota is added for the open sound (bi'ə [stone]; but bi'ə [woman]). Parasitic vowels are common and are indicated by superposition.

As in Dakota, final *a* and *e* interchange for reasons only partly phonetic. Thus, *he'ky* (he says) becomes *ha'k'* to indicate a sequel completing the predication. Vocative forms tend to terminate in *a*; for example, *bi'ikya* (my elder brother). In the expression *ihe'm hu'ge* (send another one [imper.]), the *e* of *ihe'm* (another) was said to signify that no particular substitute was meant, otherwise the form would have been *iha'm*. Finally, a verbal form used adjectivally (sometimes translatable by an English relative clause) substitutes *e* for terminal *a*. Corresponding changes may apply to other vowels, such as *e* and *i*.

i'gye' xatsi'se, fixed star (*xatsi'sa*, not to move).

bice' waru'cise, not eaten by buffalo (*waru'cisa*, not to eat something).

e'ky ara'ke, that one whom you see (*ara'ka*, you see).

ak'-tsi'-a'kin-e-di'tsic, Struck-one-riding-a-light-roan (*a'kina'k'*, he rode).

isi'ptsiwaxpa'-kure'-ditsi'c, Struck-carrying-his-holy-pipe (*kura'k'*, he holds).

ak'ire'c, those who were alive (*iri'*, to be alive).

aci'oce, Sore-lip clan (*bi' aci'ociky*, I am a Sore-lip).

In general, *e* and *i*, *ε* and *a*, and *o* and *u* are closely related.

Certain vocalic changes are clearly phonetic. The suffixed article *-c* tends to change a final *a* or *i* to an *e* sound; whereas a *-c* becomes *s* before *a* and before the plural suffix *-u*. Palatalization is consistent only with preceding *e* and *i* vowels, and follows *c* or *ts*.

i'tsec, it was good.

ce'ky, he is dead.

ba'ciky, I am dead.

base'wi, I might die.

he'ky, he says.

be'c, so I said.

micgye', dog.

i'tsiky, it is good.

su'k', they are dead.

it'bacisak', I am not yet dead.

sak'ba'tsiky, dead it lay.

hu'k', they say.

bak', I said.

ha'tsnye, long.

Though the combination *tsu* is admissible (*tsu'sa*, one-half; *tsu'ə*, one of a pair), the juxtaposition of *ts* with the plural suffix *u* precipitates a change to either *t* (*t'*) or *k'*.

du'tsiky, he seizes.

bari'atsiky, I thought.

ba'tse'ky, I caused.

du'tu'k', they seize.

bari'atu'k', we thought.

ba'ku'k', we caused.

³ *Ibid.*, 15, 149, 151, 200, 202, 222, 260.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24, 187.

The rule for the occasional change of *x* to *k* (as in the following) examples has not yet been determined.

ba'ictci're-xa'ri'ə-c, Old-white-man.

k'a'ri-c, the old woman.

k'awi'ky, xawi'ky, bad.

Initial *m* and *n* are so weakly nasalized that they are constantly heard as *b* and *d*. In intervocalic position *m* (*b*) becomes *w*; *n* (*d*), *r*, an untrilled sound produced by incomplete closure in pronouncing a *d*.

a'm-bici, is there earth? (*awe'*, earth).

itsi'n-disu'a, horse dance (*itsi're*, horse).

The last two examples in the foregoing illustrate contraction, an outstanding characteristic of Crow. Generally, composition involves elision of the terminal vowel of the first word with consequent assimilation of the terminal consonant to the initial consonant of the following word or suffix; *w* becomes *m*, *r* changes to *n*, *ts* to *t'*. Of course, not all consonants admit of assimilation. Owing to the initial phonetic weakness of many stems, they are thus completely obscured or even eliminated.

a're, arm.

ba'ru, bead.

bare', wood.

ba'n-dactsiky, she is doing beadwork.

k'o'wi'ək, he finished.

ba'ciky, I died.

ba'c-dək', when I die.

i're, blood.

iri', is he alive?

ba'm-biky, I shall live.

am-ba'm-bi-re'tə-k', it is impossible
for me to live.

a'n-dutu'a, arm-seizing.

ba'm-bice, beaded.

ba'm-bice, wooded.

ba'm-bactsiky, I am beading.

k'o'mbak', I finished.

k'o'mnak', you finished.

ba'c-bi-mactsiky, I shall die.

ce'-rək' a'xpək'sa, if he dies, with him
die.

i'm-batse, blood man.

i'n-duxtsəxək', (with) his blood ex-
hausted.

ba'ri'ky, I live.

ban-nə'k', if I live.

The stem *ri* (*iri'*), to live, thus sometimes completely disappears, being represented only by *-m-*, assimilated from the original *r* to the following future suffix.

Less radical are the elisions of unaccented vowels.

pi'cen, behind her.

bire', fire.

ak'-bare-acu'pckyo, those who cut

(*pa'ckyo*) people's heads.

pa'tsire'ky, he pushes.

da'-pcen, behind you.

bira'-kce, match (*-kice*, imitation).

ba-ptsi're'ky, I push.

sapi'-cpite, black cloth (*cipi'te*, black).

In composition a final vowel before initial *ts* and some other stops of the following word or particle takes on a perceptible aspiration.

he', to say.

he''tseruk', he says, it is said.

Even an accented final vowel readily fuses with an accented initial vowel of the following word.

ace'ren, among the camps (*ace'*, camp; *he'ren*, among.)

SYNTAX

§1. TYPES OF SIMPLE SENTENCE

PREDICATIONS of fact almost invariably end in *k'* (*ky*), the oral stop, omitted in declarations of possibilities, optative statements, interrogations, and commands. Queries may be indicated by such particles as *-he* or *-dake*; commands, by the suffixes *-kawe*, *-wa*, and (in the plural) *-ra*.

Lacking techniques for expressing indirect discourse, Crow quotes verbatim, adding forms of *he'ky* (he says) or *hiri'atsiky* (he thinks). Statements not guaranteed by the narrator end with the quotative particle *tseruk'* (*-tseruct*), probably derived from a usitative verbal form.

xawi'ky he'tseruk', it is bad, he said (qt.) (*xawi'*, bad; *he'*, to say).⁵

da'karaxta'ri, you might forget it.

i't'a daka'kuri, may you live without worry.

co'c dare', where are you going? (*de'*, to go).

bats-a'xpa-xpa-ra, lie together! (*bats-*, reciprocal; *a'xpa*, with, companion; *xapi'*, to lie).

k'an-di'cta-wisa'-ra ba'-rək', now your eyes open ye, when I say.

k'ar-awac-da', now go away.

ba'xu-kawe, ask him!

xatsi'-sa, move not.

§§2-12. POSITION OF WORDS

§2. Subject, Predicate, and Object

The object, nominal or pronominal, precedes the verb in declarative and imperative sentences. The pronominal third person object or subject is not expressed except by independent emphatic forms and in the future (§ 27).

ihe'm hu'ka, give her another (imper.).

icbi'tsia ru'ctək', he took out his knife.

apa'riac nu'tək', she took the porcupine.

bice'rək', *nap'i'o'tseruk'*, they killed a buffalo (qt.).

micgye' awa'kak', I saw a dog.

bi i'kyak', he looked at me.

bi i'kya, look at me (imper.).

di-wap'e'wima'tsiky, I'll kill you.

bare' watseci'um, they have distressed us.

bi-ara'kam, you see me.

apsa'ruke kura''tseruk', they chased the Crow (qt.).

isa'cpu'ce k'arakuru''tseruk', now they chased the Cheyenne (qt.).

The subject of an intransitive verb precedes the predicate. There is no copula; oral stops verbalize the adjective attribute.

bi watseckya't-k, I am miserable.

biky mi ri'ctsi'tsi-m, I, I am your scout.

i't'a bare' ce'rək', almost we died.

isa'pe' it'bu'retk', his moccasin is soleless.

⁵ Hereafter the quotative will be indicated by "qt." or omitted in translation.

The subject of a transitive verb normally precedes the object, which precedes the predicate.

isa'kawuate pu'ake du't'ək', Old-Man-Coyote took the dust.

i'əxuxkaka'tec ba'ice'c atarri'tseruk', the little fox stole the basket (qt.).

hin'e' ictawa't'ec itsu'kaxparitsi'c tsiri'ə ice'tseruk', this One-eye feared Strikes-accompanied-by-his-younger-brother very much (qt.).

With pronominal subject and object the second person object precedes the first person subject except in the combination *bara'*; and the first person object precedes the second person subject.

di-wa-tsiwe'wiky, I shall tell you.

mi-ra-tsi'we'ky, you have told me.

bara'-k'-biky, I'll give you.

In queries without noun subject, the interrogative pronoun or adverb precedes the verb; when the interrogative is used adjectivally, it follows its noun (last example).

co'c dare', whither are you going?

co'ot' ba'wu, how shall we act?

sa'p diara, what are you doing?

co'o na'ka'ka'tsim, where have you been keeping yourself?

sa'p i'rici', why is he dancing?

co'ke k'o' tsi'mbice, which one of them is married?

sa'pəm i'cera', why do you say that?

bare' co'ke kyo' re'ri, which stick will you have?

The noun subject of an interrogative sentence precedes the interrogative pronoun or adverb, hence also the verb.

hire'n birəba'ke sa'p du'su, what do these people eat?

§3. Indirect Object

The indirect pronominal object (ethical dative), expressed by *ku* (for him, her) and its combinations, follows the predicate.

iru'pəe aru'ute co'pka'te di'ə-ku'tseruk', his father made four arrows for him (qt.) (*di'ə*, he makes).

k'an di'awa-ku, already I have made it for her.

di'a-ku-o-k', he made arrows for him (*-o*, pl. affix).

basa' di'a waku', my arrows make for me (imper.).

bi' i'kyā waku', me look out for me.

bare' i'kyā-wari-kyu-i', he will look out for us. (Note palatalization of *k* after *i* and 3 p. fut. ending *i* suffixed to whole complex.)

di' i'kyā-ra-ku-o-ma'tsiky, they will look out for you (*raku*, for you; *o*, 3 p. fut. pl.).

iru'k am-a'xu'ək-ku-o-c, the meat which had been hidden on their behalf.

na'k'batsec biri'c-kyu-'tseruk', her son (dative) she cooked for him (qt.).

kara'xtasa waka'ra, for my sake do not forget her (*-ra*, pl. imper.; *waka'* by vocalic harmonization (?) of *waku'*).

ba'wara'x baraku'k', I sing for you (I sing I-for-you).

When the indirect object (ethical dative) is a noun, it follows the direct object and precedes the verb, which, however, is followed by the appropriate pronominal form—the only formal expression of the idea.

wice' ari'tsikya'ce du'a o-ku', bring the best buffalo for your wife (*du'a*, your wife; *o*, bring).

Compare:

xaxu'aka'sa du't'ak' o-waku', every one of them take and bring for me.

With the verb *k'u* (to give) there is no formal expression of the indirect English object, and its relative order varies.

ciwe'c hawa'tdāk' i'kye ictawa't'e k'u''tseruk', one piece of the fat to his brother,

One-eye, he gave (qt.) (*i'kye*, elder brother; *ciwe'c*, the fat).

itsu'ke'c ku' hawa'tdāk' k'u''tseruk', to his younger brother also one piece he gave (qt.).

i'piakāt i'pdāk' k'u''tseruk'itsu'ke'c, a magpie tail he gave (qt.) to his younger brother.

In the last sentence the irregular postposition of the indirect object is probably due to the alternative of three nouns in juxtaposition without any formal indication of syntactic relationship.

The indirect object of the verbs "to say," "to speak" may be expressed by the enclitic *-c* (*-s*), which, in one of its meanings, has directional force.

di'gyen di-s bari'wiky, you, in turn, to you I shall speak.

bare'iri'ə ari'tsikya'te k'o watce'-c ci'ara, the best words to one another speak!

§4. "Genitive"

For expression of the genitive idea, whether or not actual possession is involved, the possessor is put before the object possessed, which may or may not have a possessive prefix.

isa'kce icu'ce xi'ce'c, the young man's knee was swollen.

isa'kcem isa'cgye xapi'ək, a young man's horse was lost.

isa'kce da'acē awatsi'ə-a'rec, the young man's name was Badger-arm.

dira'ace i'se diru'tsiri, you might touch your brother-in-law's face.

bi'ə e'nde ak'di'ə, doctor of women in confinement (*ak'di'ə*, doctor).

hin'e' i'hure' dapu'cec, the swelling of his leg.

§5. Postpositions

Prepositional ideas of locative and comitative nature are virtually all expressed postpositionally.

isi'ptcupe tcu'c i'kyak, he looked through his pipestem.

di-s bu'ok', we come to you.

aci'-c i'kyak, look toward the camp.

ace' u'pa'tsisa, above (upstream from) the camp.

aci'm biri'ə-n, at the door of a lodge.

tse'te he'ren, among wolves.

bare're, through the woods (*bare'*, woods; *he'ren*, among).

ace'reta, through the camp (*ace'*, camp; *he'ren*; -*ta*).

acba'ihē' k'u-c basu'k, toward the enemy they ran (*k'u*, demon.).

aku'aka'tec a'xpək', with her sister-in-law.⁶

di' awa'xpək', I with you.

bare' pi'ce ri'ə, go behind us.

da'pcen, behind you.

baco'tsen, in front of me (*ico'tsen*, in front of him)

ict-a'ken, over her eyes. *its-a'ken*, on his foot.

a'ce ak'tsi'sa, on the far side of the river.

a'ce do'o'se, on this side of the river.

ba'n na'cgye, on the edge of the woods.

ac da'sgye, on the edge of the camp.

bira'ra'ske-n, on the edge of the fire.

bahe' awu'ə, inside a spring.

u'-wua, inside the mouth.

bim-bu'ə-n, inside the water (*bire'*, water; *awu'ə*, -n).

a'p baxse, under their necks.

ac baku'te, near the camp.

i'-t'a, across his mouth.

bita'raciə ari'tsien, behind a screen.

§6. Adverbial Modifiers

Adverbial modifiers, whether phrases or single words, generally precede the verb modified. The words for "very" and "extremely," *ice'* and *batsa'tsk'*, derived from a verb and a verbalized adjective, respectively, follow their adjective.

hin'e' wa'pe' i'tsikya'ta di' a'k' hawac bawasa'wawək', this day safely with you
I wish to run around.

ba'm a'kem ba'wiky, something on top I'll put.

ma'cdək' k'o'mba'wiky, when I die I'll stop.

aw-awu'ta wa'k'ore'c, beings in the ground (*awe'*, ground; *wa'k'ore'c*, those who are extant).

aria'k'o' bo'rək', when I come from the rear (*bo'*, I come).

tse'tic k'uc bari'mbiky, toward the Wolf Mountains I'll walk.

ahu'm matsa'tsk', extremely many.

§7. Adjectives

Adjectives and numerals follow nouns.

aru'ute copka'te di'əku'tseruk', he made four arrows for him (qt.).

micgye' wara'əxe, crazy dog.

⁶ *a'xpək'* is really a noun verbalized by the oral stop -*k'*, i.e., her sister-in-law was her companion.

§8. Various Nominal and Pronominal Relations

Lacking cases, Crow must often rely on position and the context to show the precise relation of two or more nouns. The instrument of an action is expressed by the instrumental prefix *i-*.

icu'ce aru'utga:ce i-o'axaxuk', his knee was pierced by an arrow (his knee an arrow by it they pierced it).

co're'ritdak' matsu'ara:u isa'kcim a'paru:ci'c hu'm u'ə ba'tsu:c hu'm are'ky, some time at a very big wife abduction he abducted the wife, named Cherry, of the one named Eats-ears. (Sometime, wife abduction huge, Eats-ears named, his wife Cherry named, he [the hero] abducted.)

api'pək' u'əc k'u'tseruk', having sliced it, he gave it to his wife. (There is no way of formally distinguishing him rather than his wife as the giver.)

ackya'mnec k'aratsi' itsi'rirək' baze'm'e a'tsipe'ək, the Piegan clan again packed their horses with goods.

buru'xe u'ce k'us k'ar-i'əxpi'tseruk', his rump was stuck to the ice. (*buru'xe*, ice; *u'ce*, his rump.)

u'cec buru'xe ara-k'us-k'ari'əxpec, where the rump was stuck to the ice.

hin'e' wats'e'c hin'e' wire'c du'rə k'use'ky, this man this fire his back he turned to it.

§9. Verbal Juxtaposition

i. *Participles*.—Most verbs have a participial as well as a simple predicative form. The former is derived by a change of the terminal stem vowel or the addition of *ə*. In the large class of *-i* verbs the vocalic change induces a change of the preceding consonant. The participial form frequently but not always terminates in *-k'*, possibly to denote temporal subordination. The participial form is not pluralized.

k'o' ham du'tək' k'u, (of) that some take and give him (simple imper., *du't'a*).

du'sak' isi'tse'tseruk', he ate and liked it (qt.) (*du'ciky*, he ate).

"——" *ha:k' na'u'tseruk'*, "——", said they and went off (qt.) (*he'ky*, he said; *hu:k'*, they said).

kara:k' dio'tseruk', they fled and arrived (qt.) (*karu:k'*, they fled).

asa'rək' da'u'tseruk' having gone out, they left (qt.) (*asa'riky*, he goes out).

anna''ko daxtək' k'an-na'u'tseruk', their saddles having tied, they left (*daxtu:k'*, they tied; *daxtsi'ky*, he tied).

ii. *Auxiliaries*.—Idiom often requires the use of some auxiliary after the main verb, which usually assumes its participial form. This usage is of course a special case of verbal juxtaposition. These auxiliaries basically denote existence, state of rest, continuation of a state or action, and can be employed independently. The most common are: *da'ku'*, *a'ku'*, *da'tsi* (participial form *da'tək'*), *ka.'u* (pl.), *iru'ə*.

Independent use:

k'o't' da'tsiky, thus it remained.

xi'esa ra'tsiky, it is always distinct.

k'arak'o'n datsi'-tseruk', there he remained (qt.).
k'aratsiwaki'sa datsi'-we, don't pray any more! (Do not pray, remain!)
iru'ə ra'wək', he stood up.
baru'ə wa'rawiky, I stood up suddenly.
iru'ək da'tsi'-tseruk', she remained standing (qt.).
k'o'n na'ko' ci'aka'ci'tseruk', there she stayed very long (qt.).
di' awa'xpək' ba'ka'kuwiky, with you I'll live.
i't'a waka'uc, well we were faring.

Auxiliaries:

pa'xa ra'ku, continue pouring (*pa'xa*, to pour).
hawac da'watək' da'ku'tseruk', he continued to go around aimlessly (qt.).
hawac da'wək' a'ə'ku'tseruk', they continued going around.
iskyo'cit du'skisak' a'ku'-tseruk', strawberries eating for the fun of it they continued (qt.).
sa'pem xawi'ky ha'ratsi, why "It is bad" does he continue saying?
tsi'rapurək' isa'puorək' awa'tək' ka'u-rək', seven bulls sitting down were.
e'kyo'n bi' o'sək' ba'ritism, these my teeth being sore I exist (i.e., these teeth of mine are sore).
hin'e' waka'tec ci'ək' iru'-ka'ci'tseruk', this child said it most persistently (qt.)
 (*ka'ce*, superl.; *ciək*, part. of *ce*).
da'pxək' iru'tseruk', he continued biting (qt.).
hira'k'e' nare' diru'-ka'c-dək', now if you keep on going steadily (*-ka'c*, superl.).
dap'i'a ra'ku', kill (them) continually!
wasas' ra'ku'-tseruk', he ran continually (qt.).
isi'əxcec du'sək' da'ku'-tseruk', his pemmican he was eating continually (qt.).
da-ro'sa di'rua da'ritək', you not coming you standing you remaining (i.e., you do not come, but remain standing).
tsirekapa' ra'ku'-rək', while she was gathering them.
ba'ikye dap'i'ə na'ku'k', anything it always kills.
hawac basa'k' da'ku'-i-ma'tsiky, around running he will be.
sa'pem hire'r am'natak' daka' u, why here you sitting do you remain?
awa'xpək' ba'watsi'ə ba'ka'kuk', I in their company I fighting I continued (repeatedly fought).
bari' waka'uk', we continued talking.
a'ken iru'ə ka'u'-tseruk', above him they were standing (qt.).
awate'ritsim ce'ra' raka'uc, when he was far away, you kept saying thus.
di' awa'ka wa'ritbiky, seeing you I shall keep on.
hin'e' watse' ba'risa'ti ba'ritsi'-c, this man I hating have been.
sa'pa i'-ri'wa diru'-ka'ce, for what reason are you most persistently crying?
batsu'ke dap'e'm i'-wi'wak' baru'-ka'ciky, my younger brother has been killed, therefore I cry most persistently.
i'tsirit'ək' iru'o'tseruk', they kept on striking their lips (qt.).⁷

⁷ Here the auxiliary might be conceived as independent, i.e., they were standing striking their lips, but the relative position of the two verbs favors my interpretation.

iii. *The verb bi'ə, to want, wish.*—This verb, formally treated as a causative, follows the equivalent of the English infinitive object, which agrees with it in pronominal form.

awa'ka wi'əwak', I want to see it (I see I want).

bac bi'əwak', I want to die (I die I want).

di' awa'xpa wi'əwak', I want to marry you.

k'o' ri'watsiwe' wiawak', that I want to tell you.

iv. *Miscellaneous.*—Two verb stems are sometimes joined, one expressing the purpose of the other activity.

ba'ru'c tsi'n-na.uk', they went to look for food (*tsi're*, to look for; *na.uk'*, they went).

batse'c be'wuk, let us go hunting.

ba'a'c-de'tseruk', he went hunting (qt.) (*ba'a'ci*; *de'*).

§10. Demonstrative of Identity

The independent demonstrative *k'o'*, with its variants, has syntactic uses.

(a) It identifies the subject, for example, the subject of a quoted speech, and throws into relief either the subject or object word or clause.

isa''kawwate kyo'-rək', Old Man Coyote it was he (*rə*, to be).

hin'e' ax'ace kyo'rək', it was this Sun (that spoke).

birəba'ke k'o' rusu''tseruk', it was human beings that they ate (qt.).

datsi're k'o' k'arandi'a tsi'rim, he is trying to harm your husband.

bice'rək' itsi'rikya.cerək' u'uxarək' k'o' wu'cict, buffalo, elk, and deer, those I am in the habit of eating.

batsara'xpəkisək' du'rək' k'o' i'tsi.ima'tsiky, if marrying each other you did, that would be well.

(b) It links the subject with the predicative attribute by definite identification.

baki''ə bara'cte k'o'm, my sweetheart is the one I love.

ikya'ndərək' hin'e' ispe'ritsis ba'wa'ia'k'o' i'rapa'təc k'o''tseruk, when he looked at him, this Raven-face's childhood comrade it was (qt.).

da's-hawa't'ec k'o' ra'risa'tsiky, Honest was the one you hated.

disak'itsi'rakine k'arahire'n ambarasa'ce k'arak'o'uk', your horsemen are these whom I have named (*k'o'u*, pl. of *k'o'*).

(c) The deficiency of a comparative form for adjectives is supplied by putting the demonstrative *k'o'* before or after the adjective. At times it expresses the superlative.

i'huri tsu'a axu'a k'o' i'ə'-tseruct, his one leg, his body was smaller than it (qt.).

k'arire'n actatsi'ə, ba'u'wo'c he're k'arira'pe k'o''tseruk', among all these people's kill the fat one was this (i.e., this was the fattest kill).

co''ten bire' awa'ptsirək' k'o' i'tsi, where shall I build a fire so that it will be best? (*i'tsi*, good).

The idea can, however, be expressed also by merely stressing the person or object to whom superiority is ascribed.

bi wi batsa'tsiky, I am more powerful (*I, I am powerful*).

(d) Correlatively duplicated, *k'o* is used in two clauses to identify the nature of two actions.

ara-k'o tse'c k'o tse'ky, as he had done before, so he did now.

§11. "Suus-Eius" Distinction

This distinction is not obligatory; Crow texts teem with sentences such as the following, in none of which does the verbal form reflect the owner's identity.

isi'ipuæ xatsi'æk', he shook his rattle.

isbi'tsia ru'ctak', he took out his knife.

ise' ru'tsiky, he took his arrows.

dara'ke da'raxta, do you not know your child?

It is not clear *what* determines the use of the prefix *tsi* to identify the subject as the owner. The prefix is related to the independent reflex *i'tsi* and undergoes similar phonetic changes, a subsequent *u* vowel effecting vocalic harmony. Compare *ak'-i'ku-ruxi'pi-se-c* (those who could not move themselves) and *i'ts a'peta ku-rux'e'mbi'-tseruk'* (himself at the neck he broke off [qt.]).

ise'c co'pæt tsi-wara'tse-c, the four arrows of his which he had marked (*wara'tse*, to mark).

di tsi-rita'ra, your lips strike (pl.) your own! (Cf. *birə'xe dita'ra*, strike the drum!)

bap ba'tsi-raxu'sæk', I smashed my nose. (Cf. *ape' baxu'sæk'*, I smashed his nose.)

apu'ræk' tsi-raxu'sæk', they smashed their noses.

erur'rat k'o'rat k'urusæk' a'k'u'o'k', their dung instead, that instead, their own eating they shall live (they shall instead eat their own dung).

The following form apparently fuses the reduplicated prefix with the stem: *itse' kak-u'æk'*, he stepped on his own foot. Compare *itse' u'æk'*, he stepped on his (another man's) foot.

§12. Plurality

Pluralization by the suffix *-u* (*-o*) has syntactic functions.

Otherwise unpluralized nouns, with oral stop added, may thereby be transformed into a complete predication. Thus, *hupe'* (moccasins) pluralized into *hupu'k'* means "they are moccasins."

Pluralization of a noun with possessive prefix preferentially indicates plurality of the possessor rather than of the thing possessed. Thus, *ba're* (my arms) becomes *ba'ruæ* (our arms). If the speaker refers to only one of his arms, he may add *tsu'a* (one of a pair) to the unpluralized form.

bacbatse'tua, our chief (not formally distinguishable from "our chiefs").

usu'a, their son-in-law (*uce'*, his son-in-law).

ikyu'a, their elder brother (*ikye'*).

da'kbatse'oc, their son.

datsi'ra.u, your (pl.) husband.

icbiri'o, their door.

icbirice'oc, their corpse.

Pluralization of a verb commonly pluralizes the pronominal object rather than the subject.

datsi'ra.u di'ira'uk', your (pl.) husband is calling you (pl.).

di'axaxu'a di'wu'cbomatsiky, all of you I am going to eat you (sing. form, *wu'cbimatsiky*).

Often it is not the verb stem itself that takes *-u*, but one of its suffixes, for example, negative *-sa* or *-nel*.

bi'suk', we do not reach (*bi'u*, we arrive; *sa*, not).

di'su'tseruk', they did not reach, it is said.

k'a'su-'tseruk', they did not laugh (qt.).

k'a'-sa-ta'ru'-'tseruk', they truly did not laugh (qt.) (*-ta're*, truly).

bi'we'suk', as for me, I do not own them.

ha'm-netu, are there none? (*ham*, some).

In the first two forms, the very irregularity of the verb reveals the process; it is not that the singular forms (*ba* [I reach], *hi* [he reaches]) are combined with the plural negative affix, but simply that the plural particle is dropped from the verb to appear in the negative particle.

Pluralization of the verb in the third person regularly expresses a passive sense.

mi'ru't'u-k', I am being seized.

hawa't'e awu'isa'c hu'-'tseruk', one was called Awu'isa'c.

§§13-18. COMPLEX SENTENCES

§13. *Subject and Object Clauses*

A subject or object clause may be marked off by the oral comma, *-m*; but sometimes the idea is not formally expressed.

o-m i'tsiky, it is well that she brought him (*o*, to bring).

ictawa't'ec u'akaric'te k'o'i-m i'riatsisa'tseruk', that it might be One-eye's sister-in-law he did not think (qt.).

batsa'xpu-m i'tsiky, it is well for them to be married to each other.

k'arace' i'tsiky, it is well that he is dead now.

§14. *Relative Clauses*

Relative clauses are most commonly expressed by *-c*, the definite article, in conjunction with, or without, an agentive prefix or an equivalent.

hire'n basa'-'upi''-kyuə-c, these who were first offered smoke (*basa'*, first; *upi'*, to smoke; *kyuə*, caus.).

bas-ak'-apupe'-c-de-c, my (people) who went to the Nez Percé (*ak'*, agent.; first *-c*, direct.).

ak'-i-araxtsi'-wice-c, the one who by means of it had honors.

hin'e' batse' ak'itsi'-rakinec, this man who rode horseback.

hin'e' ici'ac isa'c-de'tse-c, this hair which he caused to fall toward his face.

hire'r apsa'ruke ak'ire'c, these Crow who were alive.

disak'itsi'-rakine k'arahir'en am-barasa'ce k'arak'o'uk', your riders are these whom I have named (*barasa'ciky*, I have named).

hin'e' wa-m-ditsira't-de-re-c, this one who acted like something dangerous.

apsa'ruke batsekyate ar-axpi-kya'te-c, miserable Crow, those of you who are still left.

ak'-bats-i'kya-bia-kice, those who wanted to see one another.

hin'e' watse'c hira'k' bire're-c, this man who had just entered (*bire'ri*, to enter).

ak'-baku'ta-di'-wici-t ira'k', if there are any who come by, she calls them (lit., those who past come to be extant usually she calls).

§15. Temporal Subordination

One of the commonest ways of expressing temporal subordination is by suffixing to the verb *dək'*, which also has other functions (see §24).

arak'ara' tsi'nne'-rək', when he looked for a place of refuge.

acba' ihe' ba'-rək', when I meet an enemy.

k'an-diri'tcia-ka-c-dək', when you smell the worst.

ba'm iru'-ka-se'-rək', when he exerted himself about something.

u't-dək' pu'xkec pa'xək', when it was dry, he poured out the dirt.

Sometimes temporal subordination is expressed by *-m*, the oral comma (§24, iii).

da'rici-m barisuw'k co'ot bi'ruk', when you danced, did we dance?

a'pa-r-i'tsi-m bo'k', when the evening is pleasant, I come.

Sometimes *-m*, the "oral comma," suggests a causal nexus, sometimes merely continuation with a coördinate statement.

diky xawi'-m di'axwak' da'ritdiky, you are bad, so hiding yourself you shall remain (keep in hiding).

bara'ke dap'i'u-m bi'tsem me'ret'k', my child has been killed and I am helpless.

Very often a participial form preceding another verb expresses a difference of time.

bice'ts i'wickya'tec du'tək' its arata'we tse'tseruk', having taken this hairy little worm, he made the web of the feet (qt.).

u'we du'tək' ixi'ota i'ri'ə'tseruk', having taken red paint, he painted a line on his forehead (qt.).

k'o'tbarwiky ha'k' k'anda'hi'tseruk', I'll do thus, said he, and went forthwith (qt.).

The definite article may express past time; often the demonstrative *hin'e'* (this) ushers in the phrase.

hin'e' ici'c-de-c hin'e' k'arice'-uə-c hin'e' isba'coc du'ci'tseruk', in this climbing of his, when he had quite reached the top he laid down his wing.

hin'e' wasmi'n-atse de'wa'tse-c, when I threw my shield.

hin'e' k'aru'oc, when they fled.

Sometimes no suffix marks temporal subordination, but the verb lacks the oral stop and in causatives may change final *a* of the pronoun to *e* (cf. Introduction).

hin'e' k'ambo' wi'a we, when I wanted to come on this trip.

Causative relationship is probably oftenest expressed by prefixing instrumental *i-* to the verb denoting the effect, the cause having already been predicated.

ce'wi'ak i'-kyo'tse'ky, he wished to die, that is why he acted thus.

bi' watse'ky'a'təm i'-kyo'tək, I am poor, that is why it is thus.

i'-wasbatse'tsiwisak, thence we shall have chiefs.

An alternative is to suffix *-dacen* to the cause.

tsi'tsgyec k'andici'sa'tseruk' du'pi'o-racen, the prairie dogs no longer danced (qt.), because they had been scolded.

maxpa'-racen i'kyuctsi'tseruk', because she was supernatural she got out (qt.).

k'u'-ra'cen duci'tseruk', because he gave it her, she ate it (qt.).

Priority is expressed by negating the advent of a stated period; often by further prefixing the word *it'*, yet.

ba're hi'sa ce'ema'tsiky, before winter he shall die (*hi'sa*, has not arrived).

it'-ba'rumatse-sa'u, before the distribution (not yet had there been a distribution).

it'-a'xace-asi'-sa (also *a'xace it'-asi'-sa*), before the sun appeared.

§16. *Conditional Sentences*

The protasis takes indefinite *-dək'* (see §24); the apodosis is usually put into the future (§27).

di'arasa-rək' i'ək' bata'xpua ba'kurute'wiky, if you refuse, I'll take back those claws of mine.

ba'ha'mbic-dək' i'tsi.ima'tsiky, if there were some, it would be well.

§17. *Final and Causal Expressions*

These are expressed by *i-*, the instrumental prefix.

i'we i'-a'ptsi-retək', from crying he has lost his voice (lit., he cried, thereby his voice is nonexistent).

co'ot' ba'rək' i'-wawatse'cawikyahe', how can I act so that I shall distress him, perchance?

co'ot' ba'rək' i'-kyo'ra'sa'i, what shall I do to get rid of him (lit., so that he will not be here)?

i'co'pe'c ape' i'-hira'mneta'tseruk', on the fourth (night) he was cold so that he could not sleep.

§18. *Various Connectives*

Nouns are coupled by the suffix *-rək'*, homonymous with the indefinite article. With coördinated ideas, there is polysyndeton.

bak'o'tsi'te awa'xe awe'-rək', eternal are the heavens and the earth.

naxpitse'-rək' bapu'xtə-rək' tse't-dək' bice'-rək' birə'pə-rək', bears, otters, wolves, buffalo, and beavers.

The common disjunctives are *-ta*, *-t*, *-ra'*, *-ra'ta*, *k'o't'a'*.

k'uk' e'wa'tsikya'cisa-t isba're axpi'rupaxpiky co'otak', I don't know that exactly, but he was about 18 years old.

aru'ut ahu'-ta bo'wiky, though arrows are many, I'll come.

diwatsiwa'um k'o't'a' dia'ruk', I told you, nevertheless you did it.

di'ara-ra'ta, even if you do it.

di'awasa-sa'-ta bara', I do not refuse, but I'll go and . . .

k'o'ta'-ta, even if it is so.

batse'tsisa'ta, though not a chief.

bi' arara'u-ra' ba'cbima'tsiky, even if you took me along, I'd die.

Various expressions usher in new sentences. Among these *de'ra* seems to be a simple connective; *a''kua* (commonly repeated) indicates the passage of time, meaning literally "they were living," that is, on and on.

"Whether . . . or" is expressed by *-x (u)*, sometimes followed by some correlative expression.

di' wats'e'-x co'ot', whether you are a man or what (i.e., not).

MORPHOLOGY

§§19-24. PROCESSES

JUXTAPOSITION, composition, apparent infixation, and reduplication occur.

§19. Juxtaposition

Verbal juxtaposition has already been illustrated from its syntactic aspect (§9). Further examples follow:

ha'kse barrisa'tək' bari'ky, at last I got angry (part.) and shot at him.

a'taka'ta awa'tək' bi' wa'tsiky, sitting near by, he mocked me.

xaxu'aka'sa du'tək' o' waku', having taken every one of them, bring them for me (imper.).

da'k' i'kyakawe', go (part.) and look (imper.).

hu'ək' bi'tsiwa', come and tell me.

datsi're sa'pem xawi'ky ha'ratsi ba'xukawe', ask your husband why he is forever saying, "It is bad" (*ha'*, part. of *he*, to speak; *ratsi* = *datsi'*, aux. of continued state).

ba-ra'k' bap'i'ambiky, I'll go (part.) and kill him.

tsi'ək' o'tseruk', she packed it (part.) and brought it.

i'kyak ka.'u'tseruk', they remained (aux.) looking.

k'a' watsi'tseruk', she sat laughing (*k'a'*, to laugh).

iha'wək' datsi'tseruk', she lay sleeping (qt.).

§20. Composition

Nouns are commonly compounded, the first word often dropping a final vowel, with assimilation of its terminal consonant. Sometimes no phonetic change is required. Nouns and adjectives are compounded, with or without contraction. Terminal vowels of the first word often change into vocalic cognates.

itsi'ndisu'ə, horse dance (*itsi're*, horse).

a'ndutu'a, seizure of arms (*a're*, arm).

itsi'nda'ke, colt (*da'ke*, offspring).

bikya.'u'pe', oats (*bikya'*, grass; *u'pe'*, end, tip).

biritsgye', pond, lake (*bire'*, water; *ha'tsgye*, long).

batde'əxe, glass (*bate'*, dish; *de'əxe*, transparent).

tara'cire, butter (*tare'*, fat; *ci're*, yellow).

xa'xicpitem, a striped black horse (*xa'xi*, striped; *cipi'te*, black).

awu'sac, Big-inside (*awu'ə*, inside; *isa'*, big).

baro'wape, box (*bare'*, wood; *o'wape*, square).

i'əxtsuwate, bridle (*i'əxtse*, rope, sash; *u'wate*, iron).

batcu'-asa'te, fork (awl-forking).

bira'kci-rə'əxe, lamp (*bira'*, fire; *bira'kce*, match; *de'əxe*, pale, transparent).

kuku'mbire, watermelon (*kuku'we*, squash; *bire'*, water).

§21. Reduplication

Reduplication is clearly developed. It expresses plurality, repeated action, and cognate ideas.

buru'xec dak'o'k'o'pi'tseruk', he punctured the ice again and again (qt.).

k'o'n xε'xaxi'ək' a'ku'tseruk, there they remained dangling (*xε'xi*, to hang).
ba'cici'ky, I break.

isa'-ice awu'c du'xaxak', his quiver inside he put his hand.

hawa't'at'atsi du't'ək' axε'xe.et'ək', one by one he took them and slashed them.

i'ə du'tsi'tsi'tseruk', her hair he pulled out (*du'tsi*, to seize).

arapapa'ce, bullet.

papa'sa'tse, roundish.

daksakci', to plug (the mouth).

i'axcec pa'ceceta'k', the pemmican she broke into pieces.

i'axase c napa'paxi'tseruk', he chopped up the snake.

daxci'axci-sa'k, he broke up (wood).

dace'ce'tak', he broke up (flint).

ci'ciahe, different ones.

xawuxa'wuxhe't'ak, crunching.

api'piky, he sliced.

ace'tsi'ək', a white lodge. *ace'tsitsi'ək'*, several white lodges.

i'se a'xaxak', his face he rubbed.

pa'pa'k', he stirred it.

§22. "Infixation"

Apparent infixation is usually to be accounted for as a combination of stems or by the use of a prefix with the verb stem.

de'wa'tse'ky, I send (from *de'*, to go, and reg. verb *tse'*, to cause).

a'wo'k, I bring back (*bo'k'*, I come).

The residual instances not definitively resolved into known constituents thus probably have a parallel history.

icbi'ky, I drink (2 p., *icdi'ky*; 3 p., *ici'ky*).

e'wa'tse'ky, I know (2 p., *e'ra'tse'ky*; 3 p., *e''tse'ky*).⁸

§23. Prefixes

a-. This verbal prefix expresses accompaniment.

a-ra'uk', they kidnapped her (with her they went).

a-bire'rək', with her he entered.

basbiraxba'ke i'tse awi'rupe a-wa'wi, may I safely reach the next year with my kin (*ba'wi*, I shall reach).

a-k-. Possibly related to *a-* prefix; seems to have the same meaning.

hin'e icta'xia a-k'-awas-ba'mbo'k', with this gun we shall go about.

ak'-. Agentive, with or without amplification. Possessives may be prefixed to the agentive.

ak'-ba'kure', hunter.

ak'-itsi're-c-de, those who went for horses.

ak'-bare-ra'c, one who pities us.

ak'-pi'ce-re-wic-dək', all those who might follow her (*pi'ce*, behind; *wic*, to be extant; *re*, to go).

⁸ This can plausibly be derived from *e'* (to have) and *tse'* (to cause).

ak'-pi'ci-n-ditse', the one who struck next.

ak'-tsi-ce're-re-te, those who never signaled a killing of their own (followers).

ak'-ba-rap'i'a-da'ko, those who were wont to kill somebody.

ak'-bara'x-itsikya'ce, those who sang superlatively well.

ak'-du'xi-gyutsgye, raid captains (those who planned raids).

ak'-baku'ta-di'-wici-t' ira'k, if there are any who pass her, she calls them (lit., the one who-past her-reach-to be extant-regularly).

ara- (*ar-*, *am-*, *an-*). (1) This expresses the place, time, or manner of an action. In a proper name, for example, *an-dici-co'pe-c*, of unknown origin, alternative interpretations are given by informants: either "Where-he-dances-is-four" (four dance grounds) or "How-he-dances-is-four" (four ways of dancing).

am-ma:xape', my bed (where I lie).⁹

ara-k'o're'c, where he was.

an-disu'ə, dance ground.

huts-ara-hi'-sa-m, where the winds do not reach (*hutse'*, wind).

biri'tse' ara-satsikya'ce, where the willows are thickest.

ara-tsiwaka'u, church (where they pray).

am-mara-pa'ckyo, Billings, Montana (where-wood-is-cut, i.e., sawmill locality).

a'p an-de'əxe-c, when the leaves are yellow.

a'p ar-asi'ə, when the leaves appear.

ba'ka't am-ma-hiri'-su-k, children's ways of doing (these are) not (*hiri'*, to do; *su'*, pl. of negative *sa*).

(2) A specialized use correlatively with the absolute negative *-det* expresses inability or impossibility.

an-di'o-n-netə-k', they could not do it (*di'o*, they do).

ar-iru'-ret-k', they were helpless.

ar-i'kyucdu'-reti'-tseruk', they were unable to come out (qt.).

an-daro'ri-re-tə-k', you will be unable to come.

am-ba'mbi-re-tə-k', I shall not be able to live.

(3) This prefix serves as a counterpart of *ak'-*, mainly with verbalized adjectives, neuter and passive verbs, that is, to denote the *object* of a transitive verb.

ar-i'tse, good ones (often meaning "the best").

di'sk'o'tsi'ə an-na'risa'tse, your enemy, the one you hate (most).

hu'p-ar-awa'xio-t, the moccasins which had been thrown away.

bi'akaricte ara-tsi'n-det-ka'te-c, young unmarried women (whose husbands are not extant).

ar-iru'a-re-te, those which were not colored (*iru'a*, color).

ba-. This prefix denotes the indefinite subject of an intransitive, or object of a transitive verb. It may be combined merely with suffixes meaningless by them-

⁹ Note the terminal vowel change; the simple predication would be *ma'xapi*.

selves, for example, *ba-ka'te* (child [some diminutive]), *ba-re't-k'* (no [something not at all]).

ba-ise'-c, the older one.

ba-ri'u-t', whenever anything is done.

ba-(a)ra'ka-wiare-c, what you wanted to see (something you see you want the).

ba-ira'pem, something fat.

ba-ra'kure, what you hold.

Sometimes the prefix suggests a temporal meaning, which, however, can be conceived as an extension of the more usual sense.

ba-ammi-wirəxba'k' k'o',¹⁰ ever since I have been a person.

ba-wa-i'ə-k'o' ir'apa'təc, a childhood friend (*i'ə*, small).

ba-hu'ri kyo' ce'co', they must be dead since yesterday.

bare'-. Related to *ba'-* in meaning.

ak'-bare-acu'-p(a)ckyo, Dakota Indians (those who persons' heads cut off).

bara-k'a'-ritsi-ky, something laughable.

i'-ware-acu'-kura'xtse, comb (means of scratching one's head).

bat'-, bats-. Reciprocal.

bat'-du'tua, wrestling (seizing each other).

bats-a'xpu-k', they got married (*a'xpe*, companion).

bats-u'-ara'u, mutual wife-abduction.

bats-a'xpirus-c karak'o-wi'u'tseruk', their mutual gambling they now stopped.

i-. Indicates action not due to outsider; perhaps related to *i*, third person.

irut'a'hiky, it broke.

hin'e wi'əc acu'a i'ritde'tseruk', it (a stone) struck the woman's head (qt.) (*dit, ditsi'*, to strike).

i-. (1) This verbal prefix expresses instrumentality; also that what precedes accounts for the following action. It may be understood with the entire predication following and thus be separated from the verb by an object.

i-wa-ritu'a, hammer (means of striking something).

i-wa-wara'tua, pencil (means of marking something).

i'-wice, price (means of owning).

bira'xatse i'o'sak', the live coals he picked up with it.

basa'c i-wawara't bi'awak', my robe I want to paint with it.

i-wa'kuc-da, airplane (means of going upward).

i-kyo't-buk', for that reason thus we did.

i-awu'c-ika't-di'awa-wi'awa-kisu-k', by means of it we want to make a small sweat-lodge (*awu'c*, sweat-lodge).

biri'tse'c kura'.oc i-ace'-ritu'ə'-tseruk', with the willows they were holding they struck the tent (qt.) (obj. between prefix and verb).

¹⁰ Note the use of the demonstrative of identity in this and the two following examples.

(2) This prefix also transforms a cardinal into an ordinal numeral.

i·-co·pe'-c, the fourth.

i·-axpi'rawi-a-k', they made it the 13th (*axpi'rawi*, 13).

k'am- (*k'an-*, *k'ara-*). This puzzling prefix appears in two contradictory senses, suggesting phonetic convergence. (1) It expresses completed past time; correlatively with the negative, it expresses the idea of "no longer."

k'am-ma're sa'we, how many years ago?

k'an-mi-ratsi'we-ky, already you have told me.

k'ara-ce'ky, he is dead.

bi'aka'ika't k'am-bi'akaricte-rək', the little girl had grown to be a young woman.

hirε'rec k'ara-k'o're'-sa-k', it had been here, it was no longer here.

k'am-busu'-k', we have eaten.

k'ar-am-ba'-se-rete, there is no place where I have not yet been.

(2) It also expresses an inceptive or even future idea.

k'am-bakara'-wo-k', now let us run!

hin'e' bi'awakce k'am-macki'ci-wi-ky, this summer I shall die.

i. *Possession*.—Possession may be understood in the third person with certain stems, but it is usually expressed by means of possessive prefixes related to the independent pronouns.

The distinction of alienable from inalienable possession exists, but is not consistently maintained. Commonly, alienable possession is denoted by the possessive prefixes *bas-*, *dis-*, *is-*; otherwise the independent personal pronouns *bi·* and *di·* are prefixed, often with loss of their vowel. Thus, *bi· i're* means "the blood of my body," whereas *basi're*, though perhaps not positively incorrect in this sense, is preferably reserved for "an animal's blood owned by me." Initial *i-* may often be construed as the third person pronoun, but cannot always be readily dissociated from the nominal stem.

Pluralization of a possessive form preferably pluralizes the *owner*; pluralization of both owner and object owned is formally impossible (§8). At least for some nouns the first person plural possessive can be expressed by the independent pronoun *bare'* (§25), followed by the *singular* form of the noun; for example, *bare' tsiwu'se* (our brains). *bare' asu'a* (our home) is only an apparent exception (§24, vi).

A fair number of nouns do not prefix the third person possessive form. *u'a* means wife or his wife; *a're*, arm or his arm; *da's*, heart or his heart.

A few nouns do not take *any* possessive prefixes. Notable among these are *itsi're* (horse), *micgye'* (dog), a cognate form of the latter stem being substituted for possessive use: *isa'cgye* (his horse), *isa'cgyeka'ce* (his dog), *basacgye* (my horse), and so on.

Vocative forms of relationship terms sometimes lack the possessive prefix; for example, *axe'* (father), *i'gya'* (mother). Contrast: *masa'ka'are* (grandmother), *bi'ikya* (elder brother).

With both inalienable and alienable possessives the second person tends to throw the accent toward the beginning of the word, a feature paralleled in the conjugation of some verbs (§28).

The tendency to distinguish alienable from inalienable possession is greatly obscured. On the one hand, words like *iky'u'pe* (hat) take merely the *b-* and *d-* prefixes for the first and second persons; on the other hand, a term for father's sister appears as *basba'xi'ə*, *di'sba'xiə*, *isba'xi'ə*. This is not due to differentiation between paternal and maternal kin, for we find *bi'ru'pxe*, *di'rupxe*, *iru'pxe* for father (m. sp.); *basba'pi'te*, *di'sba'pite*, *isba'pi'te* for any kind of grandchild, also for a woman's brother's child. Nor can the line of cleavage be drawn between blood and affinal relatives, since we have *bu'a*, *du'a*, *u'a* (wife); *buc'e'*, *du'ce'*, *uce'* (tabooed in-law).

Inalienable possession is more consistently expressed with parts of the body, but several patterns must be recognized:

(a) There are vowel stems simply prefixing *b-* and *d-*; when the absolute form of the word begins with *i*, this can sometimes be interpreted as the third person possessive.

bicte', *di'cte*, *icte'*, eye.

bi'ə, *di'ə*, *i'ə*, mouth.

bixi'ə, *di'xiə*, *ixi'ə*, forehead.

bi's, *di's*, *i's*, face.

biəxpi'se, *di'əxpi'se*, *iəxpi'se*, nasal mucus.

bici'ə, *dici'ə*, *ici'ə*, hair.

bitsu'pe, *di'tsu'pe*, *itsu'pe*, shinbone.

b'ə, *di'ə*, *i'ə*, teeth.

ba'pe', *da'pe*, *a'pe'*, ear

bape', *da'pe*, *ape'*, nose.

ba'pe, *da'pe*, *a'pe*, throat.

be're, *de're*, *e're*, belly.

bu'ce, *du'ce*, *u'ce*, anus, rump.

bu'wuə, *du'wuə*, *u'wuə*, inside of the mouth

Similarly: *a'ətse* (nipple), *a're* (arm), *a'cgye* (testes), *a'xuxke* (kidneys), *apt'e'* (liver), *apa'se* (upper part of body, trunk), *a'cu'ə* (head), *a'ptse* (voice), *i'cpuə* (stomach), *i'əxe* (paunch), *ico'xe* (pancreas), *axu'a* (body), *araxe'* (hip).

Relationship terms of the same category are: *akse'* (parent), *aku'pe* (sibling), *u'ə* (wife), *uce'* (tabooed in-law), *iru'pxe* (his father), *i'kye* (his elder brother).

(b) Initial *i* stems which prefix *b-* and *d-* but change *i* to *a* in the first person.,

batse', *di'tse*, *itse'*, foot.

bactse', *di'ctse*, *ictse'*, hand.

bat'bu'ə, *di't'buə*, *it'bu'ə*, sole.

bare', *di're*, *ire'*, penis.

Similarly: *icu'ə* (back of neck), *ira'cpe* (shoulder), *iritse'* (thigh), *icu'ce* (knee), *icbase'* (thumb),¹¹ *ira'ce* (biceps), *icbaxe'* (elbow), *ici'se* (buttocks).

¹¹ This is perhaps analyzable into *base'* (first) and the third person alienable pronoun, in which case the word would not, of course, belong in this category.

Relationship terms of the same category: *itsu'ke* (his younger brother), *isa'ka'te* (elder sister), *ira'ace* (his brother-in-law).

The word for sacred possession, medicine, approximates this pattern: *baɣpa'riə*, *di'ɣpa'riə*, *iəɣpa'riə*.

(c) Consonant stems which prefix *bi-* and *di-*, remaining without prefix for the third person.

bi'pi'axi'te, *di'pi'axi'te*, *pi'axi'te*, spleen.

bici'pe, *dici'pe*, *ci'pe*, intestines.

bi'tsiwu'se, *di'tsiwuse*, *tsiwu'se*, brains.

Similarly: *kuru'kure'* (vertebra) (with palatalization of initial *k* in 1 and 2 p.), *daɣpe'* (skin).

(d) Consonant stems which prefix *ba-* and *da-*.

barase', *dara'se*, *da'se*, heart.

bare'ece, *dare'ece*, *de'ece*, tongue.

baru're, *daru're*, *du're*, back.

bara't'e, *dara't'e*, *da't'e*, calf.

Similarly: *du'repe* (jaw), *du'use* (rib), *da'xe* (lung), has *dira'xo* (your lungs) (*bara'xo* or *bi'ra'xo* in the 1 p., *bi'ra'xo* being more popular).

Relationship terms of pattern (d) are: *da'k'* (child), *tsire'* (husband).

§24. Suffixes

Primarily syntactic suffixes and enclitics have already been considered (§§ 13–18).

i. *Noun classifiers*.—The four common classifiers, *-c*, *-dək'*, *-m*, *-t'*, are not easily defined; all of them also occur with verbal stems.

The definite article *-c* is clearly antithetic to *-dək'*: when a flat stone is mentioned the first time in a myth, it is called *bi'xa'p-dək'*; thereafter it is *bi'ə xa'pə-c*. (*the flat stone*). These examples show that the article may be suffixed to an adjectival modifier.

Though likewise indefinite, *-m* seems to be less distinctly so than *-rək'*. Neither refers to animate rather than inanimate objects or vice versa, but *-m* often appears with the object of a transitive verb.

-t' may denote the members of a category collectively and certainly does so with respect to numerals, but no single explanation holds for all cases, so that convergence again seems plausible.

-c. This definite article appears with most personal names and some vocative forms. Suffixed to a verb it usually denotes past time. Often it binds together a number of elements, potentially two or more independent words, into the equivalent of a relative clause (cf. §14).

icu'-kawi'-c, His-songs-are-bad.

xara'-tse-c, He-makes-rain.

ira'cp-asi'-c, Bare-shoulder.

bare-a'tse-re-c, Jumps-over-people.

tsi'rup-tsi'ə-c, Gray-bull.

ciwe'-c, Fat (personified and addressed in prayer).

bas-ba-watsecgya'te-c, my distressed ones.

bi:watsa'tsiky bari'atse-c, I am powerful, I thought.

dare'-c k'o a'pe, on the evening on which you left (you left the same evening).

ak'-dap'e'-c, the killer.

biritse'-c kura.'o-c, the willows which they were holding.

-rək'. This indefinite article, not necessarily singular in meaning, also serves as a means of temporal and conditional subordination (§16), an expression of indefiniteness generally, and hence of certain shades of futurity.

ban-də'k', a tree (*bare'*, tree).

ac-də'k', a tipi (*ace'*, tipi).

itsi'ri-rək' aru'ara, bring ye horses!

apa'ri-rək', it was a porcupine.

a'pa i'tsi-rək', it was a pleasant evening.

ba'-rək', if I arrive.

ba'n-dək', if I live (*bari'ky*, I live).

tsira'kci-rək', tomorrow.

da'suo co'ru-rək' k'uc da'kara, wherever your homes may be, thither go ye back!

birəba'k'e du'tsisu'-rək' bari'atək', the people would not take them, I thought.

-m. Less indefinite than *-dək'*, this suffix seems to be less definite than *-c*. Both appear with the same nouns, for example, *ace'* (tent), *batse'* (man). The frequent but far from obligatory use of *-m* with the object of a transitive verb has been noted. As a verbal suffix it often figures as an oral comma. Compare also §15.

itsi're-m be' wiawak', I want to own a horse.

ickyo'cite isa'-m awo'rapiky, I have found a big strawberry.

ba'pi-m bi'uk', we reach a day.

ba'ra'wiə-m hira'k'e' dia'wawiciky, three things now I feel like doing.

ba'u'watcindaka-te-m bap'i'ehiky, I have just killed a meadowlark.

hira'k'e' isa'kce k'o-cdaka'te-m de'wa'tse wiawak, now several (*k'o'cdaka'te*) young men I want to send.

awace' wi'akaricte-m k'o' awa'xpawi'ky, I'll marry a Hidatsa girl.

ba'xuabisu-m awa'ka'k', I saw creatures.

hin'e' awuci'-m awa'ke'c, this cave which I saw.

itsi'ri-m baku'k', I gave him a horse.

bu'ə co'pe-m bara'k'buoma'tsiky, we'll give you four songs.

bi'akaricte co'pe-m nu'tək', he took four young women.

-t', *-t(e)*. This seems to be a collective indicator of a class as such; with numerals it indicates the total number of a class, where *-dək'* would denote the

indicated as part of a larger number, for example, if there were more than four cardinal directions altogether. There may be a connection with usitative *-t* (p. 27).

hutse'c arahu'ac di' co'pə-t', cardinal directions, you four.

u'ac sa't'puə-t', his seven wives.

birəba'k'e isa'-te, old people!

ii. *Aspectual*.—With verbs, the suffix *-atsi*, *-(h)a't* denotes absence of a definite goal and also has distributive force. With nouns, adjectives, and numerals its meaning is approximative (“about,” “-ish”).

hawac da'w-at-ək', he was roaming about.

hawac i'kya-ha't-ək', he was looking around here and there.

ba'ru'c tsi'r-at-ək', he was looking for food.

u'a-ha't-ək', he climbed about (on different trees).

k'a'-sa'p-a't-ək', they (severally) laughed aloud.

biri'p-a'tək' ba'ru's-a'tək', they bathed and ate.

ba're co'p-atsi, about four winters.

co'p-a'tsem, about four.

papa's-a'tse, roundish (*papa'ci*, round).

sat-a'tsi-ky, it is thickish (*satse'*, thick).

us-a't-uə-c, their temporary cave (*us-u'ə-c*, their cave).

maru'x-a'tse, ice cream (*maru'xe*, ice).

-de. This suffix serves as an inceptive, expresses transitional or quick action or condition, but seems to have additional uses.

bara'x-de-ky, he began to sing.

bire'n-de'tseruk', he entered quickly, it is said (*bire'ri'tseruk'*, he entered).

a'xa'ce asa'-n-nək', at the very moment of sunrise (possible derivation: *asa'ri*, to come out; *de*; *nək'*, when).

-ditsi, *-dit*. Very common suffix, often with moderative meaning, but not always clearly definable.

was'a mi rap'e'-ritsi-ky ha'ka wap'e'-ritsi-ky, at first you hurt me, in the end

I was the one to hurt (*dap'e'*, to kill).

maraxte'-ritsi-m, I did not quite understand (*mara'xtə*, I do not know).

i'kya-ritsi'tseruk', he examined it (*i'kya*, to look).

ba'wara'pxe-rit'-bo-m, we shall bite somebody once in a while.

ba'wuse'-rit-bi-ky, I'll take a snack (*ba'wu'cbiky*, I'll eat).

bi'tsise'-rit'-bo-k', we shall take a little rest (*bi'tsici'ky*, I rested).

i'əxua-rit-ək', he concealed it, figuratively (*i'əxuə*, to hide).

i'tsipu'a-ritsi-en, he jumped for a while.

am-ma-rute'-rit-de't-dək', there was nobody he could appeal to (*dut'*, to seize).

isi'ipuxec xatsi'ə-rit'-k', he shook his rattle again and again.

-hak', *-hək'*. Meaning cannot be generalized; sometimes repetitiveness and

quickness of action is indicated; the *-k'* may, of course, be merely the predicative stop.

packya'-hak', he cut off.

hi' a-hək', he got there.

dacgyapa'-hak', he hit it several times.

ihu're'c dit'a'-hak', he hit his leg repeatedly.

dumbukaa'-hak', she quickly took it to her bosom.

k'an-na'-hək', he started.

-hi (*-he*). Inceptive; momentaneous.

ikya'-he'-tseruk', he caught sight of it.

akina'-he'-tseruk', he mounted it (horse).

maraxe k'o'wa'-hi-ək', as soon as his song was finished.

it'a'-hu'-tseruk', they woke up (qt.).

k'an-da'-hi-ky, he went forthwith.

di'ə-hu'-tseruk', they arrived.

sa'-hi'-tseruk', he fainted, died.

k'o'-ce-ra'-hi, that which you have just said.

-i, -e (pl. *-iru*). Usitative; often correlatively in main clause with a *-t* form in the subordinate clause (cf. p. 27).

haw-o'tsiə-t dici-wi'-o-t o'tsiəc dici'-iru-k', some night when they would wish to dance, that night they would dance.

it'-dic-iru'-suə, before they would dance. (Cf. p. 28.)

k'am-mara'xu-t bikyuku'-iru-k', whenever they began to sing, we would listen.

k'o'm-net-i'iruk', they would never stop.

k'uc basa'-iru-əc, they are wont to run toward them.

ba'm ira.'ut' du'-iru-k', the things that are talked about usually come.

bar'ici'-i-ky, I used to dance.

da'rici'-i-ky, you used to dance.

datsi're ba'tsik hu't' co'ot-da-e, when your husband comes with a pack, how do you act?

ace'c icgyewu'sawa'iky, I customarily take it inside the tipi.

ba'awa'ke't buci'iky, whatever I see, I regularly eat.

-hirək'. Uncertain meaning. Sometimes suggests the obviousness of the predication.

sa'pəm mari't da'tse a'ka'cdək bi'ru t'atsi-hirək', why do you boil a great deal, seeing that we are alone?

k'an-nu'ptaxi-sa-hirək', it could not spread any more.

xaxu'aka'sa du'tək' o; i-sa-p-de-wia-ra-m ahu'-hirək', bring me every one of them; what are you going to use them for, seeing there are so many?

-kice, -kis, -kce. With verbs this suffix suggests sportive rather than serious intentions, but this interpretation is only partly borne out. With nouns it expresses imitation, variation from the norm, or sportive use.

hawac-da'wat-kisu-rək', they were strolling about for their pleasure.

ba-wu'c-kici-wo-k, we'll feast (*bu'cbo'k'*, we'll eat).

ba-i'tsi-kici-m de'ky, you have something interesting, valuable, amusing (*i'tsi*, good).

isa'-kce, young man (*isa'*, big, old).

bira'-kce, match (*bire'*, fire).

icte-ki'ce, spectacles (*icte'*, eyes).

bara-kic'e, tally stick (*bare'*, wood, stick).

-t', *-t*. This suffix is usitative.

a'xace ku'a hi't', at noon (whenever the sun has reached the middle).

ba wakure'-t-k', I regularly hunt.

o'pi'kyu-t, whenever they would offer smoke.

bice' u'wo-t' du'ʷse o'xe'm-iru'-tseruk', when they shot buffalo, their ribs would break (qt.).

k'arahu'-t' icte'c xape'-t' du't'ək', when he came and dropped his pack, she took it.

ba'wara'tse a'ware'-t-ək', I am a letter carrier.

-tseruk', *-tseruct*. Quotative particles; I am unable to determine any difference in meaning between them. Formally, they suggest the usitative plural (p. 26) of some verb (say, "they are wont to say"), but the stem, *tse'*, means "to make" rather than "to say."

awa'tdak' datsi'-tseruk', he was sitting, it is said.

-tsi. Again, back. It is not certain that this is a suffix, for the same phonetic element appears for "again" independently and with prefixed *k'ara-*. We find such expressions as *tsi racipi'ky* (again he passed by him), and in *tsici'ky* (he turned back) *tsi* might even be taken for a prefix. However, the following give some warrant for inclusion in this place:

aww'-tsi-s-e'-tseruk', he put it back again (qt.). (Cf. *aww'se'tseruk'*, he put it in.)

aww'-tsi-sa-bak', I put them back in.

iii. *Modal suffixes and particles*.—The suffix, *-ma'tsi*, expresses positiveness, sometimes obligation or necessity; commonly with future forms.

di' watse'c-det-i'-ma'tsi-ky, you shall not be poor.

di'əxpacdi-ma'tsi-ky, you shall have your fill.

bire'ri.i-ma'tsi-ky, he will come in.

xaxu'a di'arari.-ma'tsi-ky, you shall do everything.

k'ar-awate' de'-ma'tsi-ky, it must have gone far.

-n. A kind of negative, usually or always in interrogative form, sometimes translatable by "hardly," "hardly possible" (conceivable), sometimes indirectly suggesting that something *ought* not to be.

bi'tsi co't' baka'tba-wo-n, what is it possible for us poor wretches to do for ourselves?

ac-bi'o-wici-n, we should not get to the camp (camp-we reach-to be extant-inconceivable, i.e., it is inconceivable that we should under like conditions be in camp).

wapa'kuse i'ək'ot k'ocdi'-n, future days like this will hardly be few.

bacta'xia i'tse'c hira' we'-wici-n-ək', my gun was fine now I'll never own it any more.

-*ba*, -*bə*. This reminds the hearer of something evident or already known to him.

ma'isa'kupe' ba'ih'i'rituc-bə, tricky people are good actors, you know.

-*wa*. Imperative particle.

ru'ta-wa, take.

-*kawe*. Imperative particle.

hu'-kawe, come.

-*ra*. Plural imperative particle, with or without preceding -*wa*.

na'wa-ra, go! (pl.).

-*det(a)*. Absolute negative.

icta'-reta, blind (*icte'*, eyes).

awak'-det-k', I have never seen him.

ihe' ba'ce'-reta'-tseruk', others were not killed (qt.).

iri'-reta'-tseruk', he was silent (*iri'*, to speak).

isa'pa'-reta, without moccasins.

tse'tbaru'cic isak'ik'y-deta'-tseruk', Eats-like-a-wolf had no supporters (*ak'i'kye*, spectator).

-*sa*, -*s* (pl. *su*). Negative, less absolute than -*det*; can be doubled. It forms fixed derivatives (see below, *diə'sa*, *a'xpa*). In ironic queries it suggests what is proper conduct.

ce'wa wi'awa-sa-k', I do not want to cause his death.

di'awa-sa-sa'-ta, I am not refusing, but . . . (*diə'*, to do; *diə'sa*, to refuse).

it'de-su-ə, before their departure (*it'*, yet; *de'*, to go).

it'bac'i'-sa-k', I am not yet dead.

uə'c a'xpa-sa-k', he divorced his wife (*a'xpa*, to marry).

i'tsi-s, without him (*i'tsi*, himself).

hawata'n di'we-sa, you ought to be wailing somewhere (lit., somewhere you are not wailing?).

-*xu*, -*x*. Dubitative in special sense of "whether . . . or."

ce'-xu hirə'wi-xu sa'pdəke', whether she is dead or is sleeping, which perchance?

diha'wi-x sa'pa, are you sleeping, or what?

de'ritse-xu hamna'tse-xu co't'darək', whether you want to own them or to give some away, do as you please.

it'birəxba'ka-xu co'ot'a, is he still living or how is it?

it'daxo'awisa'tsa-x co'otatsi, have you still a body or how is it?

-*he*. Interrogative enclitic.

di'c bace'wi-he, shall I paint your face?

-*dək'*, -*dake*. Interrogative particle (cf. §24, i).

sa'p'-dəke hin'e', what, perchance, is this?

-*k'*, -*ky*. Predicative particle, hence oral stop, and adjective verbalizer; also with most participial forms.

ham di'wap'i'am.bo-k, we shall kill some of you. (Cf. *ham di'wap'i'ambo*, we might kill some of you.)

isa'kawuəte kyo'ra-k', it was Old Man Coyote (*kyo'ra'*, to be there).

micge-ci're k'o'n du'tsi-ky baria'tu-k', Yellow-dog took it, we think. (Cf. *birəxba'kdək'*, *k'o'n dutsiky diri'atu*, do you think some person took it?)
xawi'-ky, he is bad.

-*m*. Oral comma rather than full stop (cf. §15).

tsira'kce ba'pari'nete-m, tomorrow being Sunday,

-*wi*, -*wikyarama*. Emphatic.

i'tsi-wiky, it is truly fine.

-*co*. Inferential.

ba-hu'ri-kyo-co, it must be something from yesterday (*hu'ri*, yesterday; *kyo*, demon.).

di watsa'ts-co ba'ri'arak', you must be powerful to do this.

-*da'tse*. This seems to imply future probability; it is commonly preceded by -*c*.

i'tsi-i-c-da'tsi-ky, it will be well, I think. (Also translated: it looks as if it were going to be good.)

an-de'-c-da'tse, where he was likely to go.

ar-aci'-c-da'tse, where it (the sun) would appear.

iv. Verbalizing.—For -*k'* (-*ky*) and -*m*, see p. 29.

-*bici*, -*bice* (*bic*). This denotes either ownership or a state of being extant.

a'm-bici-ky, there was land.

ha'm-bici, is there any?

ak'-itsi'm-bice, those who had horses.

du'a-wici, are you married? (*du'a*, your wife.)

tsi'm-bici-ky, she is married. (*tsire'*, husband.)

iru'pxe is-baxe'mbi-wici-tseruk', his father owned goods (his father his goods were extant, it is said).

ak'-pi'ce-re-wic-dək', all who follow her (lit., if there be those who go behind her).

-*t*, -*te*. Expresses resemblance to preceding noun.

micgy-ihe'-tə-k', he looks like another dog.

di'a'para'axe-tə-k', you are like a ghost.

k'o'te'-tə-k', it was like that (*k'o'tək'*, it was thus).

-ka, -gya, -kya. Causative suffix, probably related to regular verb *tse* (pl. *ku*), with which it can be combined.

di't'acduo cipi'tse'-gya'-ra, have your shirts blackened.

awa'tsi'-gya-k', he makes them sit.

bi ce''-gya, cause me to die.

tsu'se ci'ri'-gya-k', half he made yellow.

isba'xec de'-gya-k', he threw his hoop (*de''tse'ky* also used).

hu'-tse'-gya, have it sent. (Note caus. vb. plus caus. suff.)

hin'e' itsu'ke'c ictse'tec tsi''-gya-k', he made his younger brother pack his scout emblem.

v. *Vocative, emphatic, diminutive*.—The suffix *-ce* is vocative, not obligatory. *bi'akaricte-ce*, young woman.

-n. Vocative plural, but not obligatory.

bi'aka-te-n k'ambo-k', girls, I have come.

biraxba'ke-n do'sxa-ra, people, come nearer.

-ta-re. Probably basically nominal, but often found with verbs; denotes genuineness, emphasis.

bice'-ta-re, real buffalo (i.e., not cattle).

dici'sa-ta-re, by no means dance!

k'o't'-ba-sa-ta'm-biky, thus I verily shall not do.

-ka-ce, ka's. Superlative suffix, hence commonly with adjectives, but also with nouns in the same sense as *-ta-re*, and with verbs for emphasis.

bi''pe masa'-ka-ce, the very first snowfall.

a'-ka'-c-i, (they) will be most abundant (*ahu'*, many; *-i*, fut. 3 p.).

bice' ari'tsi-kya-ce, the buffalo that are the best.

k'arasa-p-ka's-u-rək', when they sang the best.

-ka-ta. Diminutive; used also to express affection; often attenuated to a general adjectival ending; with numerals often expressing the idea "only . . ." With verbs it denotes sympathy with the subject.

bi'a-ka-te, a girl (*bi'a*, woman).

cikya'-ka-te, a little boy.

batse'-kya-te, dear man.

nu'p-ka-te, only two.

cipi't-ka-te, black.

cu'ə-ka-te, blue.

k'ambiriwaxpu'a-ka-t-dək', when the sun had just gone down.

hire'r ace'c ari'-c-kya-t-u'c, these poor people who had been hungry.

vi. *Plural*.—When expressed, plurality is denoted by reduplication or by the suffix *-u, -uə, -o*. This suffix may appear with adjectives, diminutive or negative particles, and so on, as well as with nouns and verbs. For the imperative plural, *-ra* is added to the stem.

The phonetic principles followed are not wholly clear. Some words substitute the suffix for the final vowel, others add it. Certain stems ending in *e'* prefer *-o*,

which always seems to follow a terminal *u*; a terminal *ε* or *i* is changed to *a* before the plural suffix. Note the difference between *duci'*, *dusu'* (he eats, they eat) and *duci'*, *dusa'u* (he lays down, they lay down). *-uə* forms a gerund equivalent, but also a new noun with modified meaning.

The most common method is illustrated by *sa'xi* (does he snore?), *sa'xu* (do they snore?). Similarly: *o'ri* (wait), *o'rapi* (find), *du'pi* (smell), *iha'wi* (sleep), *ira'pi* (to be fat).

The following list illustrates the above-mentioned variants:

SINGULAR	PLURAL
<i>bice're</i> , buffalo chip.	<i>bice'ru</i>
<i>bice</i> , buffalo.	<i>bice'o</i>
<i>bi'ə</i> , woman.	<i>bi'u</i>
<i>bi'ə</i> , stone.	<i>bi'o</i>
<i>batse'</i> , man.	<i>batse'o</i>
<i>sape'</i> , who.	<i>sape'o</i>
<i>e</i> , he owns.	<i>a'u</i>
<i>ce'ky</i> , he is dead.	<i>su'k'</i>
<i>he'ky</i> , he says.	<i>hu'k'</i>
<i>tsire'</i> , husband.	<i>tsira'u</i>
<i>bire'</i> , fire.	<i>bira'u</i> (coals)
<i>tsiri'</i> , he fears.	<i>tsira'u</i>
<i>tsiwaki'</i> , he prays.	<i>tsiwaka'u</i>
<i>xawi'</i> , bad.	<i>xawa'u</i>
<i>bakara'wiky</i> , I'll run.	<i>bakara'wuk'</i>
<i>isa'te</i> , big.	<i>isa'tu</i>
<i>u'ə</i> , wife.	<i>u'o</i>
<i>bo'k'</i> , I came.	<i>bu'o'k'</i>
<i>cu'ək'</i> , he spits.	<i>cu'ok'</i>
<i>ikyuctsi'ky</i> , he got out.	<i>ikyuctu'k'</i>
<i>du'tsiky</i> , he takes.	<i>du't'u'k'</i>
<i>iəxpa'ciky</i> , he is sated.	<i>iəxpa'su'k'</i>
<i>dici'</i> , to dance.	<i>disu'ə</i> (dancing)
<i>ace'</i> , tipi.	<i>asu'ə</i> (home)

§§25-29. VERBS

§25. Independent Pronouns

The independent pronouns are: *bi'*, I; *di'*, you; *bare'*, we; *bi'ru*, we (emphatic, in contrast to others). The third person is not usually expressed, but is sometimes rendered by *i'* (e.g., *i' + t'a'tskya't*, he alone [cf. also its use in the future, §27]) and seems related to *i-* (p. 20). The third person object is inferred from the context; an indefinite object or possessor is rendered by *ba-*, *bare'-*.

The independent pronouns serve as subjects of neuter verbs, including verbalized adjectives, and as objects of transitive verbs. With *bare'* as subject the verb is not pluralized, with the other pronouns it may be.

bi' tana'k', I shiver. *ana'k'*, he shivers. *di' tana'.uk'*, you shiver.
di' tana'k', thou shiverest. *bare' tana'k'*, we shiver. *tana'.uk'*, they shiver.

<i>bi wici'ky</i> , I was born.	<i>bare' wici'ky</i>
<i>di wici'ky</i> , thou wast born.	<i>di wisu'k'</i>
<i>bici'ky</i> , he was born.	<i>bisu'k'</i>

bita'xia-re, cast him aside (*bita'xiə*, to cast away; *-re*, imper. pl.).

han-du-c-ba'tse'-wi-ky, I'll make them eat some (*han*, some; *du-c*, to eat; *ba'tse'*, I cause; *wi*, 1 p. fut.).

ma-a-sa'tək', he was hunting (*ma-*, indef. obj.).

ak'-bare-acu'-pckyo', those who cut off persons' heads (*acu'*, head).

The reflexive pronouns are *bi'tsi*, *di'tsi*, *i'tsi*.

bi'tsi wa-wara'tsiky, I painted myself.

Some verb stems seem to have fused with the reflexives so as not to be conjugated independently.

bi'tsipu'ək', I jump (*di'tsipuək'*, *i'tsipuək'*, *bi'tsipu'o'k'*).

§26. Participles

Most verbs appear in two forms, the absolute predicative and the participial form. The participial (cf. §15) takes the same pronouns as the absolute predicative, but is never pluralized. It usually, but not always, ends in the *-k'* sound that serves as oral stop; I am unable to determine the meaning of its omission. With some verbs the same form does service for both the absolute and the participial.

The absolute is transformed into the participial form according to several distinct principles, depending upon the phonetic character of the stem. Stems ending in *tsi* change this into *t'(ə)*; other terminal *i* stems substitute *ə* (*a*), a preceding *c* becoming *s*; monosyllabic stems in *i* and *o*, however, add *ə*; a terminal *e* turns into *a*, with a preceding *ts* again changed to *t'*. Of these, the transformation of bisyllabic and polysyllabic *-i* stems seems most regular.

<i>ci'tsiky</i> , he throws.	<i>ci't'ək'</i>
<i>du'tsiky</i> , he seizes.	<i>du't'ək'</i>
<i>o'ritsiky</i> , he envies.	<i>o'rit'ək'</i>
<i>hiri'atsiky</i> , he thinks thus.	<i>hiri'at'ək'</i>
<i>bu'ciky</i> , I eat.	<i>bu'sək'</i>
<i>paci'ky</i> , he falls.	<i>pasa'k'</i>
<i>itse'ky</i> , he wakes up.	<i>it'a'k'</i>
<i>tsiwe'ky</i> , he tells.	<i>tsiwa'k'</i>
<i>ce'ky</i> , he died.	<i>sak'</i>
<i>he'ky</i> , he said.	<i>ha'k'</i>
<i>de'ky</i> , he went.	<i>da'k'</i>
<i>hi'ky</i> , he met.	<i>hi'ək'</i>
<i>tsi'ky</i> , he carried.	<i>tsi'ək'</i>
<i>o'k'</i> , he brought.	<i>o'ək'</i>
<i>dap'e'ky</i> , he kills.	<i>dap'i'ək'</i>

The use of the participle has already been illustrated (§15), but further samples may be helpful.

du'sək isi'tse'tseruk', having eaten, he was pleased, it is said.

— *ha'k' na'u'tseruk'*, “——”, they said and went.

k'ara'k' di'o'tseruk', fleeing, they got there.

asa'rək' da'u'tseruk', going out, they went off (*asa'riky*, he goes out; *asa'ruk'*, they go out).

anna'ko daxt'ə'k' k'anna'u'tseruk', having tied their saddles, they went (*daxtsi'ky*, *daxt'u'k'* he ties, they tie).

a'ken iru'ə ka'u'tseruk', above him standing they were.

iru'ək' datsi'tseruk', standing he remained.

hin'e' watse' ba'risa't' ba'ritsic, this man hating I have been.

batse'rək' e'ndək' natsi'tseruk', a man easing himself he was.

i-wi'wak' baru'ka'ciky, for that reason I, crying, I continue superlatively.

di'rua da'ritək', standing you remain.

di' awa'ka wa'rit'-biky, you I shall keep on seeing (I see-I remain-I shall).

batsi'kisək' a'aku'-tseruk', dart throwing they were, it is said.

du'sək' na'ku'tseruk', eating he was.

§27. *Future Conjugation*

Apart from the prefixing of the independent pronouns to the aorist-present of neuter verbs (§25), conjugation may be considered under two minor heads: the future conjugation of all verbs, and the aorist-present of active verbs.

In the future, both neuter and active verbs suffix *-bi*, *-di*, *-i* (or *-e*) for the three persons, respectively, pluralization being achieved by the usual suffix *-u* (*-o*). The singular endings thus coincide with the independent personal pronouns, a feature shared with Hidatsa.

In the first person plural, a supplementary form appears, *bi'ru*. Sometimes it suggests an exclusive, sometimes it seems to convey the idea of first person subject with second person object.

iha'-i-ma'tsiky, it will be different.

ba'c-bi-ky, I shall die.

i'se diru'tsi-ri, thou mightest touch his face (*diru'tsi*, you touch).

k'o't-ba-wi-ky, thus I'll do.

k'o't-da-ri-ky, thou mayst do so.

be'-wo-k', let us go.

bare'-wi-ky, I'll go.

ba-wu'c-bo-k', let us eat something.

co'ot'-ba-wu, what shall we do?

bire' awa'ptsi-wu-k', a fire let us build.

batsi'm-bi-ky, I'll look for it (*batsi'ri*, I look for).

batsiwe'-sa-wi-ky, I'll not tell.

ace' a-wi'-sa-wu-k', the tipi we'll not take it to.

mi' ru'pi-e, she will scold me.

di' ra'cde-i-ma'tsiky, he'll pity you.

karatsi' *di'a-wa-wo-k'*, let us do it again.

ham bi'-wo-matsiky, some we'll meet.

o'tsia-nək k'an-de'-o-matsiky, when it is dark, then they shall go.

co'n di'a-ra-bia-ru, when will you (2) do it?

ha'kse e'ra'tse-ro-matsiky, finally you (pl.) will know.

di'a-wa-wi-ru-k', we'll do it.

di a-we'-wi-ru-k', we'll take you.

diawa-warak'-bi-ru-k', we'll make it for you (*warak'* = I for you).

ba'm di wa'wa'xu-wi-ru-k', something I'll ask you (2).

§28. Aorist-Present

Causative verbs suffix the pronoun particles, all other verbs prefix them. Verbs may be considered under the heads of: regular prefixless stems with initial consonant; causative forms; initial vocalic stems; verbs with instrumental prefixes; and irregular verbs.

i. *Regular prefixless stems*.—Such stems beginning with a consonant prefix *ba* (*ba'*) and *da* (*da'*) for the first and second person, respectively. In the second person the accent is usually thrown forward. The complete paradigm is given for the first example only.

ba'-k'a'-k', I laugh.

da'-k'a'-k', thou laughest.

k'a'-k', he laughs.

ba'-pa'-k', I shout.

ba'-k'u'-k', we laugh.

da'-k'u'-k', you laugh.

k'u'-k', they laugh.

ba'-pa'-u-k', we shout.

Essentially similar are: *tsiri'* (to fear; pl., *tsira'u*), *bara'xi* (to sing), *sa'xi* (to snore), *xaru'ci* (to run; pl., *xaru'su*), *basa'* (to run; pl., *basu'*), *cu'ə* (to spit; pl., *cu'o*), *di'ri* (to walk; pl., *di'ru*), *tsici'* (to turn back; pl., *tsisa'u*).

In a variant the pronouns are the same, but the first vowel of the stem is elided or altered.

pa'tsire', to push (1 p., *baptsi're'ky*; 2 p., *da'ptsire'ky*).

pa'xe'tsi, to pierce (1 p., *bapxe'tsiky*; 2 p., *da'pxe'tsiky*).

ce', to die (1 p., *ba'ciky*; 2 p., *da'ciky*; 1 p. pl., *ba'su-k'*).

ii. *Causative forms*.—These suffix regular pronouns for the first and second person. For the third person they add *ə* (*a*), or transform the final stem vowel to *e* or *i*. The causative pronouns are suffixed to an adjective, a noun adjective complex, or a verb.

cipi'-wa-k', I blacken (*cipi'*, black).

xawi'-ra-k', thou hast done wrong (*xawi'*, bad).

bare' i'tsi-ra-k', thou treatest us well.

hi'-ə-k', he causes it to touch (*hi*, to reach, meet).

ha'w-e-ky, he destroyed it (*ha'wi-ky*, it is destroyed).

ha'm-ba-k', I destroyed it.

taci'-ə-k', he greased it (*ta'ci*, to be greasy).

bire-isa'-wa-k', I made a big fire.

is-bare'-a'ka-s-a-k', they made his firewood most abundant.

The apparently irregular verb *k'o'wi'ə* (to finish; *k'o'wi*, to be finished) is wholly regular, having regard to phonetic rules:

1 p. <i>k'o'm-ba-k'</i>	<i>k'o'm-bu-k'</i>
2 p. <i>k'o'm-na-k'</i>	<i>k'o'm-nu-k'</i>
3 p. <i>k'o'wi'-ə-k'</i>	<i>k'o'wi'-u-k'</i>

iii. *Initial vocalic stems.*—Many of these prefix the usual pronouns, but inverted and with intervocalic consonant forms, that is, *aw-*, *ar-*.

1. <i>awo'riky</i> , I wait.	<i>awo'ruk'</i>
2. <i>aro'riky</i>	<i>aro'ruk'</i>
3. <i>o'riky</i>	<i>o'ruk'</i>

Similarly: *o'tsipi* (to drive), *a'xine* (to beg), *u'ə* (to climb), *i'pi* (to cohabit), *o'wiə* (show), *a'ptsi* (build a fire), *o'rap* (find).

Other verbs merge the initial vowel with that of the first and second person pronouns, only *b-* and *d-* being thus actually prefixed to the third person form.

iha'wi, to sleep; *biha'wiky*; *dihawiky*; *biha'wuk'*.
e, to own; *be*; *de*; *ba'u*.

Similarly: *e'ra'xi* (to urinate), *o'xpi* (to shoot), *ikyuku'* (to hear), *iəxpaci* (to be sated), *ara'xtə* (not to know), *itse'* (to wake up; *bit'uk'*, 1 p. pl.), *i'we* (to cry), *axi'* (to cough).

One group of verbs with initial *i* vowel prefixes *d* in the second person, but substitutes *a* for *i* in the first person.

iri', to speak; *bari'ky*; *di'riky*; *bara'uk'*.
iri', to live; *bari'ky*; *di'riky*; *baru'k'*.

Sometimes the second person also substitutes *a*.

i:c ice'ky, his face he paints; *bi:c ba'ce'ky* (pl., *basu'k'*); *di:c da'ce'ky*.

iv. *Instrumental prefixes.*—

(a) *du-*, with the hand. This forms a large class of verbs, prefixing *bu-* and *di-* for the first and second persons.

du'tsi, to take; *burutsi'ky*; *diru'tsiky*; *burut'u'k'*.

Similarly: *du'ka'pi* (to scratch), *duckya'pi* (to press), *duta'tə* (to wring), *duxa'xi* (to insert one's hand), *duxtsi'* (to stuff), *duci'ci* (to break), *duci'* (to lay, put down), *dutsi're* (to touch).

(b) *ara-*, with the foot. These verbs substitute *ba-* and *da-* for the prefix. *arape'*, to kick; *ba'pe'ky*; *da'pe'ky*; 1 p. pl., *ba'pi'uk'*.

Similarly: *araxa'xi* (to insert one's foot),¹² *aratci'* (to slip), *aractsapi'* (to step).

¹² Cf. *duxa'xi*, above under (a).

(c) *da*, with the mouth. This class conforms to the conjugation of regular prefixless verbs (§28, i).

da'tsi, to seize with the teeth; *bara'tsiky*; *dara'tsiky*.

Similarly: *daxu'tsi* (to suck in), *da'pxi* (to bite).

(d) *da*, with violent action (?). These verbs substitute *ba* for first person, and lengthen the vowel for the second person, throwing the accent forward.

dap'e', to kill; *ba·p'e'ky*; *da'p'e'ky*; *ba·p'i'uk'*.

Similarly: *dasa'tsi* (to split), *daxtsi'* (to tie), *daka'ci* (to drive into the ground), *da'tsitsi'* (to smash), *dak'bire'* (to knock down).

v. *Irregular verbs*.—Many common verbs are partly or wholly irregular, usually as the result of contractions.

SINGULAR	PLURAL
1. <i>ba·k'</i> , ¹³ I arrive, meet.	<i>bi'uk'</i>
2. <i>dara·k'</i>	<i>dari'uk'</i>
3. <i>hi·ky</i>	<i>di'uk'</i>
1. <i>bo·k'</i> , ¹⁴ I come.	<i>bu'o·k'</i>
2. <i>daro'k'</i>	<i>daru'o·k'</i>
3. <i>huk'</i>	<i>du'o·k'</i>
1. <i>bare'ky</i> , I go.	<i>ba'uk'</i>
2. <i>dare'ky</i>	<i>dara'uk'</i>
3. <i>de·ky</i>	<i>da'uk'</i>
1. <i>bak'</i> , I say.	<i>buk'</i>
2. <i>dak'</i>	<i>duk'</i>
3. <i>he·ky</i>	<i>hu·k'</i>
1. <i>ce'wak'</i> , thus I say.	<i>ce'wuk'</i>
2. <i>ce'rak'</i>	<i>ce'ruk'</i>
3. <i>ci'ək'</i>	<i>ci'uk'</i>
1. <i>a'm·atsiky</i> , ¹⁵ I sit.	<i>a'm·atu·k'</i>
2. <i>a'mnatsiky</i>	<i>a'mnatu·k'</i>
3. <i>awa'tsiky</i>	<i>awa'tu·k'</i>
1. <i>bu'ciky</i> , I eat.	<i>bu·su'k'</i>
2. <i>diru'ciky</i>	<i>diru'su·k'</i>
3. <i>du'ciky</i>	<i>du'su·k'</i>
1. <i>bari'atsiky</i> , I think thus.	<i>bari'atu·k'</i>
2. <i>diri'atsiky</i>	<i>diri'aru·k'</i>
3. <i>hiri'atsiky</i>	<i>hiri'atu·k'</i>

¹³ Similarly: *a·wa·k'*, *a·rara·k'*, *a·i'ky*; *a·wi'uk'*, *a·rari'uk'*, *a·ri'uk'*, I bring (*a* + *wa·k'*, etc.). Note contraction in 3 p. sing.

¹⁴ Similarly: *a·wo'k'* (I bring), *a·raro'k'*, *o·k'*; *a·wu'o·k'*, *a·raru'o·k'*, *a·ru'o·k'*. Note contraction in 3 p. sing.

¹⁵ Probably compounded of *ba'tsi* (to lie at rest) and *awe'* (ground).

§29. *Pronominal Subject and Object*

There are some irregularities, such as *mak'u'k'* (he gives me; never *bi k'uk'*); but generally the pronouns are simply combined, the second person object preceding first person subject and the first person object preceding the subject.

di wap'e'wima:tsiky, I shall kill you.

k'an mi ratsi'we:ky, already you have told me.

bi ri'kyuku, do you hear me?

bare' di'kyuku, do you hear us?

bare' a:re'wi`ak', he will take us away.

TEXT

K'A·RICBA·PI·TUəC

1. base' awace' apsa'ruk'e bare' hawa't'ka't k'o' wirəxba'k' hawa'tka't. 2. a'xace kyo'rək'. 3. a'xpe sape'orək' mara'xdək' a'xpawisu'tseruk'. 4. di'ə ba'wi'itsikya'te mirəxba'k' sa'pu diri'atsi? 5. co'rat' hawat'dək'? 6. a'ra awace' ba'wi'itsikya'te k'o' bari'atsiky. 7. hira'k'e' bu'awicbiky ba'ri'atsiky. 8. bu'awic bi'awak' i'ri'wawa'xuk'. 9. k'o't'dək' awace' wi'akari'ctem k'o' awa'xpawiky. 10. he'rək' sape'rək'e' ba'wi'ak'usiri' i'tsikya'te? 11. apa'rirək' ara wi'ky'a' k'amba'wari'a wa'i'tsikya'ce k'o'k'. 12. barewi'ak'usiri'a bi ri'skawa'cda'rək' ba'it'a'k'a ba'tse'wiky. 13. k'ahē' k'o't'dək' k'andare'riky. 14. k'o't'ba'wiky ha'k' k'anda'hi'tseruk'.

15. hire'n awace'c isbatse'tuwicdək' na'k'e bi'akari'ctərək'. 16. hin'e' watse'tsec isbi'awicdək'. 17. hin'e' ra'k'ecdək' isbi'acdək' batsi'kyaxa'tu'tseruk'. 18. na'm ba'awi'əce'wo'k' hire'te' a're'ky bare'he'res bak'ara'tsiəm k'o' k'o'n ba'awi'əce'wo'k'. 19. k'anna'u'tseruct. 20. mare' raxo'tək' pe'rits ismannə'k' xu'arək' ara'tsia k'o' ma'i'əsu'tseruk'. 21. ba'i'əcekis'ək' ba'k'o't' ka'u'tseruk'. 22. co'ka hu'annək' apa'ri-rək' hin'e' bare xu'ac k'o'ra'tseruk'. 23. hi'ra i'ky'a e'ky apa'riky. 24. xatsi'sa burutsi'wiky. 25. hin'e' watse'tse ra'k'bi'əc k'o'n ce'tseruk' bare'c u'ək' de'tseruk'. 26. apa'riəc hin'e' wi'akari'ctec k'arahi't' baxa''n də'ku'tseruk'. 27. k'o't'a' k'arapi'ce da' wi'tseruk'. 28. hin'e' isba'xi'əc k'o'rək' ara hi'ra k'arawate' dare'm batsa'tsk'. 29. k'aratsisa' hu' xatsi'sa. 30. bare't'ək' k'amburutsi'wiky. 31. hin'e' wi'əkari'cte isba'xi'ə k'o'rək' a'xpec i'kyare'rək' k'araxi'xi'aka'ta'tseruk' ha'kse k'ari'kyasa'tseruk'. 32. k'arak'o'n a'x'ace k'o'n dut'a'k' a're'tseruk'. 33. k'arahu'rərək' acdək' tsi.i'əka't' hawa't'ka't' k'o'ra'tseruk'. 34. hire' ri'ək' hu'ra hi'tseruk'. 35. awe'ren iru'ahi'tseruk'. 36. iogyawu'ən hu'm'a xu'utse. 37. bire'ri'tseruk'. 38. k'a'ri'tseruk'. 39. hin'e' acgyewu'rəc ba'k'o'n da't'ək' biri'wa'bise'ky a'xacec k'u'tseruk'. 40. hiri'ky co'c daro'? 41. ha't' dək' ba'k'o'n baka.'um dire'n bare' ara'xpa wi'arak' diru'ka'cim k'ambu'əct di'awa'xpa wi'awak'.

42. birəxba'k'e k'o' rusu'tseruk'. hin'e' k'a'rec baritsi't'ək' hin'e' wi'akari'ctec k'u'tseruk'. 43. bare't'k' biky hiri'ate buci'sak'. 44. hin'e' a'xacec kyo'rək': hə k'o't'dək' sa'p' diru'ci? 45. bice'rək' itsi'rikyacirək' u'uxarək' k'o' wu'cict. 46. k'a'rec k'o'rək': di'a iro'oce na' wice' ari'tsikya'ce du'a o'k'u' a'raro'rək' andu'cbi.a duci'i. 47. bice'rək' o'tseruk' axu'a k'o't'a'. 48. a'ka'tək' ba'pe' co'rət' ictu'keck'araha'wim k'aratsi' u'xərək' bice'rək' hawo'i'tseruk'. 49. ba'k'o'n da'ka'tək'. 50. a'su'əc k'araka'xtatsi'tseruk'. 51. datsi.'en e'risa'tseruk'. 52. da'ka'tək' da'k'bici'tseruk'. 53. cikya'ka'tseruk'. 54. a''əkək' a''əkək' de'ra k'amma'isa'tseruk'. 55. hin'e' a'xacec k'o'rək' na'kec icta'xia di'ə'tseruk'. 56. ise' ku' di'ə'tseruk'. 57. daka'karək' ma'pit' ma'a'sa'tək'. 58. naka'ka'tarək' ma'isacpi'tka'tarək' ba'iky dap'e'riky. hin'e' a'xacec kyo'rək'. 59. iro'oce daka'ka'te xaxu'a da' rirətə ma. u'wutci're k'uk' di'sa k'u t'a'tskya'te he'tseruk'. 60. hira' wi'ace. 61. a'xacec k'o'rək'. ihi'ce api'se bice're du'xapisa he'tseruk'.

62. hin'e' cikya'kec ma'a'sa'tək'. 63. da'ko'ta daka'karək' ba'm di' wi'et k'ari'tsikya'cet ba.u'wutci're ire'n hin'e raka'kec duce'ra'hak naka'kec dara'wi'tse'tseruk'. 64. hin'e' wa.u'wutci'rec k'u'k'an k'o'ta'k' iru'ka'ci'tseruk'. 65. natsi'en k'arak'o'tse'tseruk' hin'e wa. u'wutci'rec. a'bara'xe'te ba'wiru'pxe bare' di'tsisam hem ba'ri'sum. 66. iru'ka'cdək'. 67. a'bara' xe'te ba'p'i'ambiky. 68. ise' ru't'ək'

TRANSLATION

OLD WOMAN'S GRANDCHILD

1. The first Hidatsa Crow we were one the same people one. 2. The Sun it was. 3. His companions who they were I do not know, there were companions, it is said. 4. "Come, some good-looking women people which do you think? 5. Which [tribe] if one of them?" 6. "Why, the Hidatsa have good-looking women they are the ones, I think." 7. "Now I'll marry, I think. 8. I want to have a wife, that's why I you ask. 9. If it is so, a Hidatsa young woman that I shall marry. 10. Then who, I wonder, [is a] suitor¹⁶ effective?" 11. A porcupine [spoke]: "Why, my elder brother, my gift of speech is the best [gift I have] that it is. 12. [For] courtship if you hire me quickly [without trouble] I'll do it." 13. "Well then, all right, now you shall go." 14. "That will I," he said, and forthwith he went.

15. These Hidatsa had a chief, his child was a young woman. 16. This chief had a sister. 17. This his child and his sister were about the same age. 18. "Let us go, let us do quillwork; here it is hot, trees among we having gone, shade there then we'll do quillwork." 19. They went. 20. The wood they entered a [species of] willow a tree,¹⁷ was leaning over, [in the] shade there they did quillwork. 21. They were passing the time embroidering, undisturbed they stayed. 22. Where he came from the porcupine this tree leaning there he was. 23. "Comrade, look, that porcupine. 24. Keep still, I'll catch it." 25. This chief's daughter she was the one who said it. The tree she climbed. 26. The porcupine [obj.] this young woman whenever she got to, he kept on going higher. 27. Nevertheless behind she proceeded. 28. This paternal aunt of hers it was [who spoke]: "Why, comrade, already far you have gone exceedingly. 29. Turn back, come, stop." 30. "No, I'll catch it." 31. This young woman her paternal aunt it was, her comrade when she looked at she was dim [irrecognizable]; at last she did not see her. 32. Then the Sun her took and carried her off. 33. When she was coming a tipi a white one one there it was. 34. There she went, she came she got there. 35. Outdoors she stood still. 36. "Inside come here, daughter." 37. She came in. 38. It was an old woman. 39. This one inside at ease was staying, the sun was not yet down, the Sun came back. 40. "Here you are! Wherefore have you come?" 41. "Why peacefully we were staying, you us [me] you marry you wanted you were bent on it, now I [we] have come, you I marry I want."

42. People [obj.] that they ate. This old woman was boiling [meat], [to] this young woman she gave. 43. "No, I this sort I do not eat." 44. This Sun it was. "Well, if so, what do you eat?" 45. "Buffalo and elk and deer—those I have been eating." 46. The old woman it was: "Do it, son, go; buffalo the best ones your wife fetch for her. When you bring it what she wants to eat, she may eat it." 47. A buffalo he brought, the body whole. 48. They lived on [time passed], day some their meat was gone, again deer and buffalo he used to bring some. 49. Comfortably¹⁸ they lived on. 50. Her home she forgot. 51. After a time she was pregnant. 52. She continued, she gave birth. 53. It was a boy. 54. They lived on, they lived on. Then now he had grown older. 55. This Sun it was, [for] his son a bow he made. 56. Arrows also he made. 57. Birds in the daytime some he hunted. "Little birds little rabbits any you may kill." 58. This Sun it was he. 59. "Son, birds all though you shot at, meadowlarks those do not shoot at—them alone," he said. 60. "Say! Woman!" 61. The Sun it was, "Red turnips do not dig up; buffalo chips do not turn over," he said.

62. This boy was hunting. 63. Now and then birds some when he was about to shoot at when it was just right, a meadowlark himself this bird would intermittently shield, the bird he caused to fly, it is said. 64. This meadowlark again and again he did the same thing, he persisted. 65. After a while he did the same thing this meadowlark. "Ghostlike one, what my father me [us] to shoot forbade," he said, "we do not shoot at."¹⁹ 66. He persisted. 67. "Ghostlike one I'll kill." 68. His arrows he took. 69. Sitting down when he

¹⁶ Literally, says something to women.

¹⁷ Literally, raven-tree.

¹⁸ The word seems to designate lack of change in their condition.

¹⁹ I am inclined to interpret *hem* in another sense and to make the sentence read: He (the Ghostlike one) is what my father forbade me to shoot at, so I am not shooting at him. To compare a person with a ghost is a favorite form of vituperation.

dət'ə'k'. 69. awa'tt'dək da't'de'rək de'gyak'. 70. hin'e' wa.u'wutci'rec awaxa' hi'tseruk'. 71. du'reta i'ə o'xexawək de'tse'tseruk'. 72. wa.u'wutci' cerec dara'wak' de'tseruk'. 73. de'ra a'taka.ta awake'tseruk'. 74. ba'k'o'n hawas ba'wək' i'wambi-aritskisü'əc. 75. co'ʔo k'ahu'rək'ʔ bare' ictitse'ce'ky anna'ko' co'okarək' i' asu'wiciky. ku'ka'ra'kuwi'əsa? ku'ka'ra'ku'usa he'tseruk'. hin'e' wa.u'wutci'rec k'o'n. 76. hin'e' cikya'kec iru'rit'dək' he'an da'se kyawi'tseruk'. 77. i'we'tseruk'. 78. k'u'tseruk'. 79. ba'ace'c k'o'wi'ək' ace' hi'tseruk'. 80. isa'ke'c k'o'rək': hiri'ky sa'pem di'we? 81. bi iru'pxe ma'u'watci're di'sa bi he'c hawa'tem daka'ke bari'wi' awa't hire'n duce'ra'ra'kuk'. 82. ha'kse ba'risa'tək' ba'ri'ky. 83. da'ra'wək' de'ra a'taka.ta awa'tək' bi' wa'tsiky. 84. sak'e'ʔ isa'ke'ck'o'n. 85. ba'hire'ta' iwambi'aritskisək'. 86. co'ka hu'rək' i' andaku' coka'rək' i' a'su'wicim ku'ka' wa'ky di'ək' da'ku'sa? he'tseruk'. 87. sa'pem hire'te' k'o' mare' wirəxba'k' bari'atu'əc bare' wirəxba'k' iha' bare' asu'a co'rəm i'ce'ʔ

88. hin'e' wi'əc iri'sa'tseruk'. 89. ara' bi witsiwa'wa i'gya' di wasa'kaka't ba'ic. 90. hinde' wi'əc iri'sa datsi'tseruk'. 91. a'ra iro'oce k'o't'dək'. 92. bare' birəxba'k' iha'k'. 93. hin'e' wi'əc k'o'rək'. hiro'cekyaten i'riatsi'tseruk' bi' ba'wice'c bice're du'xapisa bi he'ct sa'pi'ma'tsiky i'riatsi'tseruk'. 94. ho'we bi' buruxa'pbiky sa'p'dək' e'wa'tse'wiky. 95. na'wikyawe hawas ba'mbo'k'. 96. na'k'batsec k'o' ku'ka'k'. 97. e ha'k' na'u'tseruk'. 98. hawac da'watak' bice'ndək' tsitsi'xka't di'u'tseruk'. 99. hin'e' wi'əc du'xapi'tseruk'. 100. du'xapde'rək' xupa'k' datsi'tseruk'. 101. a'su'ac i'i'irəkən ace' iəxa'xək' datsi'tseruk' hiri'atak'. 102. i'kyak'. 103. de'se ak'ba'kure' batsa'tsi'tseruk'. 104. ace'rec ak'tsise'kyate ak'batsi'kice i'hawactsi wak'a'rak'. 105. hiri'tsi'sa ak'bu'ptsiritse i'hawac dacgyo'k' da'ku'tseruk'. 106. hin'e' wi'əc i'kyak' na'se xawi'tseruk'. iro'oce hu'kawe na'm e'ky awu'c i'kyakawe. 107. hin'e' cikya'kec na'mna awu'c i'kye'tseruk'. 108. bare' asu'a e'kyo'k' ara'ka. 109. e he'tseruk' hin'e' cikya'kec a wa'kak'. 110. di'rupxisa'kawicim it'k'o'rək'. 111. disa'kam-bici'm it'k'o'rək' di'kyərək'. 112. disba'xaxua it'k'o'ru'k'. 113. di'adi'rupxe kyu'rək' ba'm diri't di'ec di'kus ba'pce'wa'tse'rək' ci'ə. 114. e sa'p' ce'wa'wi. 115. bice'm a'cu'ci'sem axe' dap'i'ək' axu'a co'ten ambatsu'əwicgya'te xaxu'ata' ria du't'ək' o'. 116. da'rək' xaxu'a o'rək' i'wa'kawo'k' he'tseruk'. e k'o't'ba'wiky he'tseruct. 117. hin'e' wi'əc da'karaxta'ri iro'oce cewi'aka'ci. 118. ba'tsitse' wa'tse'wima'tsiky ba'kara'xtasawima'tsiky.

119. de'ra o'tsiorək' hin'e' iru'pxec ka'rak'u'tseruk'. 120. hin'e' wi'əc k'o'rək' na'k'batsec i'kyak' i'kyawi'tseruk'. 121. k'ara'xta'tseruk'. 122. hin'e' cikya'kec ikyawi'a ra'ku'tseruk'. 123. i'gya' sa'pem bi ara'k' k'awi'ara ra'ka'ko? 124. du'tsi-tsi're'tseruk'. 125. da'k'batsec cikya'kec ha he'tseruk'. 126. tsitse'tse'tseruk'. 127. axe' tsira'k'cirək' batse' ra're'rək' a'cu'ci'sem dap'i'ək' axu'ə ambatsu'awicgya'te xaxu'aka'sa du't'ək' o' waku'. 128. isa'p'de'wi'aram? ahu'hirek'. 129. i'wasa' waxdə'k' bacta'xia.ak' di'awak'. 130. batsu'a ihe' iri'awat hawa'k' a'cuci'se batsu'a tsitsu'tum i'kyo't'bak'. 131. hin'e' watse'c e k'o't'ba'wiky. 132. hin'e' tsira'k'cec k'anne'tseruk'. 133. hin'e' watse'c o'tsiorək' a'cuci'sec ham nap'i'ək' ba'tsu'ə xaxu'aka'sa o'tseruk'. 134. hin'e' watse'c tsira'k'ce k'o't'a' hawacde'tseruk'.

135. i'gya' hire'm batsu'əc k'araxaxu'a a'ruək' co'ot'da'rək'. 136. e i'tsiky. 137. batsu'əc k'ura'k' hi'n'e' wi'əc asa'ri'tseruk'. 138. hire' ri'ək'. 139. awa'koxe'rək' hi'k'. 140. di'ə hin'e' matsu'a a'pu'ək' batsi'i'tsipdək' xaxu'ata'ria di'ə. 141. e biha'-

[bird] was, he [boy] let fly. 70. This meadowlark dodged. 71. Along the back the feathers he ruffled he shot [the arrows]. 72. The meadowlark flying went away. 73. Then near by he sat down. 74. "Undisturbed we flying around we were playing. 75. Where does he come from? Us he is bothering. His residence wherever it be, he has a home. Over there he will not stay? over there he does not stay?"²⁰ said he, this meadowlark it was. 76. This boy was standing, a thought came to him, his heart was bad [sad]. 77. He cried. 78. He returned. 79. His hunting he stopped, the lodge he reached. 80. His mother it was: "Here you! Why are you crying?" 81. "My father, 'Meadowlark don't shoot at' me told; one [subj.] the birds [obj.] I wanted to shoot at these was regularly shielding. 82. At last I got angry at it and I shot at it. 83. It flew away and near by it sat and me mocked." 84. "What did it say?" his mother it was [who asked]. 85. "Around here I was playing. 86. Whence does he come? He his residence wherever it be, he has a home, there what he wants²¹ he does does he not stay?"²² he said. 87. Why here that kind of people we thought, we people stranger are?, our home where is it that he said that!"²³

88. This woman was silent. 89. "Why, me do tell me, mother, you as my dear mother I have held."²⁴ 90. This woman silent remained. 91. "Well, my son, it is so. 92. We are people alien." 93. This woman it was: "That must be why, I believe," she thought, "me something he said to: 'Buffalo chips don't peel off,' me he said to; there must be some reason," she thought. 94. "Well now,²⁵ I'll peel it, whatever it is I'll know. 95. Go ahead, around let us go." 96. Her son that to him she said. 97. "Yes," he said, and they went. 98. They walked around, a buffalo chip circular they reached. 99. This woman peeled it off. 100. When she had peeled it, a hole was there. 101. Her home was yonder, the tents white dots were, she thought. 102. She saw them. 103. Away from it hunters were many. 104. Among the tipis a little beyond the hoop players around together came and crossed one another. 105. This side the ball strikers were moving to and fro continually. 106. This woman saw it. Her heart was sad. "Son, come here, go, there inside look!" 107. This boy went inside he looked. 108. "Our home is there, do you see it?" 109. "Yes," said this boy, "I see it." 110. "Your grandfather is still there. 111. You have a grandmother she is still there, you if they see. 112. All your kin are there still. 113. Do it, your father when he comes back something when you say he does it, you to him I'll make say something, say it." 114. "Yes, what shall I say?" 115. "A buffalo albino [?], father kill the body wherever there are sinews all of them take and bring.' 116. If you say that and all if he brings, thereby we'll go home," she said. "Yes, I'll do it," he said. 117. This woman: "You might forget it, son, be sure to say it." 118. "I'll remember it, I'll not forget it."

119. Then that night this his father came back. 120. This woman it was her son looked at, she frowned at him. 121. He had forgotten. 122. This boy [obj.] she kept frowning at. 123. "Mother, why me you frown at you continue?" 124. She nudged him. 125. Her son the boy, "Ah!" he said. 126. He recalled. 127. "Father, tomorrow hunting when you go, an albino kill and the body wherever there are sinews every one of them take and bring for me." 128. "What are you going to use them for? There are [so] many." 129. "Thereby my arrows I'll fasten²⁶ and my bowstring I'll make. 130. Sinews other [kinds] which I use wear out, albino [?] sinews are tough, that's why I do it." 131. This man: "Yes, I'll do it." 132. This morning he went. 133. This man at night an albino [?] some killed, sinews all he brought. 134. This man in the morning right away went around.

135. "Mother, these sinews now all are brought; do as you wish." 136. "Yes it is well." 137. The sinews she carried, this woman went out. 138. There she went. 139. It was a spider she reached. 140. "Do it these sinews twine splice them, all of them truly, do it." 141.

²⁰ I.e., there he ought to stay.

²¹ Literally, he sees.

²² I.e., why does he not stay there, where he can do what he wants?

²³ The construction here is not wholly clear, but the sense is: we thought we were people at home here; are we strangers? And where is our home that he was able to say what he did?

²⁴ A favorite form of pleading, here equivalent to "Mother of mine."

²⁵ Literally, give me room.

²⁶ I.e., tie the feathers and points.

nde'wima'tsiky. 142. ci'ahikya'ta du'ara. 143. de'ra k'araci'ahikya't'dək' k'andu'o'tseruk'. 144. ar'a co'ota'tsi bari'ərec? 145. k'ambiha'riky hinde'ky. 146. du'tsi'tseruk'. 147. du'ra ace' ri'o'tseruk'. 148. isbatsi'pe du't'ək'. mawa'pi we'wo'k'. 149. asa'rək da'u'tseruk'. 150. hire' ri'ək'. 151. hin'e' wice're andu'xapu'əc hi't'seruk'. 152. kaka ru't'ək' bita'xiə'tseruk'. 153. di'a hu' iro'o'ce di'sbirəxbak' ara'ka wi'ərec k'ambe'wo'k'. 154. isbatsi'pec du't'ək' hin'e' wice're andu'xapex bita'xiə'tseruk'. 155. anno'pe'c isbatsi'pec a'aku'tsi'c du'ci'tseruk'. 156. hin'e' watsu'əc asa'ke' u'pa'kusa'ke hin'e' batsi'pec k'o' iraxtsi't'seruk'. 157. na'kec tsi'ək' hin'e' an'o'pec k'o'm bire'ri 'tseruk'. 158. hin'e' watsu'əc du'uxa'sək'. 159. k'arak'o'n na'u'tseruk'. 160. aho'ka'ta na'u'tseruk'. 161. k'anna'rari'o k'anna'rari'u'. 162. awe' di'su'tseruk'. 163. k'o'n xə'xaxiək' a'ku'tseruk'. 164. ara sa'pdək'iro'o'ce awe' wi'suk'? 165. a'ra i'saraxə' ba'tsu'a o'sam i'kyo't'ək'. i'awe' wi'su k'o'k'.

166. de'ra hin'e' a'xacec k'u're'rək' bu'arək' na'karək' k'o'ra'su'tseruk'. 167. a'ra bu'ərək' bara'karək' co'c da.urak'e? i'riat'ək'. 168. he'rək' a'ra ba'm di'əsa wa'tse'c di'oma'tsiky i'kyo't'k'. 169. ba'tsitsi'mbiky. 170. hu're'rək' anna'uc ho'pək' datsi'tseruk'. 171. i'i'rək'am'u'ən xə'axaxi'ək' a'ku'tseruk'. 172. a'ra i'ə' k'o'tse'wi'ərək' bi'tsiwa'k' de'wi'ərək' i'tsiwak' de'wa'tse'wima'tsiky. 173. xawi'owiky he'ritək' da'se xawi'tseruk'. 174. bu'rək' papa'cirək' nu'tək'. 175. b'əce e'ky batsu'aka'te a'tsiwak' da' i'i'rək' amu're hi'ək'. 176. baka'te k'uk' bare't'k' b'ə acu'o k'o' k'o' i'rit'dək' dap'i'ə ha'k'. 177. e k'o't'ba'wiky. 178. hin'e' w'əc du't'ək' de'tse'tseruk'. 179. k'ara hire' ri'ək'. 180. na'mna hin'e' wi'əc acu'a i'rit'de'tseruk'. 181. i'kyec hin'e' watsu'aka' tec'iruxə'mbak'. 182. k'ar awe' i'ritsi'tseruk'. 183. k'o'n cikya'kec hawacda'watak' isa'ke'c k'o' da'ku'tseruk'. 184. ma'asa't'ək' k'u't' na'o'tsiət' k'us xapi'tseruk'.

185. k'a'ndək' a'su'wisək' ictatci'a ahu'tseruk'. 186. tsira'kecit' hin'e' kya'rec ictatci'a hu hi're't' isxo'xacec du'kakak' ammat'su'ke'tse xaxə'mbak ka'iru'tseruk'. 187. iskuku'we hi'ret' pu'tək' ka'iru'tseruk'. 188. hupu'ba'k'. 189. hin'e' k'a'rec k'o' rək': sap'dəke hin'e'? k'o't'a' ba'axuawic sa'p'dək' ak'bihi're'ta'rec hin'e' sa'p'dək' bi hi'ky. 190. ho'we e'wa'tse'wiky. itce'i'kyare'rək' i'ət'ka'ta'tseruk'. 191. hin'e' ba'ka'tək' i'riatsi'tseruk'. 192. ho'wekyawe bi'aka'taxua cikya'ka't'dək'? 193. bara'xia aru'ute di'ək'. 194. hin'e' aratci'əc k'o'n du'ci'tseruk'. 195. bu'ptsirək' di'ək' i'wu'ptsiritse k'o'n nu'ci'tseruk'. 196. da'k'u'tseruk'. 197. hin'e' k'a'rec cikya'ka't'dək' aru'uterək' mara'xiarək' du'tsi.ima'tsiky. 198. bi'aka't'dək' hin'e' bu'ptse'rək' i'wu'ptsiritu'ərək' du'tsi.ima'tsiky. 199. hin'e' kya'rec o'tsiəc xapi'tseruk'. 200. tsira'k'cec i'watsi'sak' hu'a hi'tseruk'. 201. ictatci'a k'use' na'mna hi'tseruk'. 202. he're'rək' hin'e' bu'ptsec u'wu ice'a hiri'tseruk'. 203. aru'utec bara'xiəc k'o'ra'su'tseruk'. 204. a'ra cikya'kak'. 205. sa'pə k'o' hu're'rək'e'? 206. xatsi'sa hu're'rək' burutsi'wiky. 207. he'rək' aratci'ə he'rin iəxu'a'tseruk'. 208. hin'e' cikya'kec k'o' ru'tsiwi'ək'. 209. o'ri'tseruk' ictatci'ə he'rin. 210. de'ra k'arahu'tseruk'. 211. cikya'kec hu'ra daxo't'de'rək' iru'ək'. 212. hin'e' kya'rec: ara hiri'ky iro'ckya'te co'k'araro'?' ha't'ək' hire'n baka'kat'ək'. 213. da'sua co'? 214. ba'su're't'k'. 215. k'o't'dək' bi' bi' t'a'tskya't' di.awa'xpək' baka'kuwiky. 216. e k'o't'bwiky. 217. iro'o'ce kuku'we u'sa du'uxe xawi'sa xo'xacirək' amma'wuce' k'o'k'. 218. k'a'ric k'ar a'xpək' da'ku'tseruk'. 219. de'ra o'tsiəc he're'rək' hin'e' cikya'kec k'o' ra'sa'tseruk'. 220. co'nde hin'e' cikya'kec? i'riatsi'tseruk'. 221. tsitsi'ri'tseruk'. 222. hu're'rək' isa'ke'c k'uc xa'pda't' datsi'tseruk'. 223. iro'o'ce di xapi'wak'. 224. ma'warisa'hiky. 225. disa'ke k'arapu'ək' xawi'ky. 226. k'arahi'sa k'arace'ky xawi'ky. 227.

"Yes, I'll be through quickly. 142. After a little while come ye!" 143. Then after a little while they came. 144. "Well, how is it you work?" 145. "Already I am done, here it is." 146. She took it. 147. They came, the tipi they got to; her root digger she took. 148. "Something we'll dig up." 149. They went out, they went. 150. There they went. 151. This buffalo chip where she had peeled she got to. 152. Again she took it, she removed it. 153. "Do it, come, son, your people whom you wished to see let us go [there]." 154. Her digger²⁷ this chip which she had peeled off she removed. 155. The hole her digger spanning it she replaced. 156. This sinew the point the upper end this digger there she tied it.²⁸ 157. Her son she carried on her back, this hole there she went in. 158. These sinews she held on to. 159. Then they went. 160. Slowly they went. 161. They went on and on. 162. The earth they did not reach. 163. There hanging they were. 164. "Well, why, son, the earth do we not reach?" 165. "Why, on the side of [buffalo] face sinews he did not bring, that is why, for that reason the earth we reach not that is it."

166. Then this Sun, when he came back, his wife and child were gone. 167. "Why, my wife and my child, where have they gone, I wonder?" he thought. 168. Then: "Why, what I forbade them they must have done, that is why. 169. I'll look for them." 170. When he came where they had gone a hole was there. 171. Yonder far down they were dangling. 172. "Why, if that is what they wished to do, me having told if they wanted to go, I'd have done it well I'd have let them go. 173. They have done it wrong," he thought, he was sad.²⁹ 174. A stone globular he took. 175. "Rock, that sinew [obj.] following go, there below get to. 176. The child that not, the woman's head that strike against and kill her," he said. 177. "Yes, I'll do it." 178. This stone he took and made it go. 179. There it went. 180. It proceeded, this woman's head it struck. 181. Her support [obj.] this sinew [apposition] [the impact] broke it. 182. The ground she struck. 183. There the boy roamed around, his mother there he continued [going around]. 184. He went hunting, whenever he returned when night would come toward [her] he lay.

185. There was an old woman, she had a home, her garden was extensive. 186. In the morning this old woman her garden when she came and got to, her corn was opened [pulled off], on the ground it scattered lay. 187. Her squashes when she got to punctured they lay. 188. There were holes. 189. This old woman it was: "What, I wonder, is this? All the time creatures whatever none ever got to me truly, this what is it that me has got to? 190. Now then I'll find out." The tracks when she looked at them were small. 191. "This [is] a child," she thought. 192. "Well, now, a girl whether or a boy?" 193. A bow arrows she made. 194. This garden there she put them. 195. A ball she made; a shiny stick there she put. 196. They were there. 197. This old woman: "If it's a boy, the arrows and bow he will take. 198. If it is a girl, this ball and shiny stick she will take." 199. This old woman this night lay down. 200. The next day she was anxious; she came and arrived. 201. Her garden toward she proceeded, she reached it. 202. When she looked this way, this ball was shot all over. 203. The arrows the bow were not there. 204. "Why, it's a boy! 205. Whence does he come from, I wonder? 206. Keep still, when he comes I'll catch him." 207. Then the garden in she hid. 208. This boy him she wanted to catch. 209. She waited her garden in it. 210. Then he came. 211. The boy came; when he had come in he stood. 212. This old woman: "Well, you there! little son, whence came you?" "Why here I stay." 213. "Your home where is it?" 214. "I have no home." 215. "All right, I I am alone, I with you I'll live." 216. "Yes, I'll do it." 217. "Grandson,³⁰ the squashes do not shoot, [plants] do not tear apart, the corn my food is this." 218. The old woman with her he lived. 219. Then this night when she looked here this boy was gone. 220. "Where did he go this boy?" she thought. 221. She looked for him. 222. When she came his mother toward lying he was. 223. "Grandson, you I lost. 224. I was worried. 225. Your mother is rotted, it is bad. 226. Do not

²⁷ This word should probably be omitted; it seems to me a mere ejaculation, anticipating the following sentence.

²⁸ I.e., she tied the sinew to the end of the digger.

²⁹ So translated, but more likely "angry" in the context.

³⁰ The Crow use the same term in *address* for son and grandson; the hero's name and his mode of addressing her indicates that the old woman is conceived as his adoptive *grandmother*.

sa'pəm? 228. o'tsiærək' bare.asu'a k'o' k'o'n daxa'pdək' i'tsi.ima'tsiky. 229. o'tsiærək' k'arawacde'sa bare' asu'a k'o' k'o'n xapi'. 230. e, k'o't't'ba'wiky. 231. maraxte'ritsim ikyo't'k'.

232. k'o'n da'ka'te'tseruk. 233. hawacda'wat'k'. ba'a'sa't'tək'. 234. isxo'xace a'nə'k' ət'ə'k'. 235. iro'o'ce bi' kyo'ra'sarək' xo'xace diru'c biara'rək' hi'cikya'te ara'xuasa ihe' hi'cikya'ta'se k'o' biri'sək' k'o' ru'u'ce.

236. de'ra he'rit'de'rək' isa 'ka'rec k'o'ra'sa'tseruk'. 237. hiro'oc masa'ka'ra ba'pēc'c sa'pdək' ice're'rək'? 238. ho'we' di'awak'sa'p'dək' e'wa'tse'wiky. 239. de'ra aratei'a hi'ək'. 240. xo'xace hi'cikya'tec k'o' ru't'ək' o't'seruk'. 241. o'ra biri'ci'tseruk'. 242. k'aro'cdək' sa'wək' sasa'pək' du'ira'wi'tseruk'. 243. hin'e' arasa'wec ba'xi'ru'tseruk'. 244. na'ra'wək' k'o't'a' e'tci ra'u'tseruk'. 245. mara'p an'o'pe k'o'n asa'rək' biri'erək' k'o'r asa'rək' e'tci karu't'seruk'. 246. e' ba'i'tsikisu'k'. 247. xo'xace kurut'ək' iha'te du'uci'tseruk'. 248. asa'rək' bara'pe tsitsi'pi'tseruk'. 249. biri'ə ku' tsici't'seruk'. 250. hiri'at'bak' arasa'ndet'bak'. 251. wasa'ka'are k'o'ri'əc ba'i'tsikicikya'su'm. 252. biri'ə' tsisa'k' k'araxaxu'a tsitsi'pək' xo'xace du't'ək' k'arara'xua'tseruk'. 253. de'ra sa'wək' sasəxpək'. 254. k'o't'a' naka'kec agyewu'a k'o'ta' dit'u'ə isəxpək' iha'wac tsiwaka'rak'. 255. ise' ru't'ək' hire'm maxi'rec iha'ta dap'i'a'kuk' hawe'ta'ri'tseruk'. 256. bici'əxpaka'te du't'ək' hire'm maxi'rec i'wat'k'uc da'xta ra'kək' ha'tsgeyeka'ce'tseruk'. ma'kuk'o'n i'kyo'tsi'tseruk'. 257. de'ra isa'ka're k'u't'tseruk'. 258. masa'ka're' sa'pe xo'xace hi'cikya'te biri'cisande'c? 259. k'o'ri'əc ba'i'tsikicikya'tu bi'ri'ara'tsisak'. 260. e, co'ot'at'? 261. bi'mbacim sa'wək' arasa'we xaxu'a baxi'rikya'tum xaxu'a wap'e'ky. 262. diru'cdək' bari'at'ək'. 263. e'ky'a' i'tsiky! 264. hu'ra hi're'rək' wa'ku k'o'n i'kyotsi'tseruk'. 265. e'kyuk'. 266. e, i'tsiky. 267. ho'we ba'ra'ambe'wibiky. 268. a're'ra. 269. da' hawac da'ra mara'k'e wara'xka'tem k'o't'ək'. 270. k'annu'sak' k'u'ək'. 271. hu'ra. iro'ce e'k baxi'rec bactatu'ə ak'i'əse k'o'ək'. 272. k'arak'o'tse'sa i'ru'pe. 273. e mara'xtam i'kyo'tək'. 274. k'o't' ba'sa-wima'tsiky.

275. na'tsi'ən co'ratsit' o'ce ri'ək' a'ka'sak'. 276. bita'rici'ə asa'ka'tse'n hin'e' o'ce ri'əc mita'ricia asa'ke' ari'tsi.ən de'tse'tseruk'. 277. da' co'ratsit' hin'e o'ce bita'raci'a ari'tsia de'kyu.oc bare'waxse'c kurutsi'ret' hin'e kya'rec ba'ha'mneta'ri awu'reta'ri'tseruk'. 278. de'ra co're'rit'ək' isa'ka're k'ora'sa'tseruk' co'c de'rit'de'rək'. 279. he'rək' hin'e' wasa'ka're i'ək'o'n e' kuruci'ky. 280. ha'mneta' na'kuk' sa'p dək'? 281. ho'wekyawe awa'kawiky. 282. ba'pu'xtatsgyerək' ha'nde'rək' hin'e' bita'raciec ari'tsiəta'tseruk'. 283. aci'ruceta a'im'biru'tseruk'. 284. iky'a'nde'rək' kari'tsia i' ictawu'ata datsu'suata'tseruk'. 285. a' hin'e' a'para'xe'te basa'ka'are e'kuruci't' ak'apa' ra'k'u'rec k'o'k'. 286. ise' ru't'ək' u'ə ice'hirək' dap'i'əhi'tseruk'. 287. de'ra isa'ka'rec k'arak'u't'seruk'. masa'ka'are he'tseruk' e' ra'kuruci't' akapa'ra'k'u'rec ba'p'i'ehiky. 288. e'ky'a'wa'. co'? 289. hin'e'ky hu i'kye. 290. na'mna i'ky'a'tseruk'. 291. e' wakuruci't' apa'ra'k'u'rec na'p'em i'tsiky. 292. ho'm a'wara'awa'xiwa'wiky. 293. du't'ək' ira'cb atsipa'hak'du'xaru'ək' are'ra bire' k'o' a'i'wi'ək' dactət'də'k'. 294. na' k'anna'. 295. k'o'ri'əc hin'e' kya'rec hin'e' wapu'xtatsgyec tsira' k'o'wisak'. 296. isba'pi'tec dap'i'ehi'tseruk'. 297. isa'ka'are tsire'c hin'e' wapu'xtatsgyec kyo'rək': k'a'rice bara'k'di'ara.iec hira'k' baha'm nara'k'. 298. bi watsa'tsiky bari'atsec di'sba'pi'te birap'e'ky andi'mbia tsi'ri. 299. hin'e' kya'rec k'o' i'werak

go to her she is dead, it is bad. 227. What for? 228. At night our home that there if you sleep, it will be well. 229. Tonight around do not go, our home that there lie down." 230. "Yes, that will I. 231. I did not quite know [understand], that is why."

232. There he stayed around. 233. Around he roamed. He hunted. 234. Her corn was plenty. 235. "Grandson, I when away, corn if you want to eat, the red do not boil, the rest red not that cook that eat."

236. Then when he looked around his grandmother was not there. 237. "Let me think, my grandmother what she said why did she say it? 238. Well, now, I doing it whatever it is I'll find out." 239. Then the garden he reached. 240. Corn red that he took and brought. 241. He brought and cooked it over the coals. 242. When it cooked it popped, it crackled [the kernels] were jumping. 243. This when it popped [turned into] blackbirds. 244. They flew off at the same time scattering they scattered. 245. At the smoke hole there they went out, also at the door there they went out separating they escaped. 246. "Well, they are funny." 247. The corn he took back, in another place he laid it down. 248. He went out, the flaps he shut. 249. The door also he shut. 250. "Thus I'll do, I'll make it impossible for them to get out. 251. My grandmother, I discovered some extremely funny things." 252. The door he shut, now all [openings] he had closed, the corn he took he cooked it. 253. Then it popped it cracked. 254. All over, the birds inside all over gave their bird calls, they were noisy about in confusion criss-cross they flew. 255. His arrows he took, these blackbirds different ones he killed one after the other, he destroyed them all truly. 256. Cords he took these blackbirds against one another he kept tying, it was [a] very long [string]; up above he hung them. 257. Then his grandmother came back. 258. "Grandmother, why corn red do not roast! did you say? 259. I found out something pleasurable you forbade me to do." 260. "Yes, how is it?" 261. "When I roasted them they popped, what popped all around turned into blackbirds, all I killed. 262. You'll eat them, I thought." 263. "Well, I declare! It is well." 264. She came and got there; up above he had hung them. 265. "There they are." 266. "Yes, it is well. 267. Now then I'll go I'll tend to it." 268. She carried it. 269. "Go, go ye around; my child is ignorant, that is it." 270. She put them down and came back. 271. She came. "Grandson, those blackbirds my garden guardians are they. 272. Don't do it a second time." 273. "Yes, I did not know that's why. 274. That I'll not do [again]."

275. Time passed. Once food she prepared, a great deal she made. 276. The draft screen about then end of it this food she had cooked the screen's end behind she threw. 277. Occasionally this cooked food which she threw behind the screen the plate when she took back this old woman there was nothing inside was nothing. 278. Then some time his grandmother was not there, wherever she went to. 279. Then "This my grandmother over there food she puts away. 280. Always there is none [comes back]. Why? 281. Well now, I'll see." 282. A dragon³¹ when he looked that way [gesture] this screen behind it was. 283. The edge of the tipi it went clear around. 284. When he looked at him, lightning [?] through his eyes was like the crack of a whip. 285. "Here this ghostlike one [is the one who] my grandmother food whenever she stores the constant devourer of it is he." 286. His arrows he took, he shot several times he killed him forthwith. 287. Then his grandmother came back. "My grandmother," he said, "the food you used to store its devourer I have killed." 288. "Well, I declare! Where?" 289. "Here, come and see." 290. She went and saw it. 291. "[That] the food I have been storing its devourer you killed is good." 292. Move away, with it I'll go and I'll throw it away." 293. She took it, her shoulders she put it over, she dragged it, she took it, the water that with it she wanted to reach. It was heavy. 294. "Go, now go!" 295. Now it turned out this old woman this dragon as her husband that she had. 296. Her grandson had killed him. 297. This grandmother's husband this dragon it was he: "Old woman, you have often done various things, [but] now some one you have met." 298. "I am powerful, I thought, [but] your grandson me killed. Your safety seek [imper.]" 299. This

³¹ Literally, long otter.

³² It is a good thing you have killed the one who regularly devoured the food I was wont to store.

³³ You have met your master.

datsi'tseruk'. 300. k'u're'tseruk'. 301. hin'e k'a'rec: hiro'oc hin'e' cikya'ke co'ot' ba'rək' ikyo'ra'sa.i? i'riatsi'tseruk'.

302. da'ka't'de'tseruk'. 303. ho'wekawe' co'ot'ba'rək' i'ce'kyahē? 304. iro'oce di wara'xka'tēc i'i'i'rəkān ba'p'xawi'ky k'o'rēc. 305. dara'ri hi'sat'a'ri. 306. sa'pa? a'ra ba'wiky. 307. i'i'i'rək' ba'ndaxka'pe citse' he'ra'ka're k'o'n ba'm k'o'rək'. 308. sa'pa masa'ka're? 309. naxpitse' he'tseruk'. 310. ak'i'wicit ap'a'hiky ditsira'tsim matsa'tsk'. 311. e ditsira'tsibisa'wiky 312. ho'wekyawe. 313. basa'ka'are mace'rec ba'ra' ba'ki'ciwiky.

314. a'ra i'i'i'rək' citskya'te k'o'n i'əxasa'm k'o'rək'. 315. ku' ditsira'tsk'. 316. k'u'te' birəxba'ket di'ut a'pariarak' sa'he'ky. ha'tsgeye matsa'tsk'. 317. ho'wekyawe, ba'ra' baki'ciwiky ha'k' k'ande're'tseruk'. 318. na'mna hin'e i'əxasec hi'tseruk'. 319. hin'e' i'əxasec da'ce'tseruk'. 320. a'a' e'ky i'tsikya'tem sa'pəm bi'ərək'e'? 321. xatsi'sa ra'tsi he'tseruk'. 322. nap'i'ehi'tseruk'. 323. ho'wekyawe i'rək' naxpitse' hu'oct bara'k'u'kan baki'ciwiky. 324. hire'ri'ək'k'arahu'tseruk'. 325. hu'ra hi'tseruk'. 326. naxpitse'rək' he'rape ha'tsgeyeka'edək'. 327. k'us tace'tseruk'. 328. hu'tseruk'. 329. a'e'ky i'tsikya'tem co's u'ak' i'hu'rək'e'? 330. a'pe' ha'k'usi'ək' k'o'n iru'ək' datsi'tseruk'. 331. hu'kawe. 332. hu'tseruk'. 333. hu'ra hi'tseruk' hin'e raxpitse'c. 334. hu'ha'k' a'xpək' de'tseruk'. 335. hin'e i'əxasec hi'tseruk'. 336. du't'ək' a'pasi'ək' a'kine'tseruk'. 337. hin'e i'əxasec isa'ogyi'əxtsi'ək' hin'e' naxpitse'c a'kina'k'. 338. hire'ri'ək' ace'k'usu'tseruk'. 339. masa'ka'are ha'rawək'. 340. hin'e isa'ka'rec k'usu'tseruk'. 341. hin'e' isa'ka'rec asa'ri'tseruk'. 342. i'kya'tseruk'. 343. masa'ka're hinde' wa.wi'tsikya'cim a'wo'm wara'k'uk'. 344. ba'ra'pi rare't' dic'tsiwisak' ha'wan dari'rək' daro'ec hira'k' in'e a'kinak' bara'p'irək' tsi'ra'ga'k' hira'k' k'uk' ak'i'tsiderima'tsiky k'andisa'ogyebici'm. 345. e i'tsiwi'kyarama. 346. iro'oce hu'wa hawat'a'm buruci'wiky. 347. baxt'ək' hin'e i'əxase'c a'piəxtsi'gyak' hin'e raxpitse'c a're'tseruk' daka'ak'. 348. da'ra di'mbiare! 349. bawatsa'tska'cim bare'hiky. 350. he'rək'hire'n k'ara'k' da'u'tseruk'. 351. cikya'kec hawacda'watək'. 352. k'a'rec: hin'e' cikya'kec co'ot'barək' i'k'o'ra'sa'ikyahē? 353. k'an ne'se k'o'n datsi'tseruk'. 354. daci'gya ra'tsi'tseruk'.

355. ara iro'ocgya'ta ba'm di hi'sa wa'k'u't' ba'n di watsiwa.uwiciky k'o' rara' wiara'iky. 356. hira'k' ba'n ditsira'tskya'cim e'kyurək'. 357. hira'k' hi'sa. 358. sa'pa masa'ka'are? 359 i'i'i'rək' buru'aka're ba'pe biəxse'n awe' tsua'ka'tem k'o'n ari'ande bara'p' xuəm xa'wikya'cim ari'ande bi'əxse'ta de'ky. 360. ak'onde'wiciky hin'e' ware'c xap'ək' i'tsitək' dapi'əhiky. 361. hira'k' hi'sa. 362. ba'ce're'c ba'sak' he'tseruk'. 363. e biratsi'we i'tsiky. 364. a'ra hawacda'watək' ba'as'a'tdək' da'ku'tseruk'. 365. hiro'ce'kya'tem masa'ka're wace'rec co'ot'dək'? 366. wara' wara'kiciwiky. 367. k'ara hire'ri'ək' hu're'tseruk'. 368. sa'p' bara'xa'tdək' bara'xdawa'tək'. 369. hu'reky. 370. ba'pe tsu'əka't' ari'ande tsu'əka't' iha'te ari'ande de'ta'tseruk'. 371. e'kyo'n wasa'ka're wace'c. 372. a'k'ara'xtata'ndak' k'arak'o'sa'ttaka'tdək' xaru'sək' hu'tseruk'. 373. hin'e' ware'c k'arahi'ta'rək' hi'c de'tseruk'. 374. k'an biəxse'n nak' hi'c de'rək' hin'e' ware'c k'ande'ky i'riat'dək' xawu'ə xape'tseruk'. 375. ak'de'cirak' bita's i'tsipu'ərək'. 376. ma'heri.a marap'e'reta'tseruk'. 377. awe'ta ba'tdək' it'ba'k'ucde'sak' hin'e' cikya'kec a'tse tsipu'ə de'tseruk'. 378. tsire'tseruk' hin'e' bare'c. 379. awate' ra'k' hin'e cikya'kec. 380. tsisa'k' k'u'tseruk'. 381. hu'ra k'arabiəxse'n de'ritde'rak' k'o'm bita's iə'tsipu'ə'tseruk'. 382. mahe'ria hin'e mare'c xawu'a xapi'tseruk'. 383. tsisa'hak' a'kaxpu'ək' de'tseruk'. 384. k'o't'a' ra'ku'tseruk'. 385. ha'k'se hin'e' ware'c daxci'xsitsak' k'o'm batsi'tseruk'.

old woman she crying was. 300. She returned. 301. This old woman: "I wonder this boy what can I do so he will not be here?"³⁴ she thought.

302. She lived on.³⁵ 303. "Let me think what can I do so he'll die? 304. Grandson, you are ignorant, yonder something evil dwells. 305. You might get to it, be sure not to get to it."³⁶ 306. "What is it? [To himself:] Well I'll get there." 307. "Yonder a brush patch a hill on its side there something is there." 308. "What is it, my grandmother?" 309. "A bear," she said. 310. "Wherever one gets there it eats him up, it is dangerous very." 311. "Yes, dangerous it must be terribly. 312. [To himself:] Let me think. 313. My grandmother what she told I'll go I'll get to it."

314. "Well, yonder there is a little hill there a snake is there. 315. Also it is dangerous. 316. There whenever people get there it coils around them and kills them; it is long extremely." 317. "Let me see, I'll go I'll go to it for fun," he said [to himself] and went off. 318. He proceeded, this snake he reached. 319. This snake was furious. 320. "[Exclamation of challenge], that pretty one, what is he going to do I wonder?" 321. Keep still and remain," he³⁷ said. 322. He killed him forthwith. 323. "Let me see, that bear aforementioned I'll go that also I'll get to." 324. There he went, he came. 325. He came, he arrived. 326. The bear his waist was very long. 327. Against him he was furious. 328. He came. 329. "Ah, that that pretty one, whether is he coming, what for is he coming?" 330. His ears drooped, there standing he remained. 331. "Come here." 332. He came. 333. He came and reached him, this bear. 334. "Come," he said and with him he went. 335. This snake he got to. 336. He took it he put it round [the bear's neck], he rode him [the bear]. 337. This snake having made into a guiding rope this bear he rode. 338. There he went, the lodge he came to. 339. "Grandmother," he kept on saying. 340. This his grandmother he came to. 341. This his grandmother came out. 342. She saw him. 343. "My grandmother, here a most pretty one I bring, I give you. 344. Whenever you would dig roots and carry a pack walking afoot you would come, this time this [beast ride], when you dig let it carry [the roots] on its back, now thus you will feel set up now that you have a horse." 345. "Yes, it is good beyond words. 346. Grandson, give it here, somewhere I'll put it." 347. This snake she used as a rope, this bear she took with her, she led it. 348. "Go ye, look for safety! 349. Something very powerful us has reached." 350. Then these ran away. 351. The boy was going around. 352. The old woman: "This boy how shall I act so he shall not be here?" 353. Out from the river there she stayed. 354. She was thinking it over.

355. "Why, my dear grandchild, something to you 'Do not go' we said, something you we told in full there you would want to go. 356. Now some things most dangerous are over there! 357. This time don't go there." 358. "What is it, my grandmother?" 359. "Yonder below a rock under it the ground is narrow there is a path cherry trees [which are] many limbed, the path under it goes. 360. Whoever goes there this tree falls it falls on top and kills him forthwith. 361. Now do not go." 362. "Yes, what you spoke of I'll not get to," he said. 363. "Yes, [that] you told me is well." 364. Well, he roamed about, he was hunting continually. 365. "Let me see, my grandmother's what she spoke of how is it? 366. I'll go for the fun of it I'll go." 367. Now there he went, he came. 368. Whatever song it was, he sang as he went along. 369. He came. 370. The rock was narrow, the road was narrow, in any other place there was no road. 371. "There is my grandmother what she talked about." 372. He pretended not to know, then when close to it he ran and came. 373. This tree [when] came close to him fast he went. 374. Then he was under it fast when he went, this tree "He is going" thought, crashing it fell. 375. He pretended to go aside, he jumped. 376. In vain it [tree] did it, no one at all it killed. 377. On the ground it was lying; before it got up this boy over it jumped. 378. It got up, this tree. 379. Far went this boy. 380. Turning back he came back. 381. He came, under it he pretended to go then aside he jumped. 382. In vain this tree crashing fell. 383. He turned back, he stepped over it, he went. 384. The same way he continued. 385. At last this tree was broken up, there it lay. 386. It did not get up. 387. He

³⁴ I.e., to get rid of him.

³⁵ I.e., after a while.

³⁶ I.e., in your ignorance you might go there, be sure not to do so.

³⁷ The boy.

386. k'aratsire'sa'tseruk'. 387. k'arak'u'rect. 388. hu'ra isa'ka'arec hi're'tseruk'. 389. masa'ka'are wace'rec i'tsiciky. 390. k'u'owe i'ce'wak. 391. e co'ot'da? 392. hinc'e wara'kec mace'wu'ec k'arahi' tsaice'ky. 393. k'o'hi'sa ba'iru'ec. 394. k'o'ware'c ak'-biæxse'ndecci'we'wim. 395. k'o'm bita's bi'tsipu'awim xawu'a xapi'ky. 396. a'tse bi'tsipu'a bare'ky. 397. k'aratsi' ba'tsisa'k'. 398. andi'awec k'o't'bak'. 399. xawu'a xa'pde'm k'aratsi' a'tse wi'tsipu'a mare'k'. 400. k'o't'ba waka'kuwim ha'k'se hinc'e ware'c daxci'xisa'k' ba'tsiky. 401. k'aratsire'sak'. 402. k'ar hinc'e bu'o k'o'k'.

403. iro'o'oce hinc'e kya'rec kyo'ræk'. k'o't'bam di wa'tsiwa'ut' k'o' rara'hi'c. 404. e'ky hinc'e hiri'se k'o'n hiri'c araka'ræk' ba'p'em batce'ctse'm k'o'n na.'ut' xaku'pak' k'o'ræk'. 405. biræba'ket' hinc'e xaku'pec a'tse tsipu'æ bi'ut' hinc'e xaku'pec du'pte xa'hiky awu'a k'o' re'ruk' awate' matsa'tsk' k'ar ariri'kyuedu're'tk'. 406. hi'sa hira'k'. 407. e'tak'ditsira'tsiwiky ma'sabi'ma'tsiky. 408. k'ara ise' ru't'æk'. 409. k'arahawacda'watak' de'tseruct. 410. a'ra K'a'ricba'pi'tu disa'ka're ba'p'ce'rec awa'kakciwo'k'. 411. k'ara hire' ri'æk'. 412. k'us hu're'tseruk' hinc'e xaku'pec. 413. hinc'e ba'pe batse'cdec hire' ri'æk' tsitsi'ra'k' hu're.'tseruk'. 414. e''kuo'k' disa'ka're ba'ce'c e''kyo'k'. 415. xaku'pec k'arahi'tseruk'. 416. hiri'a akara'x'tata'ndak' hinc'e xaku'pec k'arahi'æhæka'k'. 417. ak'a'tse.i'tsipu'æc ci're'ræk' du'ptaxi'tseruk'. 418. it' bita'se i'tsipu'tseruk'. 419. k'ambatce'c de'ræræk' a'k'apxu'ade'tseruk'. 420. k'arawate'ra'hictadaka'tæk' tsisa' hu'tseruk'. 421. hinc'e xaku'pec k'us hu'tseruk'. 422. na'mna hi'æk' ak'de'se're'ræk' du'pta xa'hi'tseruk' xaku'pec. 423. it'bita's i'tsipu'tseruk'. 424. de'ra k'ambatce'c hu're'tseruk'. 425. k'ambatsi'rek' a'k'apxu'æde'tseruk'. 426. dacipæ'k' de'tseruk'. 427. k'aratsi' hinc'e andi'æc k'o'tse'tseruk'. 428. k'u' k'arak' o't'a'k' iru't'seruk'. 429. he'ræk' batse'c de're't' a'tse i'tsipu'æk'. 430. k'u'karak' o'ta'ra'ku ha'k'se k'araha'witseruk'. 431. k'annu'ptaxisa'tseruk'. 432. k'ara'tse i'tsipu'arit' de'ky k'annu'ptaxisahi'ræk'. 433. k'am ma'k'o'n na'tsi'tseruk'. 434. k'arak'u're'tseruk'. 435. isa'ka'rec kyo'ræk' asa'raq' i'kyare'tseruk' hinc'e' kya'rec. 436. na'mna isa'ka're hi'tseruk'. 437. basa'ka're ba'p'ce're'c ba'wiwim k'u'okacba't'. 438. ak'a'tsedese'wewim du'ptaxa'ndæk' bita's bi'tsipu'æm de'ra k'ambatce'c de'rem a'tse bi'tsipu'æk' bare'ky. 439. k'o't'bak' baru'kiciwim. 440. ha'k'se ku' i'tsiri'ndetæk' k'araha'wiky. 441. k'amba' k'o'n da'tsiky. 442. e'kyawa! ditsira'tsec dara'k'. 443. K'a'ricba'pi'tuæc k'o'ræk': k'araha'mnet'k'. 444. hira'k'e' hawacda'watdak' da'ku'tseruk'. 445. isa'ka'rec k'o'ræk' a'ra iro'o'oce ba'di'watsiwa'k' hi'sa ba'wit' k'o' rara' bi'ara'iky. 446. hira'k'e' e''kyo'n ba'p'xawa.'um k'o'ru'k'. 447. hira'k' hi'sata'ri. 448. sa'pa masa'ka'are? 449. i'i'irækan aci'm hawatka'te k'o'ræk' hi'sa. 450. K'a'ricba'pi'tua ise' ru't'æk' hawacda'wat'æk' da'ku'tseruk'. 451. a'ra K'a'ricba'pi'tu disa'ka're wace'c sa'pdæk' awa'kakciwo'k' ha'k' k'arahu're'tseruk'. 452. hinc'e ace' hawa'tka'tec k'ari'kya'tseruk'. 453. disa'ka're ba'ce'c e''kyo'k'. 454. hire' ri'æk' k'us hu'tseruk'. 455. hu'ra awe'ren iru'ahi'tseruk'. 456. K'a'ricba'pi'tu bare' hi'sac bare' hi'ky. 457. hu' bire'ri. e 458. bi'xa'pdæk' dut'e'tseruk'. 459. u'uce bi'a xa'pec i'satse'tseruk'. 460. bare' ha'tskite ara'co'ta a'cgyewu'a a'imbiri'tseruk' hire'm mare'c. 461. da'm aco'ria bire'm. 462. da'mna awa'tsi'tseruk'. 463. k'ar i'æxasec hawa'tdæk' awe' awua k'o' ra'k'. 464. awu'ate awe' u'ce i'kyuxaka'te k'arak'o' u'ce awua' k'o' re'wi'æk'. 465. hinc'e ba'p'em u'ce i'satsec i'æxi rit'a'k' k'ara'k'de'tseruk'. 466. k'are'tseruk'. hinc'e K'a'ricba'pituac kuckyo' k'a'ritata natsi'tse'tseruk'. 467. da ihe't' awe' awua' k'o' ra'k' da' u'ce bire'mbiaru't' hinc'e' ma'pe i'æxi ri'tsedu'tseruk'. 468. k'ara'k' de'ru'tseruk'. 469. di'a e'ky K'a'ricba'pitu'a bare' hi'sac bare' wire'ri'kiciky ba'wiri'sku'aha'ra ba'ru'sa'hi. 470. pi'axi'tdæk' biri's k'u.o't'seruk'. 471. k'arak'urut'æ'k'. 472. hiri'kyusa'kec hire' i'æxasec: hu'ekyawe ba'tsira'ci't awaka'mbiky. 473. du't'ak' da'egyapaha'tsi'tseruk'. 474. i'æ awu'æn cikya'hi'tse'tseruk' hinc'e' ba'wiri'suæc. 475. hæl k'ari'tsima'k'. 476. hinc'e' i'æxasec k'o' tse'tseruk'. 477.

went back. 388. He came his grandmother he got to. 389. "My grandmother, what you spoke of is interesting. 390. I fooled it, greatly I did." 391. "Yes, how did you act?" [To herself]: 392. "This child of mine what we spoke of reached, it seems. 393. That do not reach we would say." 394. "That tree to go under I pretended to want. 395. Then aside when I jumped, crashing it fell. 396. Over it I jumping I went. 397. Again I turned back. 398. What I had done that I did [again]. 399. Crashing when it fell, again over it I jumping I went. 400. Thus I did I kept on, at last this tree broken up lay. 401. Now no longer it got up. 402. Now here we have come, that it is."

403. "Grandson," this old woman it was [who spoke], "it is so what you we are wont to tell you there you regularly go. 404. There this way, then this way [pointing] a rock together comes there [people] when they go a hollow is there. 405. People this hollow over it to jump whenever they wish, this hollow apart spreads, they regularly fall in, deep it is exceedingly, then they are unable to get out. 406. Do not get to it this time!" 407. "Yes, verily, it must be terribly dangerous, I shall not get to it." 408. Then his arrows he took. 409. He went around he went. 410. "Well, Old Woman's Grandchild,³⁸ your grandmother what she spoke of we'll see for the fun of it." 411. Then there he went. 412. To it he came, this hollow. 413. [To] this rock that together went there he went, he looked for it he came. 414. "There your grandmother's what she said it is there." 415. The hollow he reached. 416. [?] he pretended not to know, this hollow he came up to. 417. A jumper across he simulated it spread apart. 418. Still aside he jumped. 419. Now together when it came he stepped over it. 420. Then when he had gone some distance turning back he came. 421. This hollow to he came. 422. He proceeded, he got there, one who wanted to go he simulated, apart it spread, the hollow. 423. Again aside he jumped. 424. Then together it came. 425. When it came together he stepped over it. 426. Passing it he went. 427. Again this which he had done the same he did. 428. That the same he did he repeated it. 429. Then together whenever it went, over it he jumped. 430. Thus he kept on the same way, at length it was destroyed. 431. No longer it spread apart. 432. Over it he jumped, it could not spread any more. 433. Then unchanged it remained. 434. He came back. 435. His grandmother it was, she came out and saw him this old woman. 436. He proceeded his grandmother he reached. 437. "My grandmother, what you spoke of when I reached it, I fooled it thoroughly. 438. To go over it I pretended, when it spread aside I jumped, then together when it came over it I jumping went. 439. Thus I did I repeated it. 440. At length it was helpless, it was destroyed. 441. Unmoving it lay." 442. "Well, well! A dangerous one you met." 443. Old Woman's Grandson it was: "It is gone now." 444. Now he roamed about he continued. 445. His grandmother it was: "Well, grandson, what I tell you, don't go when I say there you go you wish regularly. 446. Now over there some bad ones are there. 447. This time do not go there, truly." 448. "What, grandmother?" 449. "Over there a tent one is there, don't get to it." 450. Old Woman's Grandson his arrows he took, he roamed he continued. 451. "Well, Old Woman's Grandson, your grandmother's talk whatever it be we shall see," he said and came. 452. This tent one he saw. 453. "Your grandmother what she talked of are there." 454. There he went, to it he came. 455. He came, outside he stood. 456. "Old Woman's Grandson, the one who did not come to us has got. 457. Come, enter." "Yes." 458. A stone flat he picked up. 459. His anus the stone flat he closed with. 460. Poles long on the floor inside went clear around these poles. 461. "Go ahead, in the rear go in [?]." 462. He proceeded he sat down. 463. Then, snakes one the earth inside went. 464. Through the earth anus opposite then the anus inside he wanted to go. 465. This rock which closed the anus [with] his forehead he struck and fled. 466. About it knew this Old Woman's Grandson from before, smiling he was. 467. Then another the earth entering then his anus would want to enter, this rock with their forehead would strike. 468. They would flee. 469. "Well, now, that Old Woman's Grandson who us did not get to us he has come in to, prepare ye food on the fire for him [so] he may eat." 470. Spleen cooked they for him. 471. They took it out. 472. The farthest on this side this snake [said]: "Give it here, I'll try it [for him] right away." 473. Taking it he bit it several times [?]. 474. His teeth inside he threw this meat. 475. "Ha! Now I've made it good." 476. This snake that said. 477. This one next to

³⁸ The hero is soliloquizing here.

hi'ritsirare'c; hu'ekyawe bi' ba'tsiraci'ts awaka'mbiky. 478. ara xawi'm duci'i. 479. ha'k'se i'axaxu'a di'u'tseruk'. 480. hire' ri'o'tseruk'. 481. xaxu'a tsiraci'daku'o'tseruk'. 482. k'o'ri'oc hin'e' dacgyapa'hu'oc hire' i'axasec hine' wa'wiri'suac pi'axi'tec da'cgyapak' i'u' awu'atse du'sa.u'tseruk'. 483. K'a'ricba'pi'tua ice'o wi.'uk' i'kyo't-u'tseruk'. 484. hin'e' pi'axi'tec k'arak'u'o'tseruk'. 485. k'ah'e' k'amba'ru'cki'ce' hine' pi'axi'tec. 486. K'a'ricba'pi'tua du'tsi'tseruk'. 487. ha'k' i'ky'a'hatsi'en. 488. hire'ruk' ak'ba'wiri'cisu'wiky o'cet co'rak'? 489. hin'e' pi'axi'tec bire' awu'a ci.'tsi'tseruk'. 490. o'cbak' bu'cbiky. 491. hin'e' pi'axi'tec bire' awu'a hawas k'urusa'hi'tseruk'. 492. hin'e' i'o' k'o'ri'uc ara'xa.u'tseruk'. 493. i'axasec ba'watsa't' di'o'tseruk'. 494. i'u' kuruckyapbahak' i'uc ara'xuk' k'araha'wi'tseruk'. 495. du't'ak' du'ci'tseruk' apa'hi'tseruk'.

496. hin'e' i'axasec k'o'rak' hawa't'dak'; K'a'ricba'pi'tua bare' hi'sa.ec bare' hi'ky awa'xpak' ba'etsi batsiwe'kciwo'k'. 497. i'axasec i'wak'o't ce'tseruk'.

498. hin'e' hu'oc i'ctsirak' hi'rak'. di'cte baku'we. 499. du't'ak' k'o' i'cte iri'o'tseruk'. 500. ise' co'pka'ce hawa't'dak' hi'ciak' hawa'tdak' cipi'tak' hawa'tak' ci'ri'gyak' hawa'tak' u'ke iri'o'tseruk'. 501. ise'c co'pa pa't'ak'. 502. bi'i'asia. 503. i'kye'! hu'rak'. 504. aru'ute du'ciky e ha'ta're. 505. hin'e' i'axasec di'a ba.e'tsi ba'tsiwe'wiky. ham bi'awakusa't' bara'pu' apa're isa' wuru'a k'o' bikye' cu'aka'tet' a'xa'c tawe'cta-ka'tet' k'o'm maxapa'ut' bare' hira'mbe'ruc he'! he'tseruct. 506. K'a'ricba'pi'tuac k'ar hira'wictseruct. 507. he't' i'kyaro'rak' i'ctse icte'c ba'k'o'n dasara'sak' natsi'tseruk' icte'. 508. hira'wisak' i'riatu'tseruk'. 509. i'kye'! hu't' hin'e' ise'c e ha'ratsi'tseruk'. 510. are'ra ise'c hawa't'dak' xapak' i'se' iritsi'tseruk'. 511. it'a'hi'tseruk'. 512. k'amba.e'tsitsiwa.uc k'o'wi.'ut'. 513. bi'gyem ba'e'tsi watsiwewi'ky. 514. e na'wi i'tsirak'. 515. disa'ka're bawa'kase'n di a'xpak' ba.e'tsi tsiwa' da'ku.'ima'tsiky. 516. i'tsikya'cem k'o' tsiwe'kici bikyuku'wo'k'. 517. k'o't'ba'wiky. 518. hin'e' ware' ara'co ico'tseta du'sa.uc a'imbi'ec acu'o' xaxu'a a'tsipe'ok' i's aracu'sak'.

519. i'kye' he'tseruk'. 520. basa't' hut'bici'taka'tet' ari'tsiratsi'o' k'o' maxape'rit'-bo't' pu'pua batsa'tsixaxo't' bikyuku'ot' bare' hira'wise'ruc he'? 521. tsu'sec k'ar e hesu't'tseruk'. 522. k'arahira'mma'u'tseruk'. 523. ba'pit' xara'cdaka't'et' ace' i'ritse i'xawu'at'et' bita's ba'xapak' bat'bu'o' tawe'wak' baka'ut' bare' hiramme'ruc he'? 524. tsu'sec k'arahirama'u'tseruk'. 525. o'otsiat' baxa'p'bo't' baratso'ose hut'bici'edat' ciri'ore'tet' bi'kyuk awaka'ritak' k'o't'a' maxapu't' ammare'hira wara'xta bare' hira'me'ruc he'! he'tseruk'. 526. k'araxaxu'a hira'wu'tseruk'. 527. ba'tsia sata'tsit' ba'xaku'pa batsi'rak' awu'an i'waci'ut' aci' hiraka'tsiky bare' hu'tsi'ritat'ak' he't' mare' apa'cedat' k'o't'a' k'ama'xapu't' ba'tsiac ciri'are'tat' bikyukuki'sak' bi'kyukawakaritu'a a' ware' hirambe'ruc he'. 528. i'kye'! he'rit'de'rak' k'amma.iri'reta'ndak' k'araxaxuata're hira'wu'tseruk'. 529. hire' i'axasec hire'r a'para'axe'te. 530. ba'pe kyota' ba.i'ky di'o'kura'k'. 531. isbi'tsia ru'et'ak' hiri'kyusakec bare' a'cu'o

him: "Give it here I, too, I am going to test it. 478. Why, it might be bad and he might eat it." 479. At last all of them did it. 480. Here he came [?]. 481. All had tested they for him. 482. As a matter of fact, these who had bitten, these snakes, these cooked meat spleen bit their teeth inside they sprinkled. 483. Old Woman's Grandchild thereby to kill they wanted, that is why they did it. 484. This spleen they gave him. 485. "Well, feast on this spleen." 486. Old Woman's Grandchild took it. 487. Then he looked here and there. 488. "These here as cooks are no good, is this cooking?" 489. This spleen fire into he threw. 490. "I, having cooked, I'll eat." 491. This spleen in the fire he turned over repeatedly. 492. These teeth they put in were burnt. 493. The snakes were having a hard time. 494. Their mouths were holding [with pain], their teeth were burnt and destroyed. 495. He took [the food] and ate it, he ate it up.

496. This snake it was one of them: "Old Woman's Grandchild, [who] us would not get to, us has got to we with you stories for pastime will tell." 497. The snake thus spoke.

498. As he [Old Woman's Grandson] was coming a jack rabbit he had met. [To him he had said]: "Your eyes give me." 499. He took them, *those* eyes he used. 500. His arrows four, one of them was red, one black, one painted yellow, one white clay he made. 501. His arrows four he stuck in the ground. 502. "Me look out for." 503. "Attention!" they [the snakes] said. 504. The arrows he laid down: "Yes, be sure to say."³⁹ 505. This snake: "Come, stories I'll tell: In the spring young cherry trees in their shelter⁴⁰ the grass is green, the sun is a little warm, then when we lie down we feel like sleeping!" he said. 506. Old Woman's Grandchild was asleep. 507. However, when they looked the rabbit's eyes unchanged staring glassily were his eyes. 508. "He is not asleep," they thought. 509. "Attention!" whenever they said these arrows "Yes" kept saying. 510. After a while his arrows one of them fell, his face it struck. 511. He woke up. 512. Now the storytelling they stopped. 513. [He said]: "I am going to tell stories."⁴¹ 514. "Yes, go ahead, you are doing the right thing. 515. Your grandmother I have not seen her⁴² in your company stories must have been telling continually. 516. A very good one that tell for pastime, we'll listen." 517. "That will I." 518. These sticks on the floor in front of them which they put, went clear around, heads all they put on them their face toward the ara'co they had.

519. "Attention!" he said. 520. "In the fall whenever there is a little wind some shelter there when we lie dried weeds⁴³ when they rub against each other when we listen we generally get drowsy, is it not so?" 521. Half of them already "Yes" said not. 522. Already they were asleep. 523. "In the daytime when it drizzles, the lodge when it strikes so it rattles⁴⁴ on the side we lie and our soles we warm we remain, we fall asleep, is it not so?" 524. Half already were asleep. 525. "At night when we lie down bleached wood [old trees] when there is a wind when it rattles when we are listening at the same time we lie how we sleep we do not know but we we fall asleep, is it not so?" he said. 526. Now all were asleep. 527. "Pines rather thick [among] a hollow we seek, inside we camp, the camp is newly made us the wind blows on so we are fairly tired, at the same time when we lie down the pines are rustling we listen to it we keep listening until we fall asleep." 528. "Attention!" when he said they remained silent,⁴⁵ all truly were asleep. 529. "These snakes these are like ghosts. 530. All day [every day ?] mischief they habitually do."⁴⁶ 531. His knife he

³⁹ The fragmentary character of this paragraph is due to the narrator's at first forgetting the incidents and only subsequently and sketchily inserting them. He at first inclined to the version according to which the boy insists on telling stories first. (Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians*, AMNH-AP 25:72, 1918.)

⁴⁰ Literally, below their mass; explained to mean: where the wind hits (?).

⁴¹ In his first approach to this incident, Yellow-brow intended to have no storytelling by the snakes, and their suggestion to tell tales was followed by the words: "Yes," Old Woman's Grandchild it was he said it, "I first I shall tell forthwith."

⁴² The meaning of this idiom is "surely" (i.e.: surely, even if I have never seen her, she must have told you plenty of stories). The idiom in a way reminds me of German *unbekannterweise*.

⁴³ The species is indicated in the original but could not be identified.

⁴⁴ I.e., when there is a patter of rain against the tipi.

⁴⁵ The suggestion here is that he called them repeatedly.

⁴⁶ Literally, what they see they always do; a frequent idiom for mischief-doing.

- xaxu'a a'tsipe.ok'. 532. hiri'kyusa'kec isbi'tsia du'ctək' a'peta dapa'xi'tseruk'. 533. ara'tskisi'ək' a'puata dapa'pəxak' o'rawak' o'rawak o'ra k'arawa't'ka't'dək' axpi'tse'tseruk'. 534. k'o'r it'a'hi'tseruk'. 535. i'əxasec a'para'xe'tem K'a'ricba'pi'tuəc k'am bare' ha'we'iky ha'k' awe' awu'a k'o' re'tseruk'. 536. e'kyawal K'a'ricba'pi'tuəc k'o'tce'tseruk'. 537. K'a'ricba'pi'tu ba'p diha'wisa! 538. K'a'ricba'pi'tuəc k'o'rək' ba'p' biha'wurək' sa'p' hiri'kyahē'? 539. sa' hec! ha'mbabi'awec hawa't'em iriwi'ky. 540. k'o'n de'tseruk'. 541. k'anna' k'uək'. 542. isa'ka'rec hu'ra hi'tseruk'. 543. i'werit de're'tseruk'. 544. hin'e' k'a'rec k'o'n na'k'batsec ikya'hak'. 545. sa'pə masa'ka're di'we? 546. k'andara'k'usak' bari'atək' i'wi'wec barase' xawi'm he're'tseruk'. 547. bare'te kambak'u'k'. 548. di'we k'arak'o'wi'ək'. 549. iro'ockya't bari'ce'wat' k'o'ri'arabi'ara.iky. 550. e'kyo'n ba'xawi'kya'eim k'o'rək' ditsira'tsim matsa'tsk'. 551. e'ky citse' ari'tsia biritsgye'm k'o'rəm k'o' tsi'rupe isa'ka'ce k'o'rək'. 552. hu'tsi'sa na'ut' na'xutsiky. 553. hut'bisə'k' daka'pək' u'wu k'o' re'ruk' apa'hiky. 554. e K'a'ricba'pi'tuəc k'o'rək'. 555. t'ak' ditsira'tsiwiky. ise' ru'tək' hawacda'watak' da'ku'tseruk'. 556. masa'ka'rec wace'rec ho'wekyawe awa'kakciwiky. 557. k'ara hire' ri'ək'. 558. hu're'tseruk'. 559. hin'e wiritsgye'c i'kya'tseruk'. 560. e'kyuk' masa'ka'are wace'c. 561. hu'tsi'sa k'ande'tseruk'. 562. k'arak'o'n da'tsi-de'tseruk'. 563. k'arak'o'n hut'bisa'k' daka'pdək' k'us hu'tseruk'. 564. u'wu k'o're'tseruk'. 565. hin'e' tsi'rupec K'a'ricba'pi'tuəc apa'hi'tseruk'. 566. hu'ra i'spua ri'ək' hawac i'kyaditde'tseruk'. 567. birəxba'ke kucgyo' arape' hure' tso'sa. 568. hira'ak'ce' tsi' it'awace'saka'tu'rək' k'arak'awi'ta'rək' ka'u'tseruk'. 569. hira'rape' ari'at'detta'ru'tseruk'. 570. K'a'ricba'pi'tuəc k'o'rək' hawacda'wat'k'. 571. hin'e' tsi'rupec i'sbuən hawacda'wat'k' da'ku'tseruk'. 572. hin'e i'sbuən mirəxba'kec hire'ruk. 573. co'ota'tsim k'o't'du? 574. andi'mbiaru tsi'rarama. 575. andi'mbiararit-du'reta hiri'at' daraka'u? 576. di watse'o co'otat' k'o't'du? 577. i'sko k'o'ru' wase'c k'aratso'su'tseruk'. 578. do'ctsisa ak'o're' k'araci'a k'ara.-i'kyuruxi'pisu'tseruk'. 579. axu'o k'arasa'k' xapək' ka'u'tseruk'. 580. hira' k'o're' ari'at'de'tu'tseruk'. 581. hire'ruk' sa'p' di'ara'ritum hire'n naka'u? 582. a'ra hin'e tsi'rupe bare' apa'him bare'tsiri'ndetem ambi'kyuedu'retem hire'm maka'uct. 583. di watse'ohirək' andi'mbiarabisa'tsisa. 584. ha'tək' bare' i'tsiri'ndetem bi'tsi co'ot'ba'wu? 585. di'ərə K'a'ricba'pi'tua k'o'rək'. 586. acki'ci be'kciwo'k'. 587. ba'wara'xdək' di'əxaxu'a disa'ara. 588. hire'n aki'kuruxi'pisec: bi'ruk' bi'gyen bu'retək'. 589. k'am bi'kuruxi'pisuk. 590. k'o't'dək' na'cuka'te k'u t'a'tskya'te dici'gye. 591. k'ama wara'xdək' e'ky xaxu'a disu'rək' di'da'cuka'te k'u t'a'tskya'tda't dici'gye. 592. he'rak' k'ammara'xe'tseruct. 593. hire'n ak'ari'at'de'tec disu'tseruct. 594. hire'n aki'kuruxi'pisec acu'o k'u t'a'tskya't xatsi'ək' acu'o ku t'a'tskya't dici'kyu'tseruk'. 595. K'a'ricba'pi'tua k'o'rək'. 596. k'are'kyo't tse'kyata're. 597. acki'ciwuk' bikyuctsiwi'awuk' ikyo't'buk'.

took out, the one farthest on this side wood the head all were hanging over. 532. The one farthest on this side his knife he took out around the neck he chopped off. 533. He went along in line around their necks he chopped, he was coming, he was coming, he came, only one he had left. 534. Then that one woke up. 535. The snake: "Ghostlike!⁴⁷ Old Woman's Grandchild now us is destroying," he said, and the ground inside he went. 536. "Confound it!" Old Woman's Grandchild that said. 537. [The snake said]: "Old Woman's Grandchild, in the daytime do not sleep." 538. Old Woman's Grandchild it was: "In the daytime if I sleep, what *can* he do? 539. Too bad!⁴⁸ I wanted to destroy them utterly, one managed to escape."

540. Then he went. 541. He went home. 542. His grandmother he came to and reached. 543. She pretended to cry. 544. This old woman, it was she, her grandson⁴⁹ she saw. 545. "Why, my grandmother, are you crying?" 546. "You were not coming back, I thought, that is why I cried, my heart was bad [sad]," she said. 547. "No, I've returned. 548. Your crying stop." 549. "Little grandson, what I tell you about that you regularly want to do. 550. There some very evil beings are there dangerous very. 551. That hill behind it a lake is there there a bull huge dwells. 552. In the direction of the wind whoever go he sucks in. 553. If there is a wind [the people] are blown and inside his mouth these they regularly go he devours them." 554. "Yes," Old Woman's Grandchild it was. 555. "Why, he must be really dangerous." His arrows he took, he kept going around. 556. "My grandmother what she spoke of, well now I am going to see it." 557. Now there he went. 558. He was coming. 559. This lake he saw. 560. "Yonder is my grandmother's what she said." 561. In the direction of the wind he went. 562. Then it [bull] was sucking. 563. Then it was windy, he blew [was blown] to it he came. 564. Into his mouth there he went. 565. This bull Old Woman's Grandchild swallowed. 566. He came, the stomach he came to, around he was looking. 567. The people long ago swallowed their bones were bleached. 568. Just lately dead ones [there were also]; again [others] were not quite dead yet, they were in a bad condition. 569. They recently swallowed were truly in good condition. 570. Old Woman's Grandson it was, he strolled around [inside]. 571. This bull's in his stomach he strolled around. 572. In this stomach people were here. 573. "How is it you act thus? 574. For your safety you must look. 575. Without trying to get safety thus you have been all the time? 576. You are men, how is it you act thus?"

577. Long ago those who were there, the first, they were already bleached. 578. On this side [later] who were [come] there [but also] already a long while they no longer could wrinkle [pinch] themselves. 579. Their bodies were dead [but] they were lying [half alive]?! 580. The newcomers were in good condition. 581. "You here, what are you doing that here you stay?" 582. "Why, this bull us swallowed, we are helpless, we cannot get out, so here we have been staying." 583. "Seeing that you are men, you ought to have means of safety." 584. "Why, we are helpless, for ourselves what shall [can] we do?" 585. "Come on." Old Woman's Grandchild it was. 586. "A Sun Dance we'll have. 587. When I sing, all of you dance." 588. These who could not move: "*Nous autres*, we cannot do it. 589. We cannot move." 590. "If so, your little heads those alone make dance. 591. When I sing, those all when they dance, *you* your little heads them even though alone cause to dance." 592. Then he began to sing. 593. These in good condition danced. 594. These who could not move their heads them alone moved, their heads them alone they caused to dance. 595. Old Woman's Grandchild it was. 596. "That's the way for you to do it. 597. We are having a Sun Dance, we want to get out, that's why we do it."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Said to be a cry of alarm here, not a word of vituperation.

⁴⁸ Interpreted as expression of disappointment; probably related with *sa'* and *ce*, dead.

⁴⁹ Literally, child-man (the usual term for "son"; nonvocative). There is a nonvocative term for "grandchild," specifically *ba'pi'te*, which enters into the hero's name, but the lack of a specific vocative term presumably suggests the occasional use of the "son" term even in mere reference.

⁵⁰ This episode was an afterthought of Yellow-brow's and I have inserted it in the place he indicated. As with other interpolations of his, the result does not make for wholly smooth reading. More particularly, there is obvious repetition of certain phrases (dealing with the several conditions of the persons swallowed).

598. a'xuxke dasara'sak xe'xiə ka'u'tseruk'. du'ci'tsire'tseruk'. 599. hin'e K'a'ricba-pi'tuac k'on bikya' hin'e sa'pu? hin'e tsi'rupec k'o'rək': hä. . . du'ci'tsise baab-ractaci. 600. da'sara'tsɣye duci'tsire'tseruk'. 601. bikya' hin'e k'uk' sa'pa? 602. hä. . . di'əsa basi'ptsupək'. 603. da'se xe'xaxiək da'ku'tseruk'. 604. du'ci'tsi'tseruk'. 605. bi'kya' hin'e k'uk'sa'pa? hä. . . di'əsa i-wa-wi'kyutɣye k'o'k'. 606. isbi'tsia du'ctək'. 607. i'tsirace'n i-wa-i'kyutɣye k'o' i'kyarəmak! 608. hin'e ra'sec pa'ckyahi'tseruk'. 609. a'xuxkec ku'pa'ckyahi'tseruk'. 610. tsi'rupec cewi'ak' ha'wac tata'hək' ce'tseruk'. 611. du's amme'əxe isbi'tsia du'ctək' asa'sa'tsi'tseruk' du'sam me'axe. 612. k'ahe'di'ruək' k'anna'ra! 613. ara'rək'u co'əka'ra k'uc da'ra. 614. k'arak'u're'tseruk'. 615. K'a'ricba-pi'tua k'o'rək'. 616. isa'ka'rec k'arak'u'sak' i'tiat'ək'. 617. isi'tseret'seruct. 618. hec he're'rək' da'k'batsec k'arak'u't'seruct. 619. k'ara iwa'hat-de're'tseruk'. 620. K'a'ricba-pi'tua k'o'rək' masa'ka're sa'pəm di'we? k'andara'-kusak' ci'aka'ce barase' xawi'm i-bi'we'ky. k'arak'o'wi'awa k'ambak'u'k'. 621. i'tsiky k'arak'uka'tsem. de'ra hawacta'wək daku'tseruk'. 622. ma'p' irəm'bi'a'ta. 623. ba'p' diha'wisa hu'əc tsitə'gya'hak'. hira'wisa.i'tseruct. 624. a're'ra k'arahira'wice i'k'arak'awi'ta'nnək' xapək' ise'c co'pət' tsiwara'tsec a'xa pa'tsikyuk'. 625. bi'i'əsi'ara ba'm hu'rək' bixatsi'ara de'ra k'arahira'wi'tseruk'. 626. i'axase k'ara awe'awu'ata hu'tseruk'. 627. ise'c hawa'tdək' xapək' itsu'pe k'o'r i'ritde'tseruk' it'a'hi'tseruk'. 628. a. . ! co'surək'e? 629. i'əxasec k'ara'k'de'tseruk'. 630. da'hirambe't' k'arahu't' ise' xapək' i'rit'det' it'a' da'ku'i'tseruk'. 631. are'ra k'ar hira'wice k'ari'tsiri'ndeta'tseruk'. 632. ise'c xapək' i'rit'de'rit'de'rək' k'ammareta't'seruk'. 633. k'ar hira'we batsa'tsi'tseruk'. 634. ise'c hawa'tdək' hi'isa' ape' i'ritsi'tseruk'. 635. it'a'hi'tseruk'. 636. i'axasec k'ar u'ce birende't'seruk'. 637. ihe'rupe k'u'ta' duxe'mbi'tseruk' k'an nacipi'tseruk'. 638. i'ts a'peta kuruxe'mbi'tseruk'. 639. tsiwu's an'o'pe k'ambire'ri'tseruk'.

640. hin'e' a'xacec hin'e' da'kec K'a'ricba-pi'tua hawac da'watak' he't' i'kya raku'tseruk'. 641. i'əse'tseruk'. 642. k'ara awe'ta ba'tsi'tseruk'. 643. ci'cəhe na'wirək'. 644. ici'se ci'ə ma'tək' hin'e axu'əc ku' ci'a wa'tək' a'cu'a ku'ci'a wa'tək'. 645. i'kya'tseruk' hin'e a'xacec da'kec. 646. sa'pdake' hin'e mara'kec? 647. ba'p'it' hin'e ra'kec ikya'n da'ku'tseruk'. 648. tsire'sa'tseruk' ma'k'o'n ba'tsi'tseruk'. 649. hin'e i'əxasec hin'e tsiwu'sano'pec k'o'n bire'ric a'cu'a awu'a karak'o'n natsi'tseruk'. 650. tsiwu' sano'pec hiri'atək' ictse' kyon hiri'atək' o'rək' na'tsi'tseruk'. 651. i'kyucduare'rək' a'peta du'ctsit' bi'ət' na'tsi'tseruk'. 652. da' hin'e i'əxasec k'ari'kyuctsi wi'ək' K'a'ricba-pi'tua batsa'tsk' ha'k' awu'a k'o're'tseruk'. 653. hin'e iru'pxec i'kya ra'kək' i'piaka'tək' da' i'piaka'tecec na' i'i'i'rək' bara'ke sa'p'dək' i'kyak'. 654. arak'o't'e' sa'p' i'kyo't'dək' e'kya hu' bitsiwa'! 655. e k'o't'ba-wiky. 656. k'ande'tseruct. 657. hin'e i'piaka'tec na'mna hi'tseruct. 658. he'rit'ək' he're'rək' a'cu'o awu'ən iaxasa'rək' acu'o awu'a re'tseruk'. 659. hin'e' i'piaka'tec e'kyak k'ande'tseruk'. 660. na'mna hi'tseruk'. 661. a'xa'ce e co'ota'tsi? 662. marara'sa'tsiə? 663. e he'tseruk'. 664. sa'patsi? 665. i'əxasam acu' awu'ərək'. 666. ä. . . ! he'ritək' daci'kya'tsi'tseruk'. 667. a'xacec k'o'n hut'bici'gyak' batsa'tskya'ce'tseruk'. 668. ba'k'o'n na'tse k'am ma'ra hawat'a't'dək'. 669. k'o'r hin'e K'a'ricba-pi'tua a'cu'əc daka'pək' a'cu'pərək' pa'tatsia da'pi'tseruk'. 670. tsiwu'sano'pec ba'k'usa'tseruk'. 671. na'tsi'en hin'e a'xacec xara'gya'k' batsa'tskya'ce'tseruk'. 672. hin'e awe' kyota' birə'k' hin'e a'cu'pec bire' i'rutsitsi'tseruk'. 673. de'ra k'o-

598. The [bull's] kidneys smooth were hanging down, he touched it. 599. This Old Woman's Grandchild it was he [spoke]: "Elder brother, these what are?" This bull it was: "[Grunt], do not touch it my slippery stone [whetstone]." 600. The aorta he touched. 601. "Elder brother, this that what is it?" 602. "[Grunt], don't do it! It is my pipestem." 603. His heart was hanging down. 604. He touched it. 605. "Elder brother, this there what is it?" "[Grunt], don't do it! My means of planning is that." 606. His knife he took out. 607. "Because he is so good his means of planning is that, look at it!"⁵¹ 608. This heart he cut to pieces. 609. The kidneys also he cut up. 610. The bull was about to die, around he staggered and died. 611. The ribs between his knife he took out and split the ribs between. 612. "Well! Stand up and go ye now! Where you live wherever it is thither go!" 614. He came back. 615. Old Woman's Grandchild it was. 616. His grandmother: "[That] he is not returning is well," thought. 617. She was pleased. 618. However, while she was thinking, her grandson came back. 619. Then she was pretending to cry. 620. Old Woman's Grandchild it was: "My grandmother, why are you crying?" "You did not return for the longest time, I was sad, that is why I was crying." "Stop now, I have returned." 621. "It is well that the dear boy is back." Then roaming about he continued. 622. In the daytime he wanted to sleep, but. 623. "In the daytime don't sleep" the aforesaid he remembered,⁵² he customarily did not sleep. 624. Time passed;⁵³ when he was sleepy exceedingly he lay down, his four arrows which he had marked around him he stuck up. 625. "Watch over me, if anything comes shake me" [he said]; then he slept. 626. The snake through the ground came. 627. Of the arrows one fell, his shinbone that it struck against. He woke up. 628. "Ah! What is he coming for?" 629. The snake fled. 630. As soon as he fell asleep it would come, the arrows falling would strike him he would wake up. 631. After a period of time [again] he was sleepy, he could not help himself. 632. His arrows fell and struck him, there was nothing [no response]. 633. He slept very soundly. 634. One of the arrows violently his nose struck. 635. He woke up. 636. The snake already his anus had entered. 637. At the waist there he broke himself. Already it had passed it. 638. Himself at the neck he broke off. 639. The brain cavity it had already entered.

640. This Sun [subj.] this child [obj.] Old Woman's Grandchild [apposition] when he was roaming about would see. 641. He would watch over him. 642. Now on the ground he was lying. 643. Distinct there were three parts [of him]. 644. His rump separately was lying, this his body also separately was lying; his head also separately lay. 645. He saw him this Sun [subj.] his child [obj.] 646. "What is the matter, I wonder, with this child of mine?" 647. In the daytime this child of his [obj.] he was wont to take a look at. 648. He [the boy] did not get up, unchanged he was lying. 649. This snake that this brain cavity there had entered the head inside there stayed. 650. His brain cavity was like this [gesture], his hand that like this [gesture] he was waiting.⁵⁴ 651. Whenever he should get out, by the neck he wanted to seize him he was [in that frame of mind]. 652. When this snake wanted to get out, "Old Woman's Grandchild is powerful," it would say and go inside. 653. This father of his watched him from time to time. [To] a magpie [he said]: "Go, Magpie, go, yonder my child what is the matter see! 654. The truth of the matter, why he is that way find out and come tell me!" 655. "Yes, that will I." 656. He went. 657. This magpie proceeded and arrived. 658. He pondered, he scrutinized it inside the head was a snake, inside the head it had gone. 659. This magpie found it out, then went. 660. He proceeded, he arrived. 661. Sun [said]: "Yes, how is it? Have you any information [opinion]?" 663. "Yes," he said. 664. "What is it?" 665. "A snake is inside his head." 666. "Ah!" he pondered, he thought about it. 667. Sun he caused a wind, an exceedingly strong one. 668. Unaltered he had lain already one year. 669. Then this Old Woman's Grandchild's head floated, a gully rolling it entered. 670. The brain cavity was up. 671. Then this Sun made it rain most violently. 672. This whole country was water, this gully was filled with water. 673. Then he stopped the

⁵¹ This sentence is, of course, ironical.

⁵² I.e., he remembered the statement previously quoted.

⁵³ The native equivalent is often used to suggest lapse of time.

⁵⁴ As explained in the next sentence the boy was waiting, with his hand ready to seize the snake as soon as its head should emerge from the brain cavity.

wi'tseruk' xare'c. 674. natsi'en are''kyace'tseruk'. 675. a'xacec awe' kyo'sa'taka'te hinc' na'k'e a'cu'ə bire' i'rutsikye'tseruk' hinc' bire'c buru'a'tseruk'. 676. tawe'i hinc' i'əxasec ba'iri'ce'tseruk'. 677. o'sak'. 678. a'ra hiri'ky K'a'ricba'pi'tuac amba-watsa't'də't' k'araci'əritsiet kuckyo' hiri'atək'. 679. tsiwu'sano'pe ictse' a'xa k'o-ri'ək' o'rək' natsi'tseruk'. 680. amawatsa't'dət' kucgyo' k'arace'ct. 681. ba.iri'cerək' i'kyucku'ə'tseruk'. 682. ikyucku'ere'rək' a'peta du'ctsitsi'tseruk'. 683. ducku'ə'tseruk'. 684. bi.watsa'tsk'. 685. di' di' watsa'tsindək'. 686. di' wikya't' ba.ic di'wikya't'ba.ic he'tseruk'. 687. hinc' i'əxasec a'peta ru'ctsitək'. 688. a'k' b' tsi'rək'. 689. na'mna ba''parək' xaxa'ctarək' du'tək'. 690. a'para'xe'ta bi wa.iri'cera.um di warisa'tsk'. 691. du'tək'. 692. i'əxasec base' apu'a ha'tsgitu'tseruk'. 693. a'peta du'ctsitək hinc' wa''pec i'a'xaxe'tseruk'. 694. i'əxasec: di wikya't'ba.ic di'wikya't'ba.ic k'arak'o'mba'wiky k'ambiru'usa k'am bi'cte arara'riky. 695. a'para'xeta ha'k' k'o't'a' axaxi'da'ku'tseruk'. 696. k'am ba.u'c bi'mawisa'wiky. 697. de'ra k'o't'dək' k'am ba.i'ky di'əsa da'ku'. 698. k'ar awe' k'ambire'nda'k': a'ra k'uk' hawa'tatsi'ə't' ba'warapxe'ritb'om ba'wi'p'bidək'. 699. e'kyal' he'rək' k'o'ta' de'tseruk'. 700. de'ra k'arak'u're'tseruk' isa'ka're k'us hu're'tseruk'. 701. isa'ka'rec hi'tseruk' ha''nne'rək' da'k'batsec karak'u'tseruct. 702. k'ari'wa'n'e'tseruk'. 703. sa'p' diara masa'ka'are? 704. ha'tək' dara'k'usam i'wi'wa waka'ct'. 705. k'arak'u'sak' iri'atək' isi'tsere'tseruk'. 706. k'o'n k'u'tseruk'.

707. k'arahawacda'watək' da'ku'tseruk' K'a'ricba'pi'tuac. 708. iro'oce ba'm diwatsiwe't' hi'sa ma'wiky k'o' rara'wiaraka'ci'ky. 709. e''kyo'n ba'p'k'o'ru'm xawa'uk'. 710. hi'sa hira'k. 711. e sa'pu? 712. e'ky ari'tsi.an batse' i'rapu'a k'o'm k'o'ru'k'. 713. xawa'uk' hi'sa he'tseruct. 714. e k'o't'ba'wiky. 715. hawacda'watək' da'ku'tseruk'. K'a'ricba'pi'tua: K'a'ricba'pi'tu disa'ka'ra ba'pce'c bi'ək' co'tu'rək' sa'p'atu'rək' awa'kakciwo'k' e'wa'tse'wuk'. 716. k'arahire' ri'ək'. 717. k'arahu'tseruct. 718. hinc' citse'c a'kapde'rək' i'i'ə'ko'rək' ba'hawa'xək' a''ku'tseruk' i'ə'ko'k'masa'ka're ba'ce'c. 719. hire' ri'ak' t'ak'ət'. iru'pka'su'rək'. 720. hinc' wase'c hawa't'e bara'xactatsi'tseruk' hawa't'ec k'uk' ba're'ta'tseruk' birə'ba'k' itsi'tseruk'. 721. ara watse'kyat' it'a a'wa'ku'əc K'a'ricba'pi'tuac k'am bare' hi'ky o'm hu'k'. 722. e hu'rək' i'tsiwa'wo'k'. na'mna k'arahi'tseruk'. 723. k'ahē' K'a'ricba'pi'tua bare' hi'sa.əc bare' hi'ki'ciky. 724. na'w e''kyo ri'a e''kyo'r awa't' ba'ru'cki'ci mata'ruta'ta't' e''kyok' ha'k'. 725. ico'tse du'usa.u'tseruk'. 726. bata' ru'ckici. 727. hinc' na'k'e disa'ka're ara'ku sapi'kyatəm i'tsiky du'cki'ci.i. 728. k'us a'ru'o'tseruk'. 729. k'an na'k'ec k'ari'tsibisu'tseruk'. 730. tsi's u'pe k'u' k'ar i'wici'tseruk'. 731. i'kyak' k'us o'rək' tsiri'tseruk'. 732. hinc' bara'tsi'ritsec k'o'rək': di'əsa tsiri'ky he'tseruk'. 733. sa'p' i'tsiri'n? 734. k'o't'a' ara'mnək'. 735. iru'ək' k'ara'tseruk'. 736. K'a'ricba'pi'tuac ba'ndək' hire'ndək' u'tseruk' upa's k'ara'tseruk'. 737. hinc' ware'c bare'ara'kacu'a hawa't'dək' a'tsipe'tseruk'. 738. ba'k'tsisa K'a'ricba'pi'tua k'o'ra'tseruk'. 739. bi.ikya' hinc' bita'xio waka'ra. 740. e k'o't'ba'wuma'tsiky bu'orək' ha'k'. 741. k'o't'a' na'u'tseruk'.

742. k'arak'o'n natsi'tseruk' K'a'ricba'pi'tua. 743. k'arahawawa'tatsi'tseruk'. 744. de'ra co'rat'dək' hire'm matse' i'rapu'əc co'tse't'ba hire'n K'a'ricba'pi'tua da'k'əm tsira'k' bare' u'pa's k'ara'k' awa'tsisa a'tsipe'wa'wo'm k'o'n na't'dec. 745. ha'k'se co'tseri't'dak'? 746. na'wikyawe awa'ku'rək'he! 747. k'arak'o'ri'n matsa't'dək' da'tsim na'wikyawe'wa k'uk' k'o'tda't' awa'kawo'm. 748. hire' ri'ək' du'o'tseruk'. 749. du'ra di'orək' it' k'o'ra'tseruk'. 750. hinc' ra'k'ec k'aratso'sa'tseruk'. 751. araxaru'rək' hinc' ware'c a'tsipak' natsi'tseruk'. 752. di'ə wikya' hinc'

rain. 674. Then extremely hot he made it. 675. Sun close to the ground this child's head with water filled, this water boiled. 676. It was hot from this cause this snake was uncomfortable. 677. He was burnt. 678. "Well, this Old Woman's Grandchild was powerful, nevertheless already it is a long time a long time," he thought. 679. His brain cavity his head around it there he had it, he was waiting. 680. "Even though he was powerful, for a long time he's been dead." 681. He was suffering, he came out. 682. As he came out, by the neck he seized him. 683. He pulled him out. 684. "I am powerful. 685. [Whether] you, you are powerful [we'll see]." 686. "You I have held as an elder brother, I have held you as an elder brother," he said. 687. This snake's neck he clutched. 688. With it a rock he looked for. 689. He went along, a rock jagged he took. 690. "Ghostlike one, you made me suffer, I am furious at you." 691. He took him. 692. Snakes in the beginning [had] noses [that were] long. 693. By the neck he clutched it, this rock he rubbed it against. 694. The snake: "You I have held as my elder brother, you I've held as my elder brother, I'll stop, put me down now, now my eyes you are approaching." 695. "Ghostlike one,"⁵⁵ he said, and nevertheless continued filing [his nose]. 696. "Henceforth any one's anus I will not enter." 697. Then [Old Woman's Grandchild]: "All right, keep out of mischief always." 698. The ground as it entered [it said]: "Well, as for that [biting] occasionally nevertheless I'll bite when I feel like it if there is a reason." 699. "Confound it!" he said. Immediately he went off. 700. Then he came back; to his grandmother he came. 701. His grandmother he reached. [?] her grandson came back. 702. She started to cry. 703. "What are you doing, my grandmother?" 704. "Why, you did not return, hence I was crying." 705. That he was not coming back she had thought and been glad. 706. Then he came back.

707. He kept roaming around, Old Woman's Grandchild. 708. "Grandson, whenever of something I've been telling you and 'Don't go! I say, there you want to go very much."⁵⁶ 709. Yonder some beings live, they are bad. 710. Don't go this time." 711. "Yes, what are they?" 712. "There on the other side the Two-Men there live. 713. They are bad, don't go," she said. 714. "Yes, thus I'll do." 715. He went roaming. Old Woman's Grandchild [said], "Old Woman's Grandchild, what your grandmother speaks of thither we'll get; what they are like, what they are we will see, we will know." 716. Then he went there. 717. He came. 718. This hill when he got to the top of it over yonder they were butchering. "There are those my grandmother spoke about." 719. There he went. There were two of them. 720. These men one of them was a wild sort of fellow; the other he was not, *he* was a good person. 721. "Say, comrade, we are getting along well, [now] Old Woman's Grandchild has got to us, that is he over there coming." 722. "Yes, when he comes we'll treat him well." He proceeded, he got to them. 723. "Well, Old Woman's Grandchild, who was wont not to come to us, has now got to us. 724. Come on, right there stay, there sit and eat; the entrails are over there," he said. 725. In front of him they laid it. 726. "The entrails eat [imper.]! 727. This calf fetus, to your grandmother take it; it is tender and good, she will eat it." 728. They brought it to him. 729. The calf was old enough to have a mustache. 730. The end of the tail also already had hair. 731. He saw it, toward him they were bringing it, he was afraid of it. 732. This Serious One it was [spoke]: "Don't do it, he fears it," he said. 733. "How is it possible for him to be afraid of it?" 734. Still he proceeded with it. 735. [Old Woman's Grandchild] got up and ran away. 736. Old Woman's Grandchild climbed a tree there, up to the top he ran. 737. On one limb of this tree he hung it. 738. Above it was Old Woman's Grandson. 739. "Elder brothers, remove this for me!" 740. "Yes, thus shall we do when we come [back]," he said. 741. Forthwith they went off.

742. There stayed Old Woman's Grandchild. 743. Now a year had passed. 744. Then at some time these Two-Men [were talking together]: "What did he do, do you remember [how] this Old Woman's Grandchild the embryo calf feared and fled up a tree [while] below him we hung it [and] there he stayed? 745. Finally how did he manage? 746. Come on, let us look at it. What! 747. He could not be there, powerful [as] he is. Let us go anyway, even at that we'll look." 748. Here they came. 749. They came, when they arrived he was still there. 750. This fetus was already bleached. 751. In a niche [of] this tree it remained hang-

⁵⁵ Equivalent to "wretch" more or less.

⁵⁶ The meaning is clear, but not the syntax.

mita'xia baka'rawa he'tseruk'. 753. hin'e hawa't'ec bara'xasec k'o'rək': a'ra ba'p-cewa'wo'k' isa'ka're ba'k'a'mbo'k'. 754. di'e'ma'tsiky. 755. isa'ka're i'tsicky xawi'ky he'tseruk'. 756. hin'e mara'tsiritsec: ba're't'k' ba'iri'ce'ky di'e'ma'tsiky k'o't'da'riky. 757. k'o't'dək' . . . disa'ka're bare'rək'dək' buruxpək' bita'xiwa'wim. 758. e he'tseruk' K'a'ricba'pi'tua k'o'n. 759. a'ra di'esa.e disa'ka'are. 760. ba're't'k' di'e'ma'tsiky. 761. du't'ək' hin'e ra'k'ec bita'xi.o'tseruk'. 762. i'kyu'pə'k'. C . . . ! he'tseruk'. 763. bapasa'-hi he'tseruk' hira'k'e' bare'wiky. 764. bara' masa'ka're ba'k' batsiwe'wiky. 765. tsi'pa'cirək' du'ara! 766. k'ande't'seruk'. 767. K'a'ricba'pi'tua hire'ri'ək'. 768. hu'ra ace' hi'tseruk'. 769. hin'e it'k'u'sec k'arak'u'sam i'tsiwiky i'riatək' na'tsi'tseruk'. 770. k'o'n k'u't'seruk'. 771. ha'nde'rək' da'k'batsec k'arak'u't'seruk'. 772. k'ari-wa'nne'tseruk'. 773. hu'ra hi'ək'. 774. a'ra masa'ka're sa'pa i'ri'we? 775. ha't'ək' k'andara'k'usata'rim i'wi'wec. 776. barasə'rak' xawi'm iwi'wec. 777. di'a k'arak'-o'wiawa k'ambak'u'm. 778. sa'p' dia'ra ici'a ra rak'u'sa? he'tseruk'. 779. masa'ka're e'ky batse' i'rapu'ec ma'u'om. 780. bo'ra wa'k'. 781. masa'ka're k'u'wa'm hin'e awe' a'ke'ta ma'xaxu'a bawa'tsiri'reta'ri bari'atsec k'o'ri'ec ba'wa'tsiri'wiciky hira'e'wa'tse'ky. 782. sa'pa iro'ckya'ta? 783. k'o'ri'ec na'k'e ba'tsiri'wisak' hira' e'wa'tsiky. 784. e batse' i'rapu'ec ba'u'o bahawa'xək' a'ku bo'ra wa'k'. 785. e'kyo'ri'a ba'ru'eki'ci. 786. ma'ta'wut'a't'ək' baku'k'. 787. na'k'e ru't'ək' hin'e disa'ka're ara'ku sapi'kyak du'ckici.i ha'k' i'waxk'o' ci'uk'. 788. k'o'ta' o'k' bare' u'pa's bak'ara'k'. 789. hin'e ra'k'ec bare' ara'kacu'a k'o'n a'tsipe'ok'. 790. k'arak'o'n ba'ritsiky. 791. de'ra hira'k'e' du'o'k'. 792. di'a bikya' hin'e wita'xia waka'ra bak'. 793. k'o't'dək' disa'ka're bare' da'k'dək' bita'xiawa-wi'ruk' hu'k'. 794. e bak'he'm bita'xiruk'. ba'ra' sasi'a batsiwe'wiky. tsi'pa'cikya't'dək' k'andu'ra'a ba'k'. 795. bo'k'. 796. hira'k'e' diwa'tsiwe' k'o'k'. 797. co'ot' da'rək'e'? 798. di'awa'tsesak' ba'ritsim sa'p i' diri'a di'awasawi'ndək'? 799. di'awa-wima'tsiky he'tseruk'. 800. k'ar a'ka'tu'tseruk'. 801. de'ra k'aratsi'pa'ci'tseruk'. 802. hin'e K'a'ricba'pi'tua hu'ec pi'ckyo hire'm matse' i'rapu'ec Isa'kawuate co'ka hu'rit'de'rək' hi'tseruk'. 803. hire'm matse' i'rapu'ec: e co'ota'tsi hire'ruk'? 804. K'a'ricba'pi'tua da'k'em tsiri'ky. 805. bare' a'tsipe'u ba'k'tsi'sa k'o'rək' ari'kyu'bi'ret'k'. 806. hira'k'e k'o' k'us be'-wiawo'k'. 807. isa'ka'ra ba'k'aru'm birikywi.'um k'o'kus be'wiauw.

808. e k'o't'ək' t'a'k'et' di' watsu'k'ta'rum ha't'ək' di'awa'kabara'kbo'ma'tsiky. 809. k'aratsi'pa'cirək'. 810. di'a masa'ka're k'an di'tsiky'a'ritsi. 811. k'arak'o'wit'. 812. k'a'rec k'o'rək' di'a iro'oce ba'pce'wa'rək' di'orək' di'awa'wo'k'; di'əsu'rək' k'uk' ba're't'k'. 813. e masa'ka're sa'pa? 814. k'o' e'ky batse' i'rapu'ec k'am ma'a.'u u'x acdi'cirim k'am ma'a.'u k'o'k'. 815. da'k'urək' k'andi'awa-wima'tsiky da'k'usu'rək' k'uk' bare't'k'. 816. de'ra k'aratsi'pa'cirək' k'andu'o'tseruk'. 817. dira' iro'oce amba'ri'kya'm ba'tsec da'k'urək' k'andi'awak'. 818. da' tsiwa'. 819. hire' ri'ək' hu'ra hi'tseruk'. 820. e co'ota'tsi? hu't'seruk' hire'n batse' i'rapu'ac. 821. diwatsiwe'wiky. 822. k'o' e'ky batse' u'x acdi'cirim a'uk' da'k'urək' k'andi'awa-wiky ha'k' hiri'ace. 823. da'k'usu'rək' k'uk' bare't'ək' ha'k' i'raxk'o'ce'ky. 824. hire'm matse' i'rapu'ec xatsisa.'u ka.'u'tseruk'. 825. a'ra bat'u'rək' k'uk' xawi'ct. 826. da'sua xawa'ha'tək' ka.'u'tseruct.

827. Isa'kawuate k'o're'rək' ara e'kyote bi ham be'ky. 828. e'ky dat'u'ra't ham di'awa wara'k'bo'ma'tsiky. 829. diri'a k'o't'dək' ha'k' k'u'o'tseruct. 830. di'a hire't'ka'ra bara' masa'ka're ba'tsiwe'wiky. 831. hu'ra hi'tseruct. 832. isa'ka'rec e

ing. 752. "Come, elder brother, take this away for me," he said. 753. This one who was not wild it was: "Well, let us say something, his grandmother let us demand. 754. He will consent.⁸⁷ 755. He loves his grandmother, it is bad," he said. 756. This Serious One said: "No, he is suffering, he will consent, you may do it [safely ask him]." 757. "All right. . . . If you give us your grandmother, we'll take it off and remove it." 758. "Yes," he said, Old Woman's Grandchild it was. 759. "Well, [but] she may refuse, your grandmother." 760. "No, she'll consent." 761. Taking hold of it, they removed this fetus. 762. He came down. "[Expression of fatigue]" he said. 763. "I am nearly tired out," he said; "now I'll go. 764. I'll go and I'll get to my grandmother and I'll tell her. 765. At dusk come ye!" 766. He went. 767. Old Woman's Grandchild went there. 768. He came and reached the lodge. 769. Before his return, "It is very good he is not coming back," she kept thinking. 770. Then he returned. 771. When she said it [to herself] her grandson had come back. 772. She now began to cry. 773. He came and arrived. 774. "Well, grandmother, why are you crying?" 775. "Why, you were not coming back at all, that is why I cried. 776. My heart also is bad [sad], hence I cry." 777. "Come, stop now I've come back." 778. "What did you do to return so late?" she cried. 779. "My grandmother, those Two-Men killed game. 780. I came, I got there. 781. My grandmother, to my amazement [though] I had thought that of all things on this earth I was afraid of none, I discovered there is something I am afraid, now I know." 782. "What is it, grandson?" 783. "I discovered a calf fetus is something I fear, now I know. 784. Yes the Two-Men had killed game and were butchering, I came and met them. 785. There come, eat. 786. The entrails they gave me. 787. 'The calf fetus take and this grandmother of yours take it to, it is tender, she may enjoy it,' they said, thus they spoke. 788. Forthwith he brought it, up a tree I fled. 789. This fetus on the limb of a tree they then hung. 790. There I stayed. 791. Then just now they came. 792. 'Come, elder brothers, remove this for me,' I said. 793. 'All right, if you give us your grandmother, we will remove it,' they said. 794. 'Yes,' I said, so they removed it, 'I'll go, in the meantime I'll tell her, come at dusk,' I said. 795. I came [hither]. 796. Now I have told you, this is it. 797. What will you do, I wonder?" 798. "I have loved you always, how could I refuse your request? 799. I'll do it" she said. 800. Time passed.⁸⁸ 801. Then it got dark. 802. After Old Woman's Grandchild's coming these Two-Men were met by Old Man Coyote coming from heaven knows where. 803. To these Two-Men [he said]: "Yes, how goes it with you here?" 804. "Old Woman's Grandchild is afraid of a calf fetus. 805. We hung it, above it was he, it was impossible for him to get down. 806. Now we are about to go to him. 807. His grandmother we demanded, he is going to give her to us, thither we are going."

808. "Yes, all right, you are my true younger brothers, so I'll help you with it." 809. It was dusk. 810. "Well, grandmother, now look out for yourself. 811. It is time [for their arrival]." 812. The old woman it was [who said]: "Well, grandson, if they'll do what I say, we'll consent; if they refuse, then not." 813. "Yes, grandmother, what is it?" 814. "Those Two-Men own something, a deer hide [from tipi cover] is their most valuable possession.⁸⁹ 815. If they give it to you, I'll consent; if they don't give it you, then [I will] not." 816. Then when it was dusk they came. 817. "You can go, grandson, if they give you what I have bidden you ask for, I consent. 818. Go, tell them." 819. Thither he went. He came and got there. 820. "Well, what news?" these Two-Men said. 821. "I'll tell you. 822. 'Those men own a deer hide; if they give it you, I'll consent,' she says, thus she speaks. 823. 'If they do not give it you, then not,' she says, that's what she said." 824. These Two-Men remained motionless. 825. "Why, if we give it away, that would be bad." 826. They were sad.

827. Old Man Coyote it was [who spoke]: "Why of those [hides] I own one. 828. Even if you give that one away, I'll make one for you." 829. "Your words are right," they said, and gave [theirs] away. 830. "Well, stay ye here, I'll go and I'll tell my grandmother." 831. He came and got to her. 832. His grandmother [said]: "Yes, what news, grandson?"

⁸⁷ Literally, he will do it.

⁸⁸ Literally, they lived on.

⁸⁹ Interesting and typical rendering of the superlative idea. Literally, a deer hide what they own that is it.

co'ota'tsi iro'oce? marak'a'm biarie k'o't'dək co? 833. awa'kawiky a'ra' iha.'i.
 834. hin'e'ky. 835. du't'ək' hin'e kya'rec i'kyaditsi'tseruct. 836. e k'o'k' ha't'ək'
 k'arak'o'wict k'andi'awa'wiky. 837. di'ara' k'arahu'ka. 838. a'ra k'ar i'na'wikya'suk'.
 839. sape' i'ira'wi'ot? 840. Isa'kawuate k'o'k' k'o' e'ky batse' ira'wi.ə. 841. k'u bi
 andi'atsi'rat'dot' bi ariru'reta'riky he'c k'an di'awak'. 842. di.ara' k'ar hire'm bari-
 t'biky. 843. hawa'tata'tsikya'ta hu'ge. 844. k'u'k'u'we u'paraci're du't'ək' k'o' isa'ra-
 tu'a ri.ək'. 845. k'ar o'rək' na'tsi'tseruk'. 846. hin'e' watse' i'rapu'əc hawa'tec k'ara-
 hu'tseruk'. 847. a'xpəpək' k'o'wi'ək' de'tseruk'. 848. de'ra hin'e' hawa'tec hu'tseruk'.
 849. ku' a'xpəpək' de'tseruk'. 850. de'ra Isa'kawu.ate hu'tseruk'. 851. a'xpəpək'
 de'tseruk'. 852. Isa'kawuate k'u'tseruk'. 853. batse' i'rapu'əc hi'tseruk'. 854. ara
 watse'kya'tu hin'e mawa'xpəpəc sa'pak' diri'atu? 855. ha't'ək' bi'əm awa'xpəpū'ct.
 856. mare'ta'ri. 857. k'arak'o'mbak' ko'r e'wa'tsiky i'ə'k' bawa'xpəpəc k'uku'we
 u'paraci're ha'tsəyatək' o'kapatsi'ru.əc k'o't'əm' k'o' awa'xpəpū'k'. 858. t'ak'-
 o'tawiky.

859. hin'e cikya'kec hu'tseruk'. 860. K'a'ricba'pi'tua batse' i'rapu.əc na'mda
 hi'tseruk'. 861. Isa'kawuate k'ar hire' a'kusa'ra k'arahawacda'ra. 862. co'rara-
 ku'ra ara'ra'ku tsi'rara. 863. e k'o't'ba'wiruk'. asu'a k'us k'u'tseruk'. 864. hire'n
 matse' i'rapu.əc Isa'kawuate' k'o'rək' matsu'ka'tu K'a'ricba'pi'tua bare' du-
 ci'gyatisam. 865. bi'ra bi'ts a'wi.'um. 866. xatsi'se' ritsisa'ra! 867. k'ara co'c dara.ura
 k'anna'ra! 868. bi'gyen awa'ka'kua batsi'mbiky. 869. bi'gyen bare'wiky. 870. e
 ha'k' k'anna.'u'tseruk'. 871. batse' i'rapu.əc batsa'xpək' i'ru'pta di'rək' k'anna.-
 u'tseruk'. 872. hawa't'ec k'o'rək' hin'e bara'tsiritsec k'o'rək' di'əse ba'k' baru'ka'ce
 k'o't'a' bara'k'diarak'. 873. k'am bi'tsi wa'a'wi.'um. 874. ba'k'o'n i't'a a'wa'ku.əc
 k'ammare.'t'k'. 875. k'arak'o'n co'cda.urək' da.'u'tseruk'. 876. Isa'kawuate ku'
 k'ande'tseruk'.

877. awe' a'ke ma'arakawi'əc k'ara ha'we'tseruk'. 878. K'a'ricba'pi'tua isa'ka'rec
 a'xpək' da'ka'tsi'tseruk'. 879. diri'a masa'ka're k'ara hire'n da'k'u'se. 880. k'o't'ək'
 ba'k'uk' k'o'm ba'wiky ha'k' de'tseruk'. 881. hin'e cikya'kec bi' hire'kyo' baka-
 'kuwiky. 882. i'i'watsen hiri'c da'k'. 883. i'gye'xatsi'se k'o't'seruk'. 884. hin'e kya'rec
 miri'ta'tsia k'o't'seruk'. 885. k'arak'o'wict.

If what you were going to ask for is all right, where is it? 833. I'll look at it, it might be a different one [hide]." 834. "Here it is." 835. She took it, this old woman, she scrutinized it. 836. "Yes, this is it. Well, I am ready now I'll consent. 837. Go ahead, let them come. 838. Why, now there are three of them! 839. Who is the third?" 840. "It is Old Man Coyote, he [is] that third man." 841. "Also they have tried to use me⁶⁰ but could not do it; yet now I consent. 842. Go ahead, I'll stay here. 843. One at a time let them come." 844. A squash blossom she took and that in her genitalia she put it. 845. She was waiting. 846. Of these Two-Men one came. 847. When intercourse was over, he left. 848. Then this other one came. 849. Also he cohabited and left. 850. Then Old Man Coyote came. 851. He cohabited and left. 852. Old Man Coyote came back. 853. He met the Two-Men. 854. "Well, dear friends, this one we cohabited with, what was it, do you think?" 855. "Why, it was a woman we cohabited with." 856. "No, indeed. 857. When I got through then I found out: That we cohabited with was a squash blossom a long and grooved [hollowed] one that kind is the one we cohabited with." 858. "True enough."

859. This boy came. 860. Old Woman's Grandchild toward the Two-Men proceeded and reached them.⁶¹ 861. Old Man Coyote [said]: "Now in this place do not stay, now go somewhere. 862. Wherever you stay, look for a home." 863. "Yes, that we shall do." To his home he [Old Woman's Grandchild] returned. 864. [To] these Two-Men Old Man Coyote it was [who spoke]: "My younger brothers, Old Woman's Grandchild has not yet touched us. 865. We have brought ourselves to him. 866. Do not stop going! 867. Wherever you go, go on! 868. I myself shall seek a [new] habitat. 869. Myself I'll go away." 870. "Yes," they said, and went away. 871. The Two-Men together both walked away. 872. One of them it was, this Serious One it was [spoke]: "Don't I kept saying, nevertheless you would play your tricks."⁶² 873. Now we have brought ourselves against something. 874. Peaceably and well we were living, now that is over." 875. Then wherever they went, they left. 876. Old Man Coyote also went away.

877. On the earth whatever evil being there were he [Old Woman's Grandchild] had destroyed. 878. Old Woman's Grandchild with his grandmother continued to live. 879. "Well now, my grandmother, now do not stay here." 880. "All right, above there I'll stay," said she and went. 881. This boy said: "As for me, I'll stay in some place there." 882. Yonder there he went. 883. The North Star⁶³ it is he. 884. This woman the Moon it is she. 885. This is the end.

⁶⁰ Presumably meaning: get the better of me.

⁶¹ The context shows that this cannot be the narrator's intention since Old Man Coyote advises the Two-Men to flee from Old Woman's Grandchild.

⁶² Literally, you did what you saw; a common idiomatic phrase.

⁶³ Literally, star does not move.

ANALYZED TEXT

(The numbering is by sentences.)

1

base', in the beginning, first. Since adjectives follow nouns, the adverbial rendering is indicated. The word often denotes ancient times in contrast to the present. The following examples illustrate its applications: *ak'-basa'n-de*, "the one who first goes" is the leader in the Tobacco dance; *andu'awic base' dicba're sa'we*, when you were first married, how old were you?; *bi'i'pi wase'*, the first snowfall; *basa'ka'ce*, the very earliest; *ak'-da'm-base'-c*, the one who went first.

awace', Hidatsa. The etymology that suggests itself is: *awe'*, earth; *ace'*, lodge. This, however, inverts the usual order of noun and modifier. Compare such clan names as: *a'c-ira-ri'o*, Newly made lodge; *ac-(c)itsi'te*, Thick lodge; *ac-ky'a'mne*, Piegan lodge.

apsa'ruk'e, Crow Indians. The tribal name does *not* designate the crow, but some other bird species. (See Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians*, AMNH-AP 25:296, 1918.)

bare', independent pronoun for "we," "us."

hawa't'kart, one. In counting, *hawa't'e* is used. The diminutive, here as often, is a general adjectival ending. Compare *cu'aka'te*, blue; *hi'cikya'te*, red. *hawa't'e* is related to *haw(e)*, some; for example, *ha'mbici*, is there some?; *hawa ce'sak'*, some were not (yet) dead.

k'o, that. Demonstrative of identity (see §10).

wiraxba'k', person; kindred; people. *basbiraxba'k'e xaxu'a*, all my relatives; *datsi're ictawa't'ec biraxba'k'sam*, your husband One-eye is no person (in abuse); *k'um biraxba'k'uc*, they too are (but) human beings.

The stem *wir-* seems to designate humanity. Compare *birice'*, corpse (*ce*, dead); *ak'biritsirape'*, murderer (one who kills his own).

2

a'xace (also written *a'xa'ce*), Sun (the greatest Crow deity). This word differs from the Hidatsa term used for both sun and moon. On the other hand, it coincides with the Crow word for "to dazzle," *ict a'xa'ce* (their eyes he blinds). The Hidatsa stem appears, however, in Crow in both *mi'ritatsi* (moon) and *biriwaxpe'* (sunset); for example, *k'am-bi'ri-waxbi'n-nak'*, when the sun goes down. Compare under 39.

kyo'rak'. Palatalized form of *k'o'rak'*. *k'o*, demonstrative; *rə* (=ra), to be, to be present; *-k'*, oral stop.

3

a'xpe, his companion(s). Plurality is here indicated in the following word. *a'xpe* = with (in the company of), companion, company, party; to marry. *a'xpa'xpə* = to lie with (refined term for "to cohabit"); *a'xpa*, with, *xpə* = *xapi'*, to lie.

sape'orak', plural of *sape'*, interrogative "who," related to *sa'pa*, what; *-rak'* probably indicates uncertainty (see §24, i) here.

mara'xdək, I do not know; *ara'xdə*, he does not know, equivalent to French *ignorer*; *mara'x* means "crazy, ignorant."

a'xpawisu'tseruk, he had companions. Quotative. *-wisu* is the plural of *-wice'* (see §24, iv).

4

di'ə (also *di'ə*), possibly related to *di'ə*, to do, to make; very common initial exclamation of encouragement, perhaps best rendered as "Come now," "Well," "Listen."

ba-wi'itsikya-te, the best-looking women. The simple adjective is here used as a superlative (see §10). *ba-*, nominal prefix; *wi-*, stem of *wi'ə*, woman; *i'tsi*, good, good-looking; for *-kya-te* compare above, *hawa't'karte*.

sa'pu, what kind? Plural of *sa'pa*. Compare *sape'o*, plural of *sape'*, in 3.

diri'atsi, do you think? (*h*)*iri'atsi*, (*h*)*i'riatsi*, to think; for first person, see under 6.

5

co'rat'. My interpreter corrected the query to read: *co'rək' hawa't'kardək*, where is there one? The word dictated is derived from *co'*, and presumably has basically a locative meaning. Temporal meanings being linked with spatial ones, we find *co'rat'dək* for "at some (unspecified) time." The stem appears with other suffixes; for example, I heard a Crow ask concerning two young women: *co'k'e k'o' tsi'mbici*, which of them is married?

hawa't'dək, one of them. *-dək'* as indefinite article.

6

ara. Also written: *ara*; expletive, often at the beginning of sentences, especially in addressing someone.

bari'atsiky, I think. For stem, see under 4.

7

hira'k'e', now. Derived from *hira'*, just now (immediate past), whence *hira'k'o're'*, newcomer (*k'o're'*, to be here).

bu'awicbiky, I'll marry. *bu'a*, my wife; *u'a*, his wife. For *-bic*, see §24, iv; *-bi*, first person future.

8

bu'awic bi'awak', I want to have a wife. As explained (§9, iii), *bi'a*, to want, is treated as a causative verb, hence, *suffixes* pronouns.

i-ri-wawa'xuk', that is why I ask you. *i-*, instrumental; *ri'*, second person pronoun object; *wa'xu*, to ask (a question), regular verb, taking *wa-* for the first person. The stem may be related to suffix *-xu*, *-x* (see §24, iii). Apparently, *wa'xu* is never used with an actual query, the word for "to say" taking its place. There seems to be no word at all for "to answer."

9

k'o't'dək', if so. Another possible translation is: all right. *k'o't'*, thus, from demonstrative *k'o'*; *də*, to be.

wi'akari'ctem, young woman. *bi'akate* would be "girl"; *na'k'bi'ə*, daughter, from *na'k'(e)*, child.

k'o. Typical use of the demonstrative after the object noun (or subject of intransitive verb).

awa'xpawi'ky, I shall marry. For the stem *a'xp(a)*, see under 3. Like a fair number of verbs with initial vowel, it prefixes pronouns in inverted form, that is, *aw* for *ba* (*wa*); *ar* for *da*. See §28, iii.

10

he'rək'. A common connective between sentences.

sape'rək'e', who, I wonder. The bisyllabic suffix seems to be a fuller form of *-rək'*; *-dək'*.

ba'wi'ak'usiri', suitor. *ba-*, nominal prefix; *wi'a*, woman; *k'u* (= *k'o*), demonstrative; *-s* (*-c*), postposition for "to," "toward"; *iri'*, to speak. That is, someone who speaks to women.

i'tsikya'te. As in 4, the positive appears with superlative meaning. Stem *i'tsi*, *it'-*.

11

apa'rirək', it was a porcupine (who spoke). Crow texts often merely imply that a character presented is to be regarded as the speaker.

wi'ky'a', my elder brother (man speaking). The nonvocative form has terminal *e*, hence his brother, *i'kye'*. The accent of this and other kinship terms seems to vary, especially in address.

k'amba'wa'ri'a, my gift of speech. The function of *k'am-* here is obscure (see p. 21). *ba-*, nominal prefix denoting indefinite object; *wa'ri'* = *ba'ri'*, I speak; *-a*, nominalizing suffix, forming gerund (cf. §24, vi).

wa'i'tsikya'ce, the best. The superlative is here expressed by the usual suffix (§24, v).

k'o'k'. Demonstrative with oral stop. For this use, compare §10.

12

barewi'ak'usiri'a, courting. *bare-* expresses an abstract meaning; final *-a* as in 11.

bi ri'skawa'cda'rək', if you hire me (lit., if you make me your servant). *i'skawa'c*, his servant; *da-*, second person pronoun, suffixed for causative significance.

ba'it'a'k'a, quickly, without trouble. *it'a'k'a* is often used in the sense of "by the way," "for no serious purpose." Compare Teton *itu* (Deloria, Dakota Texts, 236, 1932). An informant once interrupted his narrative by an aside; when I prepared to take it down, he told me not to do so, saying the remark had been made "*it'a'k'a*." Another meaning is "gratis."

ba'tse'wiky, I'll do it. *tse-* is a regular verb; the aspirate seems to be purely euphonic.

13

k'ah'e'. Exclamation. Used in formal address; for example, in prayer.

k'andare'riky, now you may go. Permissive future. For *k'an-*, see §23; for conjugation of *de*, §28, v; *ri*, second person future.

14

k'o't'ba'wiky, thus I shall do. A common expression in daily speech. Literally, thus I cause I shall, the causative idea being expressed by pronominal post-position. Compare *da'* in *ri'skawa'c-da'rək'*, under 12.

ha'k', he said and . . . The absolute form closing the declaration would be *he'ky*; *ha'k'* is participial. The verb occurs only *after* a verbatim quotation.

k'anda'hi'tseruk', he set out, it is said. *-hi* expresses momentaneousness; compare *am-bi-rap'-'i'a-hi-o-ne'tək'*, they cannot kill me at once. *k'an-*, inceptive. Note the use of the participial vowel (*da'* for *de'*).

15

hire'n (*hire'n*), these. The usual plural of *hin'e'*, but also used for "here." *awace'c*, the Hidatsa. *-c*, definite article.

isbatse'tuwicdək', a chief of theirs (lit., their chief was extant a). *is-*, third person possessive; *batse'tse*, chief, pluralized to indicate plurality of possessor; *-wic*, §24, iv, *-dək'*, indefinite article.

na'k'e (*da'k'e*), child, offspring. *itsi'nda'k'e*, colt (*itsi're*, horse).

16

hin'e', this.

isbi'awicdək', had a sister. *is*, third person possessive; *bi'a*, woman, also used for sister, kinswoman.

17

ra'k'ecdək' isbi'acdək' his child and his sister. In enumeration *-dək'* serves as conjunction, being suffixed to *every* noun; for example, *naxpitse'rək'*, *bapu'xtərək'*, *tse'tərək'*, *bice'rək'* (bears, otters, wolves, and buffalo).

batsi'kya'xa'tu'tseruk', were about the same age. *bats-*, *bat-*, each other; *i'kyax*, to equal in size; (*h*)*a'tu*, plural of (*h*)*a'tə*, approximative.

18

na'm, let us go (?). I am not sure of the precise construction. *na'm*, however, is clearly related to *na'wi*, to proceed (see below, 27). Note the abrupt lapse into dialogue.

ba'awi'əce'wo'k', let us do some quillwork. Hortatory future, first person. *ba-*, generic nominal prefix for indefinite object of verb, as in *ba'wu'cbiky*, I'll eat (something). *i'əsua*, the gerund form, means "quillwork." For first person *aw*, see §28, iii and under 9. *i'ə* = feather, quill.

hire'te', here. Related to demonstrative *hire'n*, these; *-te* (*-ta*), local suffix. Compare *a'pe*, neck, *a'peta*, at the neck.

a're'ky, it is hot. Also used to express certain forms of pain. Compare *bu'ce ari'at'*, my rump is aching; also, *bare'c ara'xiky*, the wood burns.

bare', wood, tree, woods. Also assumes terminal *-a*; for example, *baraki'ce*, tally sticks.

he're's, among. Also recorded as *he're's*. *-s*, toward, to. Compare *du'xira'um he're bare'ky*, they went to war, among (them) I went.

bak', we going. By itself the form might mean "I arrived," the irregular verb for arrival being conjugated; *bak'*, *dara'k'*, *hi'ky*, *bi'uk'*, *dari'uk'*, *di'uk'*. But analogy with similar sentences suggests the first person participial (never pluralized) of *de*, to go. In other words, futurity and plural are not expressed here until we get to the main verb. "I go" is *bare'*, but note: *iha's ba'u tsitse'ky*, astray we are going, it seems; *iha's be-suk'*, astray we are not going (*su*, pl. of *sa*; *k'*, stop).

ara'tsiam, shade. *ar* = probably *ar-* in its locative sense (§23). *tsiri'a* is the usual word for "cool."

k'o Demonstrative, setting *ara'tsiam* into relief.

k'on, there. Derived from demonstrative *k'o*.

19

k'anna'u'tseruct, now they went. Quotative. *tseruct*, quotative, often used for *tseruk'* without obvious change of meaning (see Crow Text, p. 164).

20

raxo'tak', they entered and . . . Participial form. I entered = *baxo'tsiky*. *pe'rits ismannak'*, raven tree (a willow species). *pe'rits(i)*, raven; *is*, third person possessive; *mannak'* = *bare'* (*mare'*) plus *-da'k'*, indefinite article.

xu'arak', one leaning over. *xu'a*, to lean over; *-rak'*, indefinite article.

ara'tsia. Perhaps the *-m* classifier of 18 disappears because this word is here to be taken as the shade of the leaning tree.

21

ba'i'acekis'ak', they were passing the time quillworking. For *-kis*, *-kici*, see page 26.

ba'k'o't', undisturbed; without anything happening. *ba-*, generic nominal prefix; *k'o't'* (*k'on*) from *k'o*, expressing unchanged identity. A favorite word in Crow description, from which is derived *ba'k'o'tsi'te*, eternal.

ka'u'tseruk', they remained. Here an independent verb (see §9, ii).

22

co'ka, wherever, whenever. Conceivably *ka* is to be construed as a prefix to the verb.

hu'annak', he may have come from. *an* may suggest the progress of motion, but remains obscure.

hin'e' bare xu'ac, (on) this leaning tree. *-c*, definite article, whereas the first time the tree is mentioned (20) the indefinite article occurs.

k'o'ra'tseruk', was there. Quotative.

23

hi'ra, female comrade. Used only in address.

i'ky, look. Imperative singular. The conjugation is irregular in the alteration of the initial vowel: *awa'ka*, *ara'ka*, *i'ky*.

e'ky, that. Also means "there," "yonder."

apa'riky, is a porcupine. Compare forms in 10 and 26.

24

xatsi'sa, do not move. *-sa*, negative, regularly suffixed in prohibitions; *xatsi'* is frequent with causatively suffixed pronouns: *xatsi'ə*, he shakes (a rattle); *xatsi'wa*, I shake (a rattle).

burutsi'wiky, I shall capture (it). *du'tsi*, to take with the hand (see p. 35).

25

ce'tseruk', said it. Like *he'*, this verb follows the direct quotation, but, as here, it need not come immediately after the quoted words. The conjugation (with oral stop) is: *ce'wak'*, *ce'rak'*, *ce'ky*; third person plural *ci'uk'*. Compare *ce'sa*, don't say it! *sa'pem i'cera'*, why do you say it?

u'ək' de'tseruk', climbing she went. *u'ə*, to climb.

26

apa'riəc, the porcupine. Object. The object precedes the verb when a nominal subject is lacking, but a noun subject ought to precede the object. Here, probably because of the impossibility of misunderstanding, the object retains the place of honor and the subject intervenes between it and the predicate.

k'arahi't', whenever she got to him. *-t'*, suffix expressing habitual or repeated action.

baxa''n də'ku'tseruk', he kept on going higher. *də'ku* (*da'ku'*), auxiliary (§9, ii). Compare *awu'cda'kuc*, he-sweats-habitually. The main verb stem is not clear to me; *xa* denotes some sort of motion; compare *do's-xa-ra*, come ye hither (*do's*, hither; *-ra*, pl. imper.). For "I went higher," *ba'xawa'hiky*, *ba'xawa'm ma'ka'kuk'*, *ba'xawa-wa'ka'kuk'* were all given as possible forms.

27

k'o't'a', nevertheless. This word has at least two other meanings, namely, "all over" (*awe' kyo't'a'*, all over the world) and "immediately."

k'arapi'ce, behind (him). *pi'ce* means "behind," "after." *k'ara* is inceptive here and to be construed with the whole rest of the sentence.

da'wi'tseruk', she proceeded. Quotative. *da'wi*, to go ahead.

28

isba'xi'əc, her paternal aunt (or father's clanswoman). *is-*, third person possessive, as with alienable possessions, *c*, definite article. The stem, never used in address nor without possessive prefix, denotes likewise the paternal aunt's female children and all their female descendants through females ad infinitum; that is, the daughter of a *ba'xi'ə* is always herself a *ba'xi'ə*. In address, the paternal aunt is equated with the mother.⁶⁴ The equivalent Hidatsa word (3 p.) is *ica'wi*, but this stem is used both vocatively and nonvocatively. However, the Crow stem is probably derived from Hidatsa *xi'ə*, old, so that *isba'xi'ə* may mean "her old one."

k'arawate', already far. *k'ar(a)*, apparently again prefixed to an adverb,

⁶⁴ Lowie, Notes on the Social Organization and Customs of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow Indians, AMNH-AP 31:31, 23, 1917.

but to be construed with the entire rest of the sentence, giving a past sense to the verb.

dare'm, you have gone. *-m* may be merely a phonetic connective here, but see §15.

batsa'tsk', exceedingly; also strong, powerful, brave; very numerous. Appears also as *batsa'tsi(ky)*. *ak'ba'kure' batsa'tsi'tseruk'*, the hunters were very numerous. Possible derivation from *batse'*, man.

29

k'aratsisa' hu', having turned back, come. The reason for omission or retention of final *-k'* in participial forms remains obscure; it does not hinge on the imperative construction (see §9), though a declarative equivalent was given as *tsisa-'k' hu'sak'*, she did not turn back and come. This, by the way, was described as more elegant than possible *tsici'sak'*, she did not turn back. In other words, the participial construction is regarded as idiomatic. *tsisa'(k')* is participial for *tsici'*, which is regularly conjugated as an *-i'* (not *-i*) stem. First person singular, *ba'tsici'*; first person plural, *ba'tsisa'u. hu'*, imperative, expressed here by simple stem with terminal aspirate, which appears often but not always.

30

bare't'ək', no. *ba-*, something; *-re't'(ə)*, absolute negative; *-k'*, stop. The usual negation is answer to a query; in rapid speech the first vowel is shortened, the third vowel elided, the second often seems to be altered to *ε*.

k'amburutsi' . . . wiky. Yellow-brow lengthened the accented vowel inordinately and made it go up and down in pitch.

31

i'kyare'rək', when she looked at her. *-rək'*, in temporal sense here. *i'kya*, to look, see; *-re-*, frequent suffix with aspectual meaning (momentaneous? inceptive?), not clearly ascertained. According to the interpreter, it suggests that the aunt was not watching continuously, but now and then looking up from her quillwork. However, this interpretation is not convincing.

k'araxi'xi'aka'ta'tseruk', already she had become irre recognizable. Quotative. *xi'ə*, dim, not plain, reduplicated here. *xi'əsa*, not dim, is the usual translation of "plain"; *-ka'ta*, in generic adjectival sense (cf. in 1).

ha'kse, at last. *ha'ka*, last; often fused with superlative *-ka'ce*, for example, *ha'ka'ce*, the rear men. *i-ha'k'a-rec*, the last time she went.

k'ari'kyasa'tseruk', she no longer saw her. This correlative use of *k'ar-* and *-sa* is common.

32

dut'a'k', he seized her and . . . Participial form of *du'tsi*.

a're'tseruk', he carried her off. For pseudoinfixation compare §22.

33

k'arahu'rərək', as she was coming. Here again the problematic aspectual suffix *-re*. Jim Carpenter suggests plural *du'ra* instead of *hu'rərək'*, which, he

explains, suggests that the girl knew where she was going. But Yellow-brow insisted on the correctness of his term.

acdək', a tipi. *ace'*, lodge, tipi, camp. The plural form *asu'(\emptyset)* means home; for example, *asu'wiciky*, he has a home. *aci'm* also occurs for "a tipi"; I do not understand the preference for the *-m* or *-dək'* classifier, respectively, in specific instances.

tsi.i'əkət', white. *tsi'(\emptyset)*, white.

34

hire' ri'ək', there she went. A fixed phrase, in which *hire'* clearly means "thither." *ri'ək'* suggests a second participial form of *de'*, perhaps distinguished from *da:k'* by having progressive meaning.

hu'ra, she came. *-ra* may correspond to *-re*, *-re'* in *hu'rərək'* and *i'kyarərək'*; a progressive sense seems indicated.

hi'tseruk', she got there. Coming and arriving are regularly presented as separate actions. For irregular conjugation of *hi*, see §28, v.

35

awe'ren, outside. *awe'*, ground; *he're*, same postposition as in 18; *-n*, locative suffix.

iru'ahi'tseruk', she stood still. Quotative. *iru'a*, independent verb here (see §9, ii); *-hi*, aspectual suffix indicating momentaneousness.

36

icgyawu'ən, indoors. Etymology obscure, but probably derived from *ace'*, tipi, and *awu'ə-n*, inside. The form *acgyewu'ən* also occurs.

hu'm'a, come here. *-ma* probably replaces the more common imperative in *-wa*. The speaker of the command is not revealed until 38.

xu'utse, daughter. Vocative, at least preponderantly; equivalent to non-vocative *da:k'bi'ə*; by extension applied to the daughter-in-law. Lowie, AMNH-AP 21:65, 73.

37

bire'ri'tseruk', she entered. *bire'ri* is probably connected with *de'*, to go, and *biri'ə*, door. The former is suggested by the first person form, *bi'mbariky*.

38

k'a'ri'tseruk', it was an old woman. *k'a'r(e)*, *-i*, old woman, though its phonetic variant *xa'ri* may be applied to males also. Compare *ba.ictci'ri xa'riəc*, Old-white-man; *mi xari'ə*, cause me to be old.

39

hin'e' acgyewu'rəc. By analogy with similar forms I should interpret the entire sentence to mean: As she was sitting inside, nothing happened until sunset approached, when the Sun returned. *hin'e'* often ushers in a temporal phrase terminating in the definite article.

ba:k'o'n. See under 21, where the peaceful routine is finally disturbed by the appearance of the porcupine.

da't'ək', she remained. Participial form of *da'tsi*, *da'tsi'* (see §9, ii), here used independently.

biri'wa'bise'ky, before sunset. Frequently priority is indicated by such negation, *-se* here standing for *-sa*. The stem *i'wa'bi* (also heard *i'waxpi*) may be used for the setting of the sun either with the ancient stem *biri'* as here, or with the usual word for sun; for example, *k'ar'a'xace i'wa'pirək'*, the sun had gone down. Compare under 2.

k'u' tseruk', returned. *k'u*, regular verb. *karak'u*, has he returned? *k'aratsi' bak'u'wawak'*, again I shall return; *kamba'k'u'k'*, then I came back; *i'tsikya'-ta k'u'i*, may he return safely!

40

hiri'ky. Exclamation of surprise.

co'c, wherefore? More commonly, whither?; for example, *co'c dare'*, whither are you going?

daro', do you come? Irregular verb (§28, v).

41

ha't'(d)ək'. Expletive at beginning of sentence. A favorite word of Yellow-brow's, its frequent use being censured by some Crow as a mannerism. Compare *i'rək' awu'suə co'ritsin di'ara? ha't'ək' hu're i'ru'pec kyo'n di'awak'*, when did you make that sweat lodge? Why, I made it the day before yesterday. *t'ək'* is said to be a weaker form of *ha't'ək'*.

ba'k'o'n, peacefully. That is, the girl and her aunt had been working untroubled till the porcupine came. Compare 21, 39, 49, 74, *passim*.

baka'um, we were living. Independent use of a common auxiliary.

dir'e'n, you. Emphatic form for *di'*, as is *di'ra*.

bare', us. The plural form is often used with singular meaning.

ara'xpa wi'arak', you wanted to marry (lit., you marry you wanted). (See §9, iii.)

diru'ka'cim, you were bent on it, so . . . *iru'*, to insist, persist (1 p., *baru'*, 2 p. *diru'*); *-ka'ci*, superlative; *-m*, connective.

k'ambu'oct, we have come. Again plural form for singular. *-ct* (as in *-tseruct*) remains an obscure oral stop.

di awa'xpa wi'awak', I want to marry you. The speaker remains unexpressed. Compare *ara'xpa wi'arak'*, above.

42

rusu' tseruk', they ate. *duci'*, to eat. Conjugation: *bu'ci*, *diru'ci*, *duci'*; *busu'*, *diru'su'*, *dusu'*. When the food is not specified the verb prefixes *ba-* as indefinite object. Note the irregular contraction of stem and pronoun in first person. Future forms are: *duci'i*, she will eat; *bu'cbisak'*, I shall not eat.

Note the word order of the sentence: first, the noun object; then demonstrative *k'o'* to set it off; finally, the predicate.

baritsi't'ək', she was boiling something. Indefinite object, *ba-*; participial form of a verb, presumably *ditsi'tsi*. The gerund form occurs in *birə'xdeta waritsi't'uə*, boiling without pottery (stone boiling).

k'u'tseruk, she gave to her. The indirect object is understood, not expressed with this verb. The vowel is generally short. Conjugation: *bak'u'*, *da'k'u*, *k'u*; *bak'uo'*, etc. Note: *ham mak'u'*, give me some; *hamna'k'u.ima'tsiky*, he will give you some; *bara'k'biky*, I'll give it to you; *ba'k'biky*, I'll give it to him; *bi'tsia bari'kyu*, give us the knife; *e' wara'k'usa.wiky*, I shall not give you food; *bare'rak'dak'*, if you give (it) to us.

43

bare't'k', no. I think the length and quality of the second vowel actually change according to speed of pronunciation and rhetorical effect desired.

biky, I. The oral stop is sometimes added to the emphatic form.

hiri'ate, this kind. Clearly from the demonstrative stem *hire'n*, these. *-t(e)* sometimes seems to mark off a class of objects; compare *biraxba'k'e ba'isa'te*, old people! (See p. 25.)

44

hə. Interjection, expletive.

45

bice'rək', buffalo. *bice'*, the general term for the species.

itsi'ri'kya.cirək, elk. Note polysyndetic use of *-rək* with all nouns (§18). *itsi're* nowadays means "horse"; *-ka.ce* makes it "elk" (see p. 30).

k'o'wu'cict, that is what I eat. *-ct* in this context suggests the possible meaning of habitual action for this suffix, which would be in harmony with its occasional use in the quotative (cf. 19, 39).

46

di'a (di'ə). Compare under 4.

iro'oce, son. Vocative. Also used in addressing a grandson.

na' (da'), go. Imperative of *de'*.

ari'tsikya.ce, the best ones. *ar(a)-* with adjective defines a class (see §23); *-kya.ce (ka.ce)* = superlative.

du'a, your wife.

o' k'u', bring for her. *o'*, bring (cf. p. 36, n. 14); for ethical dative see §3.

araro'rək', when you bring them (lit., when you come with it). *a-*, with it; *daro'*, as in 40 but intervocalic change to *r*.

andu'chia, what she wants to eat. For *an-* see p. 19; for *bi'ə*, to want, above (41).

duci'i, she will eat, may eat.

47

axu'a, body. Hence, *ba'axuawice*, animals, that is, those having bodies. Following the quotative, the word and its adjective seem to be an afterthought and may be regarded as in apposition with the object.

k'o't'a'. Here clearly "whole." Compare under 27.

48

a''ka.tək', they lived (stayed) on. A common term to express lapse of time. I etymologize on the pattern of *batsi'kyaxatu* in 17, as follows: *a'k(u)*, to

stay, live, fare; *-(h)atək'*, either "severally," or expressing indefiniteness as to time and place.

ba'pe', day; *hin'e wa'pe'*, today; *ba'pit'*, in the daytime.

co'rat'. See under 5.

ictu'kec, their meat. From *iru'ke*, meat, with third person possessive *ic-* and loss of initial vowel.

k'araha'wim, was exhausted. *ha'wi*, to be gone, lacking, exhausted, destroyed; *-m*, oral comma here.

k'aratsi', again. The usual form, but the prefix is not essential: *tsi racipi'ky*, again he passed by him.

hawo'i'tseruk', he would bring some. For *haw*, see under 1; *o'*, to bring; *-i*, usitative (p. 26).

49

da'ka'tək', they lived on. This expression seems identical in meaning with *a'ka'tək'* (see under 48; also §9, ii).

50

a'suə'c, her home. The plural form of *ace'*, tipi, camp, with definite article. With this noun the third person possessive does not seem to be expressed.

k'arakara'xtatsi'tseruk', she had all but forgotten, it is said. *k'ara-*, with past meaning; *kara'xta*, to forget; *-a'tsi*, approximative (p. 25). *kara'xta'tseruk'* would mean that she had completely forgotten. *kara'xta* is clearly from *ara'xta*, not to know (see 3).

51

datsi'en, after a while. A frequent connective. Compare *datsi'* (*da't'ək'*) under 39.

e'risa'tseruk', she was pregnant. Quotative. *e'r(e)*, abdomen; *isa'*, big.

52

da'ka'tək'. As in 49.

da'k'bici'tseruk', she had a child. Quotative. *da'k'*, child; for *-bici*, see under 3. *da'k'* is another noun never used with third person possessive pronoun. My child = *bara'k'e*; your child = *dara'k'e*.

53

cikya'ka'tseruk', it was a boy. *-ka* (*-ke*), evidently a suffix. Compare *birəba'-ke*, people; *bi'ruke*, we, our people; *apsa'ruke*, Crow.

54

a'ə'kək', they lived on. See under 48; again the passage of time is indicated.

k'amma'isa'tseruk', he had grown bigger. Quotative. *isa'* evidently cannot mean "old" or "adult," since the hero continues to figure as a boy.

55

na'kec icta'xia, his child's his bow (i.e., a bow for his child). *taxe*, to shoot. Such possessive forms are at times substituted for the ethical dative. "My bow" is *bara'xia*.

di'ə'tseruk', he made. Quotative. Conjugated as a causative: *di'əwa*, *di'əra*.

56

ise', his arrows. My arrows = *basa'*. It is difficult to determine the stem; Matthews interprets the Hidatsa equivalent, *ita*, as "means of death." However, applied to Crow, this would involve the complete disappearance of the instrumental prefix with the first person possessive. If, on the other hand, *is-* and *bas-* are the usual possessives, the stem is reduced to ϵ , *a*.

57

daka'karək', birds. No formal expression of plurality, but note that the indefinite article can be used in plural sense.

ma·a·sa'tək', he hunted here and there. *ma-*, indefinite object; *a's* (*a'c*), to hunt, *-a'tək'*. Note: *ma·wa'ci*, I hunt, *ma·ra'ci*, you hunt, *ba·a'ci*, he hunts; *ma·ra'cdək'*, when you hunt; *ma·c de'ky*, he went hunting.

58

naka'ka·tarək', little birds. Contraction from *naka'ka* and diminutive *-ka·ta*. *ma·isacpi'tka·tarək'*, little cottontail rabbits. *ma-*, indefinite object; *isacpi't(e)*, cottontail. Compare *isacpi'tda·kc*, Young-Cottontail.

ba·i'ky, any. *ba-*, indefinite object; *i'ky(a)*, to see. An idiomatic term, often in the phrase *ba·i'ky di'ək'*, he did anything (i.e., he was a mischief-maker).

dap'e'riky, you shall kill. Future form with permissive sense. For conjugation, see page 36.

59

xaxu'a, all. The usual word for this concept; its form suggests reduplication with pluralization.

da'rirə'tə, though you shoot at. *di'*, to shoot at; *ba·ri'*, I shoot; *da'ri'*, you shoot; *ba'pate ba·ri'ək'*, I shot at a grass bundle; *hamna'rirək'*, if you shoot at some; *di'sa*, do not shoot at it (in 59). For disjunctive *-ra'tə*, see §18.

ma·u'wutci're, meadowlark. Etymology not clear; *u'wut(e)* means metal, *ci're*, yellow.

k'uk'. Demonstrative often used for contrastive emphasis.

k'u t'a'tskya'te, that alone. *t'ats*, *t'at'*, alone; *i' t'a'tskya't*, he alone; *di' t'at da'*, go by yourself!

60

hira'. Interjection here, probably connected with demonstrative *hire'n*, here, these.

wi'ace, woman. *-ce* has vocative force here.

61

ihi'ce, Red turnip. *hi'c(e)*, red; *i'gye'-cic*, Red star; *aci's*, Red lodge; *i're hi'sa ra't'ək'*, the blood was streaming red.

ap'i'se, do not dig up. Why *-se* for *-sa*, negative, is not clear. *sa·p' bap'i'wi*, what shall I dig up?; *ba·wa'p'iwe·wo·k'*, we'll dig up something; *ba·pa rawi'-'tseruk'*, she was digging something.

bice're, buffalo chips. *bice'*, buffalo; *e're*, dung (as well as abdomen).

du·xapisa, do not turn over. *du·xapi*, to turn over, to peel off; *du-*, instrumental prefix, hence same conjugation as *du'tsi*, to take (§28, iii).

63

da'ko'ta, now and then. Etymology not clear.

ba'm di wi'et, whenever he was about to shoot at some of them. *wi'ε* probably should read *wi'ə*, to want, to be about; *-t(e)* repetitive, habitative (§24, ii).

k'ari'tsikya'cet, whenever it was just right. *-kya'ce*, superlative; *-t*, habitative.

ire'n, himself. Emphatic form, variation of *i'ra*.

duce'rahak', he would intermittently shield them. I cannot analyze this form; the first person would be *duce'wahak'*.

dara'wi'tse'tseruk', he caused (it) to fly away. Quotative. The stem "to fly" is not certain, because it is usually combined with some other form of motion. Compare *da'k'de'sahirək'*, it would not fly away; also form in 74. *tse (tse')*, regular verb: *ba'tse'*, I caused.

64

k'u'k'an. Apparently derived from demonstrative *k'u*, *k'o*; here rendered "again and again."

k'ota'k' iru'ka'ci'tseruk', he did thus. Participial form of *k'otse'*, he did that (see in 65), followed by an auxiliary with superlative suffix.

65

a'bara'xe'te, Ghostlike one. *-te* sometimes expresses resemblance. One of the worst forms of vituperation. *a'bara'axe*, ghost; related to *ira'axe*, shadow.

ba'wiru'pxe bare' di'tsisam, something my father forbade us to shoot at. *ba-* goes with the entire phrase; *wiru'pxe*, nonvocative (*iru'pxe* = his father); *bare'*, us; *di*, to shoot at; *tsisa*, to forbid, regular verb; *-m*, connective. *tsisa*, probably, from *tse'*, to cause, and *-sa*, not. Compare *bare' ap'i'tsesak'*, he forbade us to dig; *bi're'tsisuk'*, they forbade me to go; *ba'wi'ri'ə-rətsisec*, what you forbade me to do.

hem. Probably means "therefore."

ba'ri'sum, we did not shoot at it. Plural for singular, as in 82, where there is no negative.

66

iru'ka'cdək'. Perhaps this should be construed as a temporal clause followed by 67 as the main clause: When he persisted, (the boy said).

67

ba'p'i'ambiky, I'll kill (it) forthwith. The simple future form would be *ba'p'e'wiky*. Instantaneous future action is often thus expressed in the first person. The suffix added is not clear; conceivably *bap'ia* is to be construed as first person participial (corresponding to *dap'ia*, 3 p.) and the *-m* is merely connective.

68

ru'tək'dətək', he seized. Participial form of *ru'tsi (du'tsi)*. *dətək'*, probably misunderstanding for *ətək'*, (*h*)*atək'*. See under 41.

69

awa't'dək' da't'derək', when it was sitting down. *awa't'(d)ək'*, participial for *awa'tsi*; *da't'* for *da'tsi*; *-de*, almost certainly equivalent to *-re* in *hu're-rək'*, with possibly progressive, possibly inceptive, meaning here.

de'gyak', he let fly (lit., he caused it to go). *-gya*, causative suffix, often substituted for the verb, *tse* (to cause); in the same combination: *de'tse-ky*.

70

awaxa'hi'tseruk', he dodged. *-hi*, momentaneous; root probably related to *baxa''n* in 26. First person, *ambaxba'hi*; second person, *amdaxda'hi*.

71

du'reta, in the back. *du're*, back; *-ta*, locative postposition.

i'ə, feathers. Object of following verb.

o'xaxawək', grazing, ruffling. Etymology obscure. *o* (= *u* ?) is commonly used alone or in combination for "to shoot and hit." Compare *ictce'-o'xpuc*, Shot-in-the-hand; *o't'atu'tseruk'*, they shot it off (qt.).

de'tse'tseruk', he shot (lit., caused to go, hence also "sent").

72

dara'wək' de'tseruk', flew away. Quotative. Participial form, followed by predicative "it went."

73

a'taka'ta, near by. Often used with preceding *k'o's*, the demonstrative with directive enclitic. *-ka'ta*, diminutive, is not necessary; for example, we find: *a'ta tsitse'ky*, it is near, it seems.

awake'tseruk', it sat down. *awe'*, ground; *a'ke*, on.

74

hawas ba'wək', flying around. *hawas*, around; for example, *hawas da'watak'*, he was roaming around aimlessly. The conjugation is not clear; *da'ra'wək'* in 72 would seem to require *ba'rara'wək'* or *barra'wək'* (if of another class of verbs). However, in another text occurs *a'tse da'wurək'*, over him they flew, which suggests a shorter stem. Possibly *dara'wək'* is simply a reduplicated form.

i'wam'bi'aritskisu'əc, we were playing. Compare singular participial form in 85. *-kisu'ə* is the plural of *-kici* (cf. 21): *-c*, definite article, here with past meaning; *-rits*, aspectual suffix (p. 25); *i'-*, probably instrumental prefix. The verbal stem does not result clearly from other forms noted; for example: *i's-ak'i'wa'ndiə-c*, Plays-with-his-face; *a'k' i'wandi'a wa'tse'wiky*, with it I'll make them play. If *di'a*, to do, make, were involved, the first person would be *i'wandi'awa*, whereas it is *i'wam'bi'a*.

75

co'o k'ahu'rək', where does he come from? Corresponds to common query *co' k'araro*, where do you come from? *k'a(r)-*, in its past sense (p. 21); *-rək'*, suffix of indefiniteness, as often in interrogation.

bare' ictitse'ce'ky, he is bothering, teasing, us. The stem is *ditse'c*; *e'* is proved to be the causative, third person, by the suffixed pronouns of *ditse'c-ba-k'*, I teased him, *ditse'c-bu-k'*, we teased him. *ic-* seems to be the third person possessive; its use here is problematic unless *ditse'c* is really a noun for, say, "butt": he is making us his butt.

anna'ko', his home, abode. *an-*, locative (§23), *na'ko'* = *da'ku'*, to stay. Compare *ar-a'ra'ku*, your abode; *awa'ka'kuə*, my abode.

co'okarək', wherever it is. *rə (ra)*, to be.

i', he. Emphatic third person pronoun.

asu'wiciky, he has a home.

ku'ka' ra'kuwi'əsa, there he ought to be willing to stay (lit., there he does not want to stay?). This use of the interrogative for a negation of propriety is fairly common. Compare *ba'hirə'k' da'ku'sa*, he ought to work. (Cf. Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean Language, Proc. Amer. Acad. Arts and Sciences, 93, 1930: "Very frequently the interrogative is employed as an ironical method of stating the negative." Also cf. for use of third person in addressing a reproach, Deloria, Dakota Texts, p. 24, n.)

ku'ka' ra'k'u'sa, there he ought to stay. Repetition of the phrase except for the verb "to wish."

76

iru'rit'dək', he was standing. *iru'*, to stand; for *-rit'*, see 74.

he'an. A connective difficult to translate. My interpreter said it suggested: "A thought came to him."

da'se kyawi'tseruk', he was sad (lit., his heart was bad). Quotative. An expression also used for anger.

77

i'we'tseruk', he was crying. For second person, see under 80; for conjugation, see p. 35.

78

k'u'tseruk', he went home. See 39.

79

ba'ace'c, his hunting. The stem is *a'c (a's)*; see under 57. *ba-*, indefinite object; *-c*, definite article.

k'o'wi'ək', he stopped. See §28, ii for the conjugation of this causative, formed from *k'o'wi*, to be finished.

80

isa'ke'c, his mother. Nonvocative form with definite article.

sa'pem, why? Often used as here, without instrumental prefix in following verbs.

81

ma'u'watci're di'sa, do not shoot at meadowlarks. Direct quotation.

bi he'c, said to me. *-c*, definite article, with past meaning; also, I think, used to contrast with what follows. Compare *bari'atsec* in 298.

hawa'tem, one. Refers to one of the *meadowlarks*.

bari'wi'awa't', whenever I wanted to shoot at some. First person form corresponding to the third person form in 63.

duce-ra' ra'ku'k', was always shielding it. The auxiliary expresses continuity or repetition. Compare form in 63, where the suffix *-hak'* was interpreted as suggesting intermittent action.

82

barisa'tək', I got angry and . . . Participial of *barisa'tsi*; compare *di'warisa'tsiky*, I am furious at you; *mi'da'risa'tse*, do you hate me? *mi'irisa'tsiky*, he hates me. *-at* suggests the suffix (p. 25), leaving *dis* as the stem.

bari'ky, I shot at him. For other forms, see under 59, 65.

83

da'ra'wək' de'ra, flying it went. *de'ra* can be taken either as a connective ("then") or as a progressive form of *de'*, to go, corresponding to *hu'ra*, *bo'ra*, he was coming, I was coming.

awa'tək', he sat and . . . Participial of *awa'tsi*, doubtless connected with *awe'*, ground.

bi' wa'tsiky, he mocked me. *ba'tsi*, to mock; *di'wa'tsi.ima'tsiky*, he will mock you.

84

sak'ε', what did he say? *sak'* always used in this context instead of *sa'pa*. Presumably a fusion with *he'*, to say.

85

ba'hi're'ta', around here. *ba-*, indefinite nominal prefix; *hire*, demonstrative; *-ta*, locative suffix.

86

a'su'wicim, he has a home. Compare *asu'wiciky* in 75, where the *ky* indicates a full stop, whereas here *-m* has the force of a comma.

wa'iky di'ək', doing anything (he pleases). Compare under 58.

87

bari'atu'əc, we thought. Again plural for singular and *-c* to contrast past assumption with future. Compare form in 6. The idea is: I have regarded you and me as natives; are we aliens, where is our home since he dared to speak thus?

wirəxba'k' iha', strangers (lit., other, different people). Compare *ac-ba'ihe'*, enemy (camp, some other); *iha'ima'tsiky*, it will be different; *iha'i*, it might be a different one; *iha'te*, elsewhere; *wirəxba'k' ar-ihate*, outsiders, neutrals.

i'ce', that he may say it. *i-*, instrumental; *ce*, to say. *ce'wak'*, thus I said; *ce'rak'*, so you said; *ci'uk'*, they said; *ci'ə*, say it!; *cewi'aka-ci*, be sure to say it; *ce'sa*, don't say it!; *sa'pem i'cera'*, why do you say it?; *e'ky ce're sa'pa*, what is that you say?

88

iri'sa'tseruk', was silent. Quotative. *iri'*, to speak; *-sa*, negative. A fixed combination.

89

ara'. Connective, with or without terminal aspirate, which often begins a speech.

bi. Repeated, for emphasis.

witsiwa'wa, do tell me. Imperative. *tsiwe'* (to tell), regular verb; for example, *di watsiwe'wiky*, I'll tell you; *k'anmiratsi'we'ky*, you have already told me. For imperative forms, see page 28 and compare sentence 95. Here *-wa* seems to suggest pleading.

i'gya', mother. Vocative only.

di wasa'kaka't ba'ic, I have been regarding you as my dear mother. This idiom in the sense of "By the love I've borne you," occurs with other relationship terms. *wasaka'*, my mother (nonvocative); *-kat*, diminutive of endearment. *ba'* I interpret as first person causative, *-i* as usitative, and *-c* as again expressing past action.

90

iri'sa datsi'tseruk', she remained silent. The verb without oral stop followed by auxiliary. Compare 88.

91

k'o't'dak', it is true (lit., thus it is). Also in form *k'o't'ak'*, plural *k'o't'u'k'*; *tsu'sa k'o't'u'k'*, half came true.

93

hiro'cekyaten, that must be the reason. Etymology not clear.

ba'wicec, what he said to me. *ba-*, indefinite object; *wi*, me; *ce*, to say; *-c*, definite article. It is also possible to construe the first *c* as a directional postposition fusing with *he*, to say.

sa'pi'ma'tsiky, there must be some reason. *sa'p*, something; *i'*, third person future; *-ma'tsiky*, future suffix (p. 27).

94

ho'we, well, now (lit., give me room).

buruxa'pbiky, I'll turn over. First person future of form in 61.

e'wa'tse'wiky, I'll know, find out. *e'tse* (to know), verb with apparent infixation; first person, *e'wa'tse*; second person, *e'ra'tse*; plural, *e'wa'ku*, *e'ra'ku*, *e'ku*.

95

na'wikyawe, go ahead. *-kyawe*, imperative suffix.

ba'mbo'k', let us go. Hortatory future. The form *be'wo'k'* is possible, but *ba'mbo'k'* is presumably preferred because immediate action is to be indicated. Compare *ba'p'i'ambiky* in 67.

96

ku'k'a'k', to him she said it. *ku'k'* (*k'uk'* ?) + *ha'k'*.

97

ha'k', he said. Participial.

98

bice'ndak', a buffalo chip. Regular contraction from *bice're* and *-rak'*.
tsitsi'xka't, round, circular (not spherical). The full moon is described as *tsitsə'xi*.

di'u'tseruk', they reached. Quotative. Third person plural of *hi*.

100

du'xapde'rak', when she peeled it off. *-de* perhaps suggests the moment of removal, but this suffix remains enigmatical.

xupa'k' datsi'tseruk', a hole was there. Quotative. *xupa'k'* is evidently a participial form preceding an auxiliary. *xup* also appears as *hup*, *ho'p*; for example, *masa'pe' hupi'ky*, my moccasin has a hole, is punctured; *a'pe' hupi'c*, Hole-in-his-ear; *an'o'pe*, where the opening was; *apupe'*, Nez Percé.

101

i'i'irəkən, yonder. *i'irək'*, that, there; the first vowel is often repeated once or twice for emphasis.

iəxaxəkək', were white spots. *xa'xi*, spotted; *-kə*, probably the causative suffix (p. 30).

103

de'se, away from the river (commonly, "away from camp"). With directional *-c* the form is *de'sac*.

ak'ba'kure', hunters. *ak'-*, agentive; *ba'-*, indefinite object; *kure'*, to chase, hunt.

batsa'tsi'tseruk', were very numerous. Quotative. This word is a generic term for great size, intensity, and so forth.

104

ace'rec ak'tsise'kyate, a little beyond the tipis. *ace'*, camp; *he're*, among. *ak'tsi'se*, beyond; *-kyate*, diminutive. *-tsi'sa* is a locative suffix of generic meaning, so that we find also *do'stsi'sa*, on the hither side; *hiri'tsi'sa* (see under 105).

ak'batsi'kice, hoop players (lit., those who imitated hunting). (Lowie, AMNH-AP 21:240, 1922.) For *batse'* (to hunt) see under 127; for *-kice* see page 26.

i'hawactsi wak'a'rak', came together and crossed. Analysis not certain; see under 105. *wak'a'ra*, to cross; *iri' wat-bak'ara'k'*, he talked crosswise (i.e., by contraries). *tsi* may be reflexive in meaning.

105

hiri'tsi:sa, on this (near) side. Opposed to *ak'tsise'kya:te* in 104.

ak'bu'ptsiritse, the shinny players (lit., the ball hitters). *bu'ptsa*, ball, axhead. Probably the third vowel should be *a*, but there may well be contraction of *bu'ptsa* and *tsiritse*, to hit one's own. Shinny is *bu'ptsaritu'ə* (see Lowie, The Material Culture of the Crow Indians, AMNH-AP 21:254, 1922). *ditsi'*, *dit'* (to strike, hit), regular verb. Conjugation: *ba'ritsi*, *da'ritsi*, *ditsi'*; *ba'rit'u*, and so on.

i'hawac daegyə'k', were moving to and fro. *gyə* suggests the causative suffix. The expression seems correlative with that in 104. *hawac* suggests motion without definite goal. Compare *hawac da'watək'*, he was roving about.

106

na'se xawi'tseruk', she was sad. Compare 76.

hu'kawe, come. Imperative. Compare *hu'* in 29, *hu'm'a* in 36.

awu'c, downward. -*c*, directional postposition.

i'kya:kawe, look. Compare *hu'kawe* above.

108

e''kyo:k', is there. *e''ky*, that, there; *k'o:k'*, that is it.

ara'ka, do you see it?

110

di'rupxisa'kawicim, you have a grandfather (lit., your grandfather is had).

i'ru'pxe, his father; *isa'*, old, *isa'ka (ka:te)*, old man; *-bici'*, to be extant.

it'k'o'ra:k', he is still there. *it'*, still, yet; *it'k'o'ra'tseruk'*, he was still there (qt.).

111

disa'kambici'm, you have a grandmother. *isa'ka're*, his grandmother, probably from *isa'*, old, big, *k'a're*, old woman. Compare *di wasa'k'a'm ba'wiky*, I'll make you my grandmother.

112

disba'xaxua, all your kin. *dis-*, second person possessive; *ba-*, indefinite nominal prefix; *xaxu'a*, all.

it'k'o'ru'k', are still there. Plural of form in 110.

113

kyu'ra:k', when he comes home. Palatalized initial consonant because of preceding *e*.

diri't di'ec, whenever you say something, he has been wont to do it. I interpret *-t* as usitative, the *-ε* as its correlative in the apodosis, the *-c* as past. In the apodosis the more frequent usitative is *-i* (pl.: *i'ruk'*).

ba:p ce'wa'tse'ra:k', if I make you say something; or, what I may make you say. *ba:p*, something; *ce*, to say; *tse'*, to cause; *-ra:k*, if.

ci'ə. Imperative of *ce*.

114

sa:p ce'wa:wi, what shall I say? *ce'*, like causatives, suffixes pronouns.

115

a·cu·ci'sem. a·cu' (*a·cu'o*), head, horn; the rest of the word I cannot explain, but the type of buffalo so designated is described as having one horn curved downward or frontwise; such sports are said to be hairless. The classificatory *-m*, used with both noun and adjective here, may denote the object.

axe', father. Used only by males and only vocatively.

dap'i'ək', kill. Participial form; the imperative is expressed at the end of the sentence.

axu'a, the body. *baxu'a*, my body.

ambatsu'əwicgya'te, where there are sinews. *am-*, locative prefix; *batsu'a*, sinew; *-wic*; *-gya'te* = *ka'te*, diminutive.

xaxu'ata'ria, every one of them. *xaxu'a*, all; *-ta'ri(a)*, *-ta're*, emphatic (§24, v).

du't'ək', take. Compare above, *dap'i'ək'*.

o', bring. Like *hu*, this imperative sometimes ends in a breath.

116

da'rək', if you say it. Conjugation: *ba·*; *da·*; *he' (ha·)*; *bu·*; and so on.

o'rək', if he brings.

i'wa'kawok', we shall thereby go home [by use of the sinews]. *i-*, instrumental; *wa'kawok'*, first person future plural, probably from stem *da'kuə*; compare *k'ambaku'əwima'tsiky*, I must go home now.

117

da'karaxta'ri, you might forget it. *kara'xta*, to forget (cf. *ara'xtə*, not to know); *-ri*, second person future. Omission of oral stop because no positive affirmation is made.

cewi'aka'ci, be sure to say it. *ce*, to say; *wi'a*, to want, but also expresses, as here, futurity; *-ka'ci*, superlative. In this sentence the speaker is given, but the question does not close with the usual *he'tseruk'* (she said) quotative.

118

ba 'tsitse'wa'tse'wima'tsiky, I'll remember it. *tsitse'tse'*, to remember, from either *e'tse*, to know, or *tse'*, to cause. *tsits* is treated as an independent verb taking first person pronoun prefix and being followed by the first person of *tse'* or *e'tse*. *-ma'tsiky*, suffix with emphatic future (§24, iii).

ba'kara'xtasawima'tsiky, I shall not forget. Note that *-sa*, negative, precedes the future endings. In this sentence the change of speaker, being obvious, is not expressed. Note the characteristic repetition of idea by different words.

120

i'kya'k', she looked at him. The lengthened vowel probably indicates a participial form.

i'kyawi'ə'tseruk', she frowned [at him]. Quotative. Contracted from *i'kya*, she looked, *k(y)awi'ə*, to make bad; that is, she looked severely. Compare the form *ara'k'k'awi'ara* in 123.

122

ikyawi'a ra'ku'tseruk', she kept on frowning at him.

123

sa'pəm bi ara'k k'awi'ara ra'ka'ko, why do you keep on frowning at me? *ara'k(a)*, do you look? *k'awi'ara*, do you make it bad (i.e., severe)? Note the second person of the auxiliary, which is probably a reduplicated form of *a'ku'*.

124

du'tsitsire'tseruk', she nudged him. Quotative. Stem not clear.

125

da'k'batsec, her son. *da'k'*, child; *batse'*, male. This is the usual nonvocative form, corresponding to vocative *iro'oce*.

cikya'kec, the boy. Presumably in apposition with preceding noun. It is barely possible that "her son" is to be taken as an afterthought with the preceding sentence, that is, "She nudged him . . . her son"; idiom, of course, would normally require putting the object before the verb.

127

tsira'k'cirək', tomorrow. *-rək'* indefinite since future. *tsira'k'ce*, morning; *tsira'k'cetatsə'*, every morning.

batse' ra're'rək', when you go hunting. *batse' ra*, to go hunting. Only the second verb is conjugated in this combination.

ambatsu'awicgya'te. See under 115.

xaxu'a ka'sa, every one of them. The superlative here, for obscure reasons, is *-ka'sa* rather than *-ka'se*. Note by comparison with 115 the interchangeability of *-ta're* and *-ka'ce*.

o'waku', bring for me.

128

i sa'p'de'wi'aram, what are you going to use them for? *i-*, instrumental; *de'*, you have (conjugation: *be'*, *de'*, *e'*; *ba'u*, and so on); *wi'a*, to want; *ra*, second person pronoun; *-m*, oral comma.

ahu'hirək', seeing that there are so many. *ahu'*, many; *-hirək'*, a puzzling suffix (p. 26), here explained as suggesting that the boy could not possibly use them all. *ahu'* has the plural suffix, but its stem appears without it; for example, *a'-dək'*.

129

i'wasa' waxdək', thereby I having tied my arrows. Compare 56 for *wasa'*; *i-*, instrumental with entire predication; *waxdək'* participial form of *baxtsi'ky*, I tie. This is explained here to refer to the tying of feathers and points.

bacta'xia.ak', my bowstring. *icta'xia*, bow; *ak'e'*, the bowstring or the trigger of a gun.

130

ihe, other (i.e., other kinds).
iri'awat, when I use. -*t*, usitative; *i*-, instrumental; *ri'a*, to make.
hawa'k, they are worn out. Participial form. *hawe*, to destroy.
tsitsu'tum, they are tough. Plural of *tsitsu'tsi*, hard, tough; -*m*, oral comma.
i'kyo't'bak', that's why I do thus. *i*-, instrumental; *ba*-, suffixed causative pronoun.

134

k'o't'a', immediately. See 27.

135

a'ru'ək', he brought. Passive regularly expressed by third person plural.
co'ot'da'rək', do as you please. Idiomatic expression. *co'ot'ba'wi*, what shall I do? *co'ot'da'ri*, what shall you do? -*rək'*, as usual, expresses indefiniteness.

137

k'ura'k', she carried them. Participial (?). *k'ure'*, to carry, hold.
asa'ri'tseruk', she went out. First person, *asba'ri*; second, *acda'ri*; first plural, *acba'ru*. *asa'mbi.ək'*, she will go out. For participial form see 149. The verb is the opposite of *bire'ri*, to enter; the first syllable doubtless = *ace'*, tipi.

138

hire' ri'ək, thither she went. *hire'* usually means "here," but in this common phrase clearly conveys the sense of remoteness, or at least departure. *ri'ək*, probably participial of *re'*, to go.

139

hi'ək, she came to her. Participial of *hi*.

140

a'pu'ək', twine. Participial, imperative being expressed in *di'ə*.
batsi'i'tsipdək', splice them. *bats-* (p. 20) here doubtless expresses the idea of *intertwining*, the mutual crossing of strands.

141

biha'nde'wima'tsiky, I'll be done quickly. Compare 145. *iha'ri*, to be ready; *iha'nde'*, she was done quickly; -*de*, see page 25; -*ma'tsiky* again to give greater decisiveness to a future. Compare in 145.

142

ci'ahikya'ta, after a little while. *ci'a*, long; -*hi*, ?; -*kyata*, diminutive.
k'araci'ərək', after a long time.

du'ara, come ye. Plural imperative. *du'o*, they come. Another Crow criticized this form because only the woman went out, wherefore *hu'* was represented as better. However, in 143 the plural is used.

144

bari'arec, your work. *ba*-, indefinite object; *riərə* (*di'ara*), you do; *-c*, definite article. The change from *a* to an *e* vowel is common before *-c* and in the equivalent of English relative clauses. The *-c* is not indispensable: *e'ky i'cbua ara'ke*, that stomach which you see (*ara'ka*).

148

isbatsi'pe, her digging stick. *is-*, third person possessive.

mawa'p'i we'wo'k', let us go to dig up something. *ma-*, indefinite object; *ap'i'*, to dig; *bap'i'*, I dig; *we'wo'k' = be'wo'k'*, future first person plural of *de'*, to go, hortatory future. Note the expression of purpose.

151

andu'xapu'ac, where (which) she had peeled off. *an-*, either locative or relative here (p. 19); plural form to pluralize the chips, presumably. Compare forms of the verb in 93, 100.

152

kaka ru't'ak', again seizing it. *kaka* sometimes takes the place of *k'aratsi'*. Compare *kak' o''tsiə'tseruk'*, again he made it night (qt.).

bita'xiə'tseruk', she removed it. Quotative. The verb is causative; hence such forms as *bita'xia-wa'wi'ruk'*, we shall remove it.

153

ara'ka wi'arec, whom you wanted to see. Compare vowel change explained under 144.

155

anno'pe'c, the hole. *an-*, locative prefix; *ho'pi'* (*hupi'*), to be pierced.

a'aku'tsi'c. The precise meaning is not clear; *a'ak'* is probably the postposition *a'ak'e*, across; *tsi* may be the verb *tse*, to cause.

du''uci'tseruk', she laid it. For conjugation see p. 35. *co'n buruci'wi*, where shall I put it?

156

asa'ke', the end. Usually with sense of "corner," as in *i'sa'ke*, corner of the mouth; *micgy-i'sa'ka-retə-c*, dog without a corner to his mouth; *asa'ka-ru'p-dutse*, he seizes both corners.

u'pa'kusa'ke, the upper end. Apparently in apposition with preceding word. The combination is not wholly clear, but: *u'pe'*, end, tip; *a'k(u)s*, up; *asa'ke*, as above.

iraxtsi'tseruk', with it she tried. Quotative. *i-*, instrumental; *daxtsi'*, to tie.

157

tsi'ək', carrying on her back. Participial of *tsi'*, to carry on back. Note the regular form: *ba'-t'-bi-ky*, I shall carry it.

158

du'uxa'sək', she held on to it. Originally recorded *du'uxa'tək'* which the interpreter corrected.

160

aho'ka'ta, slowly. *-ka'ta*, diminutive and adjectival.

161

k'anna'rari'o, they went on. Derivative of *de*, to go; conjugation uncertain; repeated for emphasis.

162

di'su'tseruk', they did not reach. *di'u*, irregular plural of *hi*; note that the plural suffix appears in the negative (sing., *-sa*).

163

xé'xaxiək', dangling. Reduplicated from *xé'xiə*, to hang down; compare *a'xuxke xé'xiə ka'.u'tseruk'*, his kidneys were hanging down. Compare 598, 603. *a'ku'tseruk'*, they were. Usual auxiliary form.

164

wi'suk', we do not reach. *bi'u*, we reach; compare *di'su* in 162. The oral stop indicates that this part of the sentence is not conceived as a question. I construe: Why, how is this, son? We are not reaching the earth.

165

o'o'sam, he did not bring. This seems a good illustration of *-m* as oral comma, suggesting close connection with what follows.

i'awe'wi'su k'o'k', that is why we do not reach the earth. Good illustration of instrumental prefix with whole clause.

166

k'u're'ək', when he came home. This brings up the question of *-re* again; the context suggests that momentaneous realization of his family's absence is indicated.

u'arək' na'karək', his wife and his child. Note use of *-ək'* with both nouns (cf. §18), as in 167 with first person possessive forms.

k'o'ra'su'tseruk', they were not there. Quotative. Often in sense of disappearance, also as euphemism for being dead. Note that again the negative is pluralized; plural of *k'o'ra'* is *k'o'ru'*.

167

co'c da.urak'e, whither have they gone, I wonder? *-c*, directional postposition here; *-rak'e*, interrogative particle.

i'riat'ək', he was thinking. Participial of *i'riatsiky*, the initial *h* being often dropped.

168

ba'm, what. Often ushers in equivalent of relative clause. Compare *ba'n di'ə*, whatever he did; *ba'n di'kyukuk'*, whatever you heard.

di'əsa wa'tse'c, I bade them not to do. *di'əsa* is often used also for "Don't do it." *tse*, to cause, frequently appears in sense of ordering or permitting.

di'oma'tsiky, they must have done it. -o, third person plural future; -ma-tsiky, future emphatic suffix. The inferential use of the future is common. Compare German: *Sie werden es getan haben*.

169

ba'tsitsi'mbiky, I'll look for them. Reduplicated form of *tsi're*, to seek.

170

hu're'rək', when he came. According to my interpreter, the form suggests that the Sun had no previous suspicion of the facts. Perhaps this can be harmonized with the explanation given of the comparable form in 166, that is, he suddenly noticed the hole.

anna'.uc, where they had gone; *an-*, locative prefix; -c, definite article, past sense.

ho'pək' datsi'tseruk', there was a hole. Quotative. Compare form in 100.

171

am'u'en, down, below. -n, locative enclitic. The adverb appears in several cognate forms. Compare those in 106, 175; also *amu'a*, downhill.

172

i'ə' k'o' tse'wiorək', if that is what they wanted to do. *i'ə*, demonstrative; *tse*, to do; *wio*, third person plural of *wi'a*, to want.

bi'tsiwa'k', having told me. Participial of *tsiwe'*, to tell.

de'wiorək', if they wanted to go. Compare *tse'wiorək'* above.

i'tsiwak' de'wa'tse-wima'tsiky, in peace I'd have let them go. *i'tsiwak'*, participial in sense though not in form, literally, I make it good; the main verb in future emphatic form, apodosis of the condition; *tse* in its permissive sense; *de'tse* usually means to send or throw (see 178).

173

xawi'owiky, they have verily done wrong. *xawi'ə*, to do wrong, badly; -o, plural ending; -wi, emphatic particle. Compare *di-wirəba'kesa-wiky*, you are truly no person (vituperative expression).

he'ritək', he thought. Similar in meaning to *hi'riatak*.

da'se xawi'tseruk', he was sad, angry. Compare forms in 76, 106; also *ba'wara's kawa'k'*, we are angry about something.

174

b'rək', a rock. This word with open *i* must be distinguished from *bi'(ə)*, woman. In an unpublished version the stone thrown is a medicine rock (*baco'ritsi'tse*).

papa'cirək', spherical. For a disk *tsitsə'xi* would be used, as in 98. Bullet is *arapapa'ce*.

175

bi'æce, rock. Vocative form. Compare *ara bi'akaricte-ce*, well, young woman. *a'tsiwak' da*, following go. Imperative. *a'tsiwak'*, participial of *a'tsiwe*, as in *itce' a'tsiwe*, he followed the tracks.

amu're, below. Compare under 171.

hi'æk', reach and . . . Participial of *hi*.

176

baka'te, the child. *ba-*, generic nominal prefix; *-ka-te*, diminutive suffix. *k'u k' . . . k'o*. The antithetical form of expression by first negating one possibility is typical of Crow speech and style. In another version we find: *bi'ə nap'e're'ta cikya'ka k'uk' dap'e'sa*, though you kill the woman, do not kill the boy. Compare also: *k'annara'rək' ba'ihem tsitsu'te bare'tək' baraxsatse'm da'pe araxtu'ariək' o'*, when you get there something else that is hard not, something soft your bill insert into it and bring.

k'o i'ritdək', hitting against that. *i-* probably denotes that the stone was not striking the woman by its own volition. Compare 181, 182.

dap'i'ə, kill her. *dap'e'* (to kill) might be used imperatively (see example cited under 176). The form here used conveys the sense of immediacy.

181

i'kyec watsu'aka'te, her support, the sinew. The second noun presumably is conceived in apposition to the first; the diminutive may indicate sympathy with the woman.

iruxe'mbak', it broke. Neuter, see below under 182. *duxem-* occurs several times in an active sense; *xembe* seems to suggest separate pieces, as when *ba:xaxe'mbak'* denotes the strewn fragments of a corpse.

182

k'ar. The prefix is to be taken with the entire sentence.

i'ritsi'tseruk', she struck. Evidently the *i-* is prefixed to the stem, as in 181 and 176, to denote lack of volition on the striker's part.

184

k'u't', whenever he came back. *-t'*, usitative.

na'o'tsiət', at night. The prefix *na-* is not clear; it may reënforce the usitative suffix. Compare *na:co'r iru'ke k'araha'wit'*, whenever the meat was exhausted.

k'us xapi'tseruk', he lay against her. *xapi'*, to lie down, often in sense of "to sleep."

185

k'a'ndək', there was an old woman. *k'a're* with indefinite article as copula.

a:su'wisək', she had a home. Participial form of *-bici*; compare that in 75.

icatci'a, her garden. From *aratci'ə*, garden, contracted with possessive pronoun, *ic* (*is*). Compare *iru'ke*, meat; *ictu'ke*, her meat. *aratci'ə* is probably composed of locative *ara-*, and a verb stem for scraping, scratching.

ahu'tseruk', was extensive. *ahu'* is, of course, plural in form; usually it means much, many.

186

tsira'kcit', in the morning; *-t'*, presumably in the generic sense, which is of course related to the usitative.

hi'ret', when she would reach. Note correlative of usitative *-t'* with *-iru* in *ka'iru'tseruk'*, which otherwise would be *ka'u'tseruk'*.

isxo'xacec, her corn. *is-*, third person possessive. The Hidatsa stem for maize is *ko'xati*.

du'kaka't', would be pulled open. *du-*, with hand. I cannot determine the stem.

ammatsu'ketse, on the leveled ground. *am*, ground; *ma-*, indefinite nominal prefix; *tsu'ka*, level; *tse*, to make (?).

xaxembak', helter-skelter. Compare *iruxe'mbak'* in 181.

187

pu'tək', punctured. Participial form of a verb not definitely determined. Perhaps related to that of *ba-p'ta'wiawək'*, I want to pierce.

188

hupu'ba-k', there were holes in them. Plural of *hupi'*, to be pierced. *-ba* is not clear unless it expresses obviousness (see p. 28).

189

k'ot'a', all the time. For other meanings, such as "all over," "nevertheless," see 27 *et passim*.

ba'axuawic, creature, animal. *ba-*, indefinite noun prefix; *axu'a*, body; *-wic*, having.

ak'bihi'retarec, there has been no one verily has hitherto got to me. *ak'-*, agentive; *bi*, object pronoun first person; *ret*, not, contracted with *-tare*, truly; *-c*, definite article, here with past sense.

190

ho'we. Same expletive as in 94; used when a speaker wishes to reflect.

e'wa'tse>wiky, I shall find out. Also as in 94.

i'ət'ka-ta'tseruk', they were small. *i'əte*, small; *-ka-ta*, diminutive.

191

ba-ka'tək', it is child. *ba-*, nominal prefix; *-ka-ta*, diminutive suffix.

192

ho'wekyawe, let me see. *ho'we* (cf. 94 and 190) with imperative *-kawe*.

bi'aka-taxua cikya'ka'tdək', whether it be a little girl or a little boy. For *-xu* see page 28; *-dək'*, indefinite.

193

aru'ute, arrows. For a synonym see 56. Perhaps connected with *u*, to shoot at.

195

bu'ptsirək', a ball. Usual form; *bu'ptsa*, compare that in 198.
i-wu'ptsiritse, a shinny stick. *i-*, instrumental; *ritse'*, to strike.

196

da'k'u'tseruk', they remained there (?).

197

cikya'ka'tdək', if it is a boy. Note typical use of future in apodosis and also parallel structure of this and succeeding sentence.

198

i-wu'ptsiritu'ərək', a shinny stick. Compare form in 195. Here the plural is used, possibly to pluralize the object (ball) struck.

200

i'watsi'sak', she was eager, impatient, anxious. *bi' watsi'sək'*, I am anxious.
hu'a, she came. Participial form.

201

k'use', toward it. The function of the *-e* is not clear.

202

he're'rək', this way [she looked]. Etymology obscure.

uwu ice'a hiri'tseruk', it was shot all over. Quotative. *uwu* = *uu*, *uo*, to be shot (pl. of *u*, to shoot at); *ice'*, very; *-a*, (?); *hiri*, to make. Compare the expression in 286.

203

k'o'ra'su'tseruk', they were gone. Quotative. See under 166.

205

sa'pə k'o', wherefrom. *k'o'* is often used in locative sense.
hu're'rək'e', does he come. *-rək'e'*, interrogative suffix.

206

xatsi'sa, keep still (lit., do not move). *xatsi'*, to move; *-sa*, negative.

207

he'rin, in among [the plants of the garden]. Variant of *he'ren*, *he'ren* (cf. in 18).

ixu'a'tseruk', she hid (i.e., hid herself). *i-*, third person pronoun here. Compare *ise'c a'xuək'*, he hid his arrows; *bi'ts awa'xuək'*, I hid myself.

208

ru'tsiwi'ək', she wished to catch. *ru'tsi*, to seize, often in this sense.

209

o'ri'tseruk', she was waiting, awaiting him. Conjugation: *awo'ri*, and so on, see §28, iii. Compare *mi' o'rewa*, wait for me; *di' awo'riky*, I am waiting for you.

211

daxo't'de-rək', when he had entered. *daxo'tsi* (cf. 20) is used of going into a wood, garden, and so forth. *bare' waxo'tsiky*, I entered the wood. *iru'ək'*, he stood. Independent use of this common auxiliary.

212

co'k'araro', where do you come from? Usual greeting; *daro'*, second person of *hu*.

baka'kat'ək', I am staying. *baka'ku*, I dwell, stay; *-a'tək'* around, without fixed goal, as in 62, 183.

213

da'sua, your home. Note shortened possessive; compare forms in 75, 86, 214, 228.

214

ba'su're't'k', I have no home. *ba'su'(a)*, my home; *-ret'*, absolute negative.

215

bi' t'atskya't', I am alone. *t'ats* can be used without the adjectival diminutive; for example, *bi't'ats*, I alone.

di.awa'xpək', I with you. *a'xpə*, with; *awa'xpe*, my companion, my party.

baka'kuwiky, I shall live. For *baka'ku*, see under 212; *-wi*, first person future.

217

u'sa, do not shoot at. Compare forms in 202.

du'uxe xawi'sa, do not tear apart. *du'uxe*, to pull forcibly; *xawi'*, bad; that is, do not by forcible pulling spoil it.

amma'wuce', my food. *ba'wu'ci*, I eat something; *amma'wuce'*, that which I eat. In such constructions the final vowel of simple predication often changes.

218

k'ar. Again to be construed with rest of sentence.

a'xpək', with him, being with him. The *k'* may be predicative or participial.

219

he're-rək'. See 202; the word is accompanied by a gesture indicating that she was looking for the boy.

220

co'nde, when did he go? *-n* probably mere glide; direction to a place would normally be expressed by *-c* (*-s*).

222

xapda't datsi'tseruk', he was lying. *xapi'*, to be lying down; *da't* looks like a shortened participial form of *datsi'*; I should expect *xapə'k' datsi'tseruk'*. According to my interpreter, *-da't* indicates that the matter was of concern to the old woman.

223

xapi'wak', I missed (lost) you. *xapi'* (to be lost) becomes active by suffixing pronouns in causative fashion.

224

ma'warisa'hiky, I was worried. *-hi*, momentaneous; *ma'wari'ce*, to suffer, to be upset. Compare *icte' ba' iri'ce'tseruk'*, his eyes were suffering; *ma'wari'-ce:c ha'wiky*, my sufferings are wiped out. The word for being hungry, *ari'ce*, is evidently of the same stem.

225

disa'ke, your mother. Compare forms in 89, 222.
k'arapu'ək' xawi'ky, is decomposing. *k'ar-*, already; *pu'ə*, rotting; *xawi'*, bad.

226

k'arace'ky, she is dead. Note past sense of *k'ara-*; *ce'* means also "to die," "to swoon."

228

k'o k'o'n. This coupling of demonstratives is frequent; see, for example, 229. The first sets off the preceding noun, the second is adverbial: "our home that . . . there."

daxa'pdək' if you lay down (slept). *xapi'* (to lie down, sleep) regularly prefixes pronouns (contrast causative in 223): *ba'xapiky*, I lie down; *daxa'p da'watsi*, are you lying down? (auxiliary *batsi* repeating the idea).

i'tsi.ima'tsiky, it would be well. The second *-i*, third person future. The use of a conditional sentence to express advice or a command is typical. Compare *batsaraxpaki'sək' du'rək' k'o' i'tsi.ima'tsiky*; *di'arasa'rək' da:s k'awi'rək' k'awi'ima'tsiky*, if you married each other, if you did it, that would be well; if you refuse and he gets angry, it would be bad.

229

k'arawacde'sa, do not roam about. *k'ar-*, in its inceptive sense; (*h*)*awac*, about; *de-*, to go; *-sa*, negative.

231

mara:xtē'ritsim, I did not quite know. *mara'xtə*, I do not know; *-ritsi*, moderative suffix; *-m*, oral comma.

232

da'ka'te'tseruk', he stayed; *da'ku'*, to stay; *-a'te*, compare in 212.

234

a'nə'k', was plentiful. For *a'*, see under 185.

ət'ə'k'. Expletive, perhaps to be taken rather as ushering in the next sentence.

235

iro'oce, grandson. Note that since the same word is used vocatively for son and grandson, the correct translation appears only by correlation with the grandmother term applied by the boy and the nonvocative references to him.

bi' kyo'ra'sarək', when I am away. Palatalization of *k'* after *i*; for verb, compare 166.

diru'c biara'rək', if you want to eat. *diru'ci*, you eat; elision of final vowel in combination.

hi'cikya'te, the red one. *hi'ci*, *hi'si*, red; *i'gye'-ci-c*, Red star; *ac-i's*, Red lodge. *ara'xuasa*, do not cook. *ara'xua*, cook; compare *are'*, to be hot (in 18); *ara'xi*, to burn; *ara'xua* looks like a pluralized causative of this verb.

hi'cikya'ta'se, which is not red. Note change of negative from *-sa* to *-se* in relative construction.

biri'sək', cook and . . . Participle of verb *biri'ci* in 241. Compare *biri'sək' ku'o'tseruk*, they cooked for him; *ba-wiri'sku'aharra*, cook ye something for him.

236

he'rit'derək', Compare under 219; explained to mean that the boy was looking around one time.

237

hiro'oc. Expletive, equivalent to: let me think.

sa'pdək' ice're'rək', why did she say that? *-dək'*, *-rək'*, indefinite participle *de*; *i'-*, instrumental prefix; *ce'*, to say; *-re'*, obscure as usual. In an unpublished version of this story the boy several times asks: *masa'ka'are*, *sa'pdək' i'cera'*, grandma, why did you say that?

241

biri'ci'tseruk', he cooked them. *biri'ci* suggests putting on embers; *bire'*, fire.

242

k'aro'cdək', when it was cooked. *o'ce* seems to be the generic word for cooking.

sa'wək', it popped. Participial form; stem in 243.

sasa'pə'k', it crackled. Participial form, probably reduplicated from *sa'pa*, to be loud. Compare *k'a-sa'p-a'tək'*, they laughed aloud. The noise here described was compared to that of popcorn.

du'ira'wi'tseruk', it went jumping (i.e., the kernels did). *du'i* is possibly *-i*, usitative, with *du'a*, to blow away; compare *ikyu'pe du'a-re'ky*, his hat blew away. *ra'wi* = *na'wi*, to go ahead, move.

243

arasa'wec, what popped. *ara-* as neuter counterpart of agentive *ak'-*; *sa'we*, compare 242; *-c*, definite article.

ba'xi'ru'tseruk', turned into blackbirds. Transformation is regularly thus expressed, or rather understood, in such a context. For singular see 255.

244

na'ra'wək', it flew off. Compare in 63, 72.

e'tci ra'u'tseruk', they scattered, separated (lit., in different directions they went).

245

mara'p an'o'pe k'o'n, at the smoke hole. *mara'p(e)*, flaps of the tipi cover; for *an'o'pe*, see under 155; *k'o'n*, there. Note the typical way of expressing the adverbial phrase.

k'o'r, there. Equals *k'o'n*; note tendency to change *n* or *d* to *r* between vowels.

karu'tseruk', they escaped, fled. *kara'*, to run, often has the specific sense of fleeing.

246

ba'i'tsikisu'k', they are amusing ones. *ba-*, indefinite nominal prefix; *i'tsi*, good; *-kisu'*, plural of *-kici*; *i'tsikici* is hard to translate, sometimes the context suggests "splendid," sometimes "jolly," "entertaining."

247

kurut'ə'k', he took back and . . . Participial form of *kurutsi'*, to take back, to harvest. *ku-*, as cognate of *tsi-*, sometimes has the sense of "one's own."

iha'te, in another place. From *ihe'*, another; *-te*, locative suffix.

248

tsitsi'pi'tseruk', he shut. Reduplicated form. Perhaps *tsi* is a stem suggesting the idea of closing (cf. in 249). Participle in 252.

249

tsici'tseruk', he shut. Quotative. Compare under 248 and especially the participial form in 252.

250

hiri'at'bak', thus I do. *hiri'ate*, like this, used adjectivally as well as adverbially; *ba*, causative first person pronoun. The idea is, probably: by thus doing . . .

arasa'ndet'bak', I cause it to be impossible for them to go out. For correlative use of negative *-det* and *ara-*, see page 19. *asa'ri* + *det* = *asa'ndet*; *ba*, first person pronoun suffixed. Compare *arak'o't ba'wire'tem*, it will be impossible for me to do thus; *ambape'wo'retək'*, it will be impossible for us to eat it up; *amba'mbire'tək'*, I shall not be able to live; *andi'kyo'xi re'tək'*, she will not

be able to overtake you; *andaro'ri re'tək'*, you will not be able to come; *arikyuedu'reti'tseruk'*, they were unable to get out; *ari'kyu'bi'ret'k'*, he could not get down (cf. 805).

251

The construction of the sentence is not transparent, but the sense is clear. *k'o'ri'ə* occurs frequently to indicate the sudden discovery of a hitherto unknown fact. Thus, in another version the mission of the porcupine is referred to thus: *hin'e' apa'riəc k'o'ri'əc ba'kuk'kure' k'o' e'wisak'*, this porcupine-unknown to the young woman-the One Above owned it.

ba'i'tsikikikya'su'm, they are extremely funny. Plural superlative form of the word in 246.

252

tsisa'k', having shut. Participial form of *tsici'*.

254

dit'u'ə, they made bird calls. Plural of *ditsi'*; the same stem as for "to strike." *isaxpə'k'*, noisily. Initial vowel possibly third person pronoun; that is: they being noisy.

iha'wac tsiwaka'rak'. See under 104.

255

dap'i'a'kuk', he killed one after another. Continuative auxiliary *a'ku'* with participial form of *dap'e'*.

hawe'ta'ri'tseruk', he destroyed them all. *hawe'* = *ha'wi*, to be gone, with causative *-e'* for third person pronoun; *-ta'ri*, intensive.

256

bici'axpaka'te, cords. *bici'axpe*, rope; *-ka'ta*, diminutive suffix.

maxi'rec, blackbirds. Note that, though the sense is obviously plural, the singular form is used. The plural occurs in 243.

i'wat'k'uc, with them (cords) against one another. *i'-*, instrumental, goes with the predicate "tying"; *bat'-*, one another; *k'uc*, toward, to them.

da'xta ra'kək', tying he continued. *da'xta*, participial of *daxtsi'*; *ra'kək'*, continuative auxiliary.

ha'tsgyeka'ce'tseruk', it was exceedingly long. *ha'tsgye*, long; *-ka'ce*, superlative suffix.

ma'ku k'o'n, above there. *ma'ku* (*ba'ko*), above, top; *i-wa'ku-c-da*, airplane (means of going above). Note the characteristic use of the demonstrative with the adverb.

i'kyo'tsi'tseruk', he hung. The idea is that of hanging something flexible over a horizontal support; doubtless derived from *i'kye* (support) probably plus *k'o'*, demonstrative, and *tse'*, to make. I hang it = *awi'kyo'tsiky*; I am hung = *bi i'kyo'tsiky*.

258

biri'cisande'c, (why) did you tell me not to roast (it)? For *biri'ci*, see 235, 241; *-sa*, negative; *-n*, possibly mere connective; *de'*, either second person of

he', he says, or variant of second person causative pronoun *da*; *-c*, definite article, past.

259

ba'i'tsikicikya'tu, something jolly. Compare with form in 251; both are plural form.

bi ri'ara'tsisak', you forbade me to do. *bi*, object first person pronoun; *ri'a*, to do; *ra'tsisa*, second person of *tsi'sa*, to forbid (*tse'*, to cause; *sa*, neg.). In another version occurs the combination, *ma'wi ri'eratsisec*, what you forbade me to do, where the change of the last vowel is also of interest.

260

co'ot'at', how is that? What is it? Short for *co'ot'a'tsi*.

261

bi'mbacim, when I cooked them. Not easily analyzable; the final *bim* occurs elsewhere as a temporal suffix, for example in *ba'wim*, when I arrived; *bi'mbac* can be connected with *biri'ci* by assuming pseudoinfixation of the first person pronoun. *biri* + *baci* would yield *bi'mbaci*. This suggests that the first part of the compound is *bire'*, fire; *bire'*, water, would yield similar combinations, but *biri'ci* does not seem to apply to boiling.

262

diru'cdak', you will eat (lit., if you eat). Conditional to express weak future idea.

263

e'kya'. Exclamation, often to express surprise.

267

ba'ra', I'll go. Participial form without *-k'*, the future being expressed in the next word.

ambe'wicbiky, I'll tend to it. *be'wic* evidently contains the stem; *an-ne'wic-di*, you will tend to him; *k'ar-ar-i'mbic-bi'ek'*, he will tend to him. In these cases the sense of the verb is "menacing," equivalent to "fix" somebody, as also in *di ambe'wicbiky*, I'll settle with you, fix you.

268

a're'ra, she carried them. *a-*, with them; *re'ra*, she went and [said].

269

da' hawac da'ra, go, go around. Singular imperative, followed by plural imperative.

wara'xka'tem, is ignorant. *wara'x*, crazy, foolish (cf. *ara'xtə*, not to know); *-ka'te*, diminutive.

270

k'annu'sak', having put them down. Participial form of *du'ci'*, to lay down.

271

bactatu'ə, my garden. Pluralized form.

ak'i'əse, guardians. *ak'*-, agentive; *i'əsi(ə)*, to look out for. Compare in 502: *bi' i'əsia*, look out for me!

k'o'ək', they are those. Plural of *k'o'k'*.

272

k'arak'otse'sa, don't do it. *k'ara-*, inceptive sense; *k'o'*, demonstrative; *tse*, to do; *-sa*, negative.

i'ru'pe, again (lit., a second time). *i'-*, ordinal prefix; *nu'pe*, two.

274

k'o't' ba'sa'wima'tsiky, I'll not do thus. Note the order of suffixes: negative before future pronoun, and future particle. Compare 118.

275

na'tsi'en, time passed. Common connective of sentences to indicate lapse of time, presumably derived from *na'tsi* (*da'tsi*), auxiliary.

a'ka'sak', she made a great deal. Possibly a participial form of the causative; *ahu'*, much; *ka's-*, superlative.

276

bita'rici'ə, the draft screen. I cannot analyze this word.

asa'ka'tse'n, about the end [of it]. *asa'ke'*, end, corner, perhaps connected by metathesis with *ha'ke*, the last; *-atse*, approximative; *-n*, locative.

hin'e' o'ce ri'əc, this food she had prepared. Good example of how Crow expresses a relative clause; compare also next sentence. *o'ce ri'ə*, to make cooking, is a set phrase.

ari'tsi'en, behind. The stem is *ari'(ə)*; for example, *ari'ə k'o' bo'rək'*, when I come from the rear. Note the variant in 277.

277

da'co'ratsit', occasionally. The force of *da-* in such words is not clear.

de'kyu.oc, which had been thrown. Plural of *de'tse*, to throw, in 276. Passive regularly expressed by third person plural. Here there are two plural endings, *-o* usually taking the place of a second *-u* for the purpose. Why this duplication occurs here is not clear, unless the food is to be pluralized.

bare'waxse'c, the plate. *bare'*, probably indefinite prefix; *waxse'*, under, for example, *ba'pec maxse'ta*, under the rocks; *citse' maxse'*, at the foot of the hill. Perhaps the idea is "that which is under things."

kurutsi'ret', whenever she took it back. *kurutsi'rək'* would be used for "when she took it back."

hin'e kya'rec, this old woman. Subject here introduced as an afterthought after the predicate.

ba'ha'mneta'ri, there was nothing. *ba-*, indefinite nominal prefix; *ham*, some; *-net*, not; *-ta'ri*, truly.

awu'reta'ri'tseruk', it was truly empty. Quotative. *awu'*, inside; *-ret*, not; *-ta'ri*, emphatic.

278

co're'rit'ak', some time. Yellow-brow often uses indefinite expressions of time and place; see below.

co'c de'rit'de'rək', wherever she may have gone to. *co'*, where; *-c*, directional; *de'*, to go; *-rit'*, suffix modifier (p. 25); *de'* = *-re*, progressive ?; *-rək'* indefinite.

279

i'ək'o'n, over there. Combination of two demonstratives.

e', food. Also "to have."

kuruci'ky, she stores. *ku-* probably = *tsi*, to indicate possession by subject; *duci'*, to lay, put. Probably I misunderstood for *kuruci't'*, which would express the usitative; see in 285.

280

ha'mneta na'kuk', always there was none. *na'ku'*, auxiliary expressing usitative aspect; *ham*, some; *-neta*, negative.

281

awa'kawiky, I'll see. First person future of *i'kya*, to see, *awa'ka*, I see.

282

ba'pu'xtatsgyerək', a dragon (lit., a long otter). *ba'pu'xta*, otter; *ha'tsgye*, long. *ha'nde'rək'*, when he looked. Etymology not clear. Again a gesture accompanies the word.

283

aci'ruceta, at the edge of the tipi. *-r* may be simply a phonetic connective; *u'ce*, buttocks, is also applied to the foot of a hill; *-ta*, locative suffix.

a'i'mbiri'tseruk', it went clear around. *a* = ?; *i'mbi* suggests coextensiveness, tallying; *ri* = *re* ?, to go.

284

ikya'nde'rək', when he looked at him. Compare *i'kyare'rək'*, with same translation, in 190. The change in accent suggests another suffix directly after the verb but cloaked by assimilation to following *d*. By analogy I infer that momentaneousness is intended.

kari'tsia, lightning. Etymology obscure.

i'ictawu'ata, through his eyes. *i* = ?; *ict(e)*, his eyes; *awu'a*, inside; *-ta*, locative.

datsu'suata, was like the crack of a whip; *-ta*, suffix to express resemblance.

285

a'para'a xete, ghostlike one. *-te* expresses similarity; for example, in *micgyihe'tək'*, he looks like another dog.

ak'apa' ra'k'u'rec, the one who regularly eats up. *ak'-*, agentive; *apa'*, to

eat up, devour, swallow. *i're ape'tseruk'*, he swallowed the blood; *isba'n-dat'a.uc karapu'tseruk'*, they ate up their fine meat; *di wapa'mbiky*, I'll devour you; *ambape'wo're-tak'*, we shall not be able to eat it up.

286

u'a ice' hirak', he shot different times. Compare under 202.
dap'i'a hi'tseruk', he killed him forthwith. *-hi*, momentaneous.

287

e ra'kuruci't', the food you regularly stored. Compare in 279, 285.
ba-p'i'ehiky, I have killed just now. First person form corresponding to that in 285.

288

e'kya'wa'. Exclamation, variant of *e'kya'*.

291

na'p'em i'tsiky, that you killed him is well. *-m* often serves to set off a predicative subject; compare *o'm i'tsiky*, that she is bringing him is well, *i'tsiky daro'm*, it is well you came.

292

ho'm, give me room, move away. Variant of *ho'we*.
a'wara', with it I going. *a're'*, fixed compound of *a-*, with, and *re'*, to go, in sense of bringing or taking.
awa'xiwa'wiky, I'll throw it away. (*h*)*awa'xi*, to throw away; *wa-*, first person pronoun suffix; *-wi*, first person future.

293

ira'cb, her shoulders. *dira'cpe*, your shoulders.
atsipa'hak', she hung it over (her shoulder). *a'tsipe* (to pack over something), first person; *a'tsipe-wak'*, *a'tsipe.ok'*, they put (a corpse over a horse). Doubtless derived from *a'tse*, over. *-hak'*, inceptive (?). Compare *k'anna'hak'*, he started.

du'xaruak', she dragged it.
a'i wi'ak', she wanted to bring it. *a-*, with; (*h*)*i*, to reach; *wi'a*, to wish. The combination *a'i* corresponds to *a're'*.
dactat'dak', it was heavy. *-da*, to be (cf. *k'o'ra'*, to be there); *dactat'* = *dacta'tsi*, heavy.

295

tsira'k'o'wisak', had him as her husband. *tsira'* elsewhere appears with final *e* vowel, perhaps always before *c* or *ts*, whereas *a* precedes *k*. Compare 297. *wisak'*, participial form of *-bici'*.

296

isba'pi'tec, her grandchild. Proper singular form, whereas his proper name is regularly plural.

297

k'a'rice, old woman. *-ce*, vocative suffix, as in *bi'ace*, woman; *bi'akaricece*, young woman.

bara'k'di'ara.i.ec, you have been wont to do various things (lit., what you have seen, you have been wont to do). Common idiom to denote mischief-making. Compare 872, also *wa'i'ky di'ək'* in 86. *-i*, usitative; *-e* = obscure, but sometimes it takes the place of *-i*, usitative (e.g., *co't'da.e*, how do you generally act?), though why both should be used together is not obvious; *-c*, definite article, past sense.

baha'm nara'k', you are meeting something (powerful). *ba-*, indefinite object; *ha'm*, some; *dara'k'*, irregular verb, second person of *hi'ky*.

298

watsa'tsiky, powerful. This adjectival-verbal use is perhaps primary and connected with *bats'e'*, man. For adverbial use, see 310 *et passim*.

bari'atsec, I thought, used to think. Probably usitative; *-c*, past, here (as often) to contrast with the following statement.

andi'mbia tsi'ri, seek safety (lit., seek your safety (?)). Frequent warning. *an-*, how; *diri'*, you live; *bi'a*, to wish, also with future meaning. However, *bi'a* ought then to be second person: *bi'ara*. This is likewise indicated by the first person form, *amba'mbiawa watsi'mbiky* (immediate future: *amba'mbamtsi'mbiky*). However, *andi'mbia* recurs in other contexts. Compare the forms in 574, 575.

299

i'werak' datsi'tseruk', she was crying. *-rak'* suggests an inceptive here; that is, "she fell to crying and kept on crying."

301

hin'e' cikya'ke, this boy. Possibly conceived as object of the verb, as its position suggests; that is, how shall I treat this boy so as to get rid of him?

co'ot' ba'rək' ikyo'ra'sa.i, what could I do to get rid of him? (lit., so that thereby he shall not be here?). *co'ot'*, how?; *ba-*, first person pronoun causative suffix; *-rək'*, dubitative suffix. *i-*, instrumental prefix; *-i*, third person future suffix. Compare *i'ce'kyahē* in 303, where the *-kyahē* was explained to show that her plan was not yet formed.

302

da'ka't'de'tseruk', time passed (lit., she lived on). *da'ka'*; *-a't'(se)*; *-de* = ?.

304

ba'p' xawi'ky, something evil. *ba'p'* instead of simple *ba-*.

k'o'rəct, is there. As in the quotative, so here the substitution of *-ct* for expectable *-k'* is not clear.

305

dara'ri, you might get to it. Future with potential meaning.

hi'sat'a'ri, be sure not to get to it. *-ta'ri*, emphatic.

306

ba'wiky, I'll get to it. *ba'*, first person of *hi'*, to reach; *-wi*, first person future.

307

ba'ndaxka'pe, a patch of brush. Doubtless from *bare'*, wood.

citse', hill.

he'ra'ka're, on its side. Probably derived from *he're*, among, in; elsewhere the form *awe'ra'ke'ta*, on the hillside, occurs.

309

naxpitse', bear. The usual word, possibly connected with *naxpe'*, a hide.

310

ak'i'wicit, whenever there is anyone who gets to it. *ak'*, agentive; *hi*, to arrive; *-wici*, there is; *-t*, usitative.

ap'a'hiky, he devours him at once. *-hi*, moment.

ditsira'tsim, dangerous. *di* = ?; *tsiri'*, to fear; *-a'tsi*, adjectival suffix.

311

ditsira'tsibisa'wiky, it must be something terribly dangerous. *-wi*, strong emphatic suffix (see p. 29); *-bisa'*, presumably a form of *-bici*, perhaps to avoid too many *i*'s.

313

mace'rec, what she said. *mace're'c* would be: what you said. Note again tendency to substitute an *e* for an *a* sound before following *c*; compare *sa'pem i cera'*, why do you say it?

ba'ki'ciwiky, I'll get to it. *ba-*, first person of *hi*; *-kici* as a verbal suffix indicates lack of seriousness, often in an obscure way, perhaps here to indicate the boy's making light of the difficulties presented to him; *-wi*, first person future.

314

citskya'te, a little hill. Compare *citse'* in 307.

i'axasa'm, a snake. *i'axase*, snake; *-m*, classifier. Compare form in 318, 463, 472, 476, 482, 493, 496, 530, 629 (*i'axase'c*).

315

ditsira'tsk', it is dangerous. *e* elided between *ts* and *k'*.

316

biraxba'ket, people. The *-t* seems again in concord with following verb, designating a class; that is, those who get there, an idea evidently related to the verbal usitative.

di'ut, whenever they get there. *-t*, usitative.

a'pariarak', it coils around them. Related to *pa'riə*, to wrap. Compare *tsi's-tsi-pa'riəc*, Wraps-up-his-tail.

sa'he'ky, it kills them. The *e* is causative; *sa'hiky* would be: he dies; compare *ha'we'ky*, he destroys, and *ha'wiky*, it is destroyed, exhausted.

317

ha·k', he said and. Participle of *he·ky*.

k'ande're'tseruk', he went; *-re* was here explained to imply continued motion.

da·ce'tseruk', it was furious. First person: *barace'*.

320

a'a'. Exclamation of challenge.

i'tsikya:tem, pretty one. *i'tsi*, good, handsome; *-kya:te*, diminutive.

bi'ərək'e', is he going to do? *bi'ə*, to want, also used with future meaning; *-rək'e'*, interrogative suffix.

321

xatsi'sa ra'tsi, remain motionless (lit., do not move, remain). First verb presumably to be interpreted participially. Compare *k'o'n na'tse*, remain thus (or there)!

323

hu'əct, the previously mentioned (i.e., by his grandmother). *hu*, they say (pl. of *he'*); *hu'ə*, gerund; *-c*, definite article; *-t*, not clear.

k'u'kan, that in turn. *k'u* = *k'o*.

326

he'rape, waist. Also recorded *he'rupe*; used with possessive prefixes: *bi-*, *di-*, *i-*.

ha'tsgyeka'cdək', was very long. *hatsgye*, long, tall; *-ka:c*, superlative; *-da*, to be. The dimension is here understood in a vertical sense.

327

tace'tseruk'. Doubtless for *dace'tseruk'*; see 320.

329

co's u'ak' i'hu'rək'e', what is he coming for? *-s*, directive; (*h*)*u'ak'*, participle of *hu*; *i-*, on account of; *-rək'e*, interrogative suffix. "What, I wonder, is he coming for that he is coming?"

330

a'pe', his ears. One of the words for body parts not prefixing third person possessive. Compare *i'he'rupe*, his waist.

ha·k'usi'ək, he caused to droop (lit., he caused to meet the rear). Probably *ha·k'(se)*, last, rear; *k'u*, that; *-s*, directive; (*h*)*i*, to reach, meet; *-ə*, causative suffix, third person.

k'o'n iru'ək' datsi'tseruk', there he remained standing. *iru'ək*, main verb; *datsi'*, auxiliary.

331

hu'kawe, come. *-kawe*, imperative suffix, here manifestly not used in conciliatory sense.

336

a'pasi'ək, he put it round his [the bear's] neck. Compare *ha'k'usi'ək* in 330. *a'pe*, his neck (throat); -s, to it; (*h*)*i*, to reach; -ə, causative.

a'kine'tseruk, he rode it. From *a'ke*, upon, and *de*, to go.

337

isa'cgyi'axtsi'ək, he made it into a halter. *isa'cgye*, his horse (horse in the abstract is *itsi're*); *i'axtse*, rope (related to *da'axsi*, to tie); -ə, causative.

a'kina:k, he rode it. Note that before *k'* the vowel is *a* (cf. in 336).

338

k'usu'tseruk, to it he came. *k'usu'* = *k'us hu*.

339

ha'rawək, saying, he came along. *ha'*, saying; *rawək*, probably participle of *na'wi*, to proceed.

343

a'wo'm, I bring (lit., with it I come). *wo'* = *bo'*; -*m*, oral comma.

wara'k'uk, I give it to you. For this irregular combination of pronouns see page 29.

344

bara'pri rare't, whenever you have gone digging something. *ba-*, indefinite object; *ra'pri*, second person of *ap'i'*, to dig; *rare'*, you go; -*t*, usitative. Compare later in the sentence the simple future conditional *bara'p'irək*, when you dig (henceforth).

dic'tsiwisak, having your pack. Participial form of -*wici*, to have; *i'ctsi*, his burden, from *tsi'*, to carry on one's back.

ha'wan dari'rək, somewhere walking. Second person participial form of *di'ri*, to walk; compare *di'rək k'anna'.u'tseruk*, walking they went away. *bari'mbiky*, I'll walk; *dira'*, walk (imper.). *ha'wan* probably suggests indefiniteness; compare *hawac da'watək*.

daro'ec, you have been wont to come. -*ε*, here the usitative counterpart in the apodosis of -*t* in the protasis; -*c*, past. Compare in 298 *bari'atsec*, I used to think.

hira'k' in'e, henceforth this. = *hira'k' hin'e'*; *hira'*, just now (in past), *hira'k'*, henceforth.

a'akinak, riding. Participle; main verb = *tsi'ra'ga:k*.

tsi'ra'ga:k, let it carry. -*ga*, causative suffix, often with permissive sense; I am not certain as to the function of *ra*; the stem here may be not *tsi'*, but *tsi'ra*, which seems to appear in *itsi're*, horse (means of transporting?).

ak'i'tsiderima:tsiky, you will feel set up, proud. *ak'*-, agentive; *i'tsi*, good; first person: *ak'i'tsiwe:wima:tsiky*. In another story the expression was rendered "reaching easy street"; the verb seems to be *e'*, to have.

k'andisa'cgyebici'm, now you have a horse. *k'an-*; *disa'cgye*, your horse (cf. 337); -*bici*; -*m*.

345

i'tsiwi'kyarama, it is good beyond words. *i'tsi*; *-wikyarama*, superlative emphatic.

346

hu'wa, give it here. *-wa*, imperative suffix, here suggests mild request. *hawat'a'm*, somewhere. Compare form in 344.

347

baxt'ə'k', I'll tie it up. First person participle of *daxtsi'*, to tie. Perhaps the participle is used to connect more intimately with what follows, *ha'k'*, she said, being understood.

a'piəxtsi'gyak', she made into a halter. *a'p(e)*, neck; *i'əxtse*, rope; *-gya*, causative suffix.

daka'ak', she led it.

348

da'ra, go ye! *-ra*, plural imperative suffix.

di'mbiare, look for safety. *-re*, plural imperative. Compare under 298, also in 574, 575, 583.

353

nε'se, away from the river (i.e., from the camp).

354

daci'gya ra'tsi'tseruk', she kept pondering it. *daci'gya*, to ponder, from *da's*, heart, mind; *-gya*, probably causative suffix. *daci'tsi* also means "to think about."

355

ba'm di hi'sa wa'k'u't', whenever I bid you not to go to something. *-t'*, usitative; *wa'k'u'*, first person plural of *tse'*, to make, cause, let. My interpreter corrected to *wa'tse'*, but the plural is often used for the singular in the first person. Compare in another version: *sa'apem i' wihi'sa ra'tse*, why did you bid me not to go to it?

ba'n di watsiwa.'uwiciky, when we have fully told you about something. The shade of meaning conveyed by the interpreter must be carried by *-wici*.

k.'o rara' wiara'iky, that very place you have been wont to want to go to. *-i-*, usitative like *-ε-* in *daro'εc* in 344; *rara'* = *dare'*, you go.

359

buru'aka're, down below. From *buru'a*, below.

bi'əxse'n . . . bi'əxse'ta, under it. More commonly the preposition is recorded as *baxse'*, *baxse'ta*.

bara'p xuəm, a leaning cherry tree. Another version has *bara'm xu'əm*, a bent tree; compare *xu'arək'* in 20.

xa'wikya'cim, a many-branched one. *xa'wi*, forked, pronged; compare *awaxa'we*, mountain; *-kya'ci*, superlative.

ari'ande, a path. Sometimes merely *ande'* (*an-*; *de'*, to go; *ande'-tsi'ric*, Road seeker) is used; the first part is conceivably analyzable into *ar-* and *hi*, to reach.

360

ak'o'nde'wiciky, if any one goes there. Compare expression in 310; usitative *-t* in 310 seems more appropriate to me here also than the stop *ky*. *ak'*, agentive; *k'o'n*, there; *de'*, to go; *-wici*, to be extant; the whole is to be construed as the object of the main verb.

i''tsitək', it falls on top. Participial form of presumably *i''tsitsi*, the first part of which suggests reflexive.

362

ba'ce're'c, what you speak of. See under 313; compare 365.

ba'sak', I'll not go to (lit., I do not go to). The preceding injunction, *hi'sa*, proves *ba'* to be the equivalent of the first person singular.

368

sa'p bara'xa't'dək', whatever song. *bara'xi*, to sing; *-at'(se)*, approximate suffix; *-dək'*, indefinite.

bara'xdawa'tək', he went along singing. *bara'xi*, to sing; *na'wi*, to go; *-a't'(se)*.

371

wace'c, whatever she spoke about. *wa-*, indefinite object; *ce*, to speak; *-c*, definite article.

372

a'k'ara'xtata'ndak', he pretended not to know (lit., he played the ignorant). *ak'-*, agentive, *ara'xta*, not to know; *-ta're*, truly. *bara'xtata'mbeky*, I pretended I did not know. Compare under 375.

k'arak'o'sa'taka't'dək', when he was close to it. *k'ara-* goes with the entire phrase; *k'o'*, demonstrative; *-s*, direction toward; *a'ta*, close; *-ka'ta*, diminutive; *-dək'*, when.

xaru'sək', running. Participle of *xaru'ci*, regular verb.

373

k'arahi'tarək', when he was close to it (lit., when he was truly reaching it). *hi'c*, fast. Adverb.

374

i'riat'dək', when it thought. *i'riatsi*, to think; *-dək'*, temporal.

xawu'ə, rattling. Compare *i'p-xawuə-c*, bird-tail-rattles.

375

ak'de'cirak', he pretended to go. *ak'-*, agentive; *de'*, to go. The verb stem does not appear clearly. "I pretended to go" is rendered *bare'rit be'wak*, with which compare under 372, 381; also *amma'sa'tat be'we'ky*, I pretend to be

short winded (*amma'sa'tat de're'ky*, he pretends to be short winded) and *ba:c be'wak'*, I pretended to die; *da'sat de'rerak'*, you pretended to die; *ce'rerak'*, *ce'arak'*, he pretended to die.

bita's, aside. Adverb.

i'tsipu'arak', he jumped. Reflexive verb; compare *ipu'a*, to run over. Conjugation: *bi'tsipu'ak'*, *di'tsipu'ak'*, *i'tsipu'ak'*, *bi'tsipu'ok'*, and so on.

376

ma'heri.a, it failed. Also noted with accent on second syllable. Compare *bara's ba'he'rarak'*, my heart failed me; *ba'n di'awi'a ira'c bahe'rare*, whatever he attempted, he (his heart) failed in.

377

ba'tdak', it was lying (or, perhaps: when it was lying). *ba'tsi*, to lie down. *it'ba'k'ucde'sak'*, before it got up. *it'*, yet, still; *-sa*, negative, in characteristic combination.

tsipu'a de'tseruk', jumping he went. *tsipu'a*, participle.

378

tsire'tseruk', it got up. *tsire'*, to rise; *tsire' wi'ararak'*, when he wished to get up; *k'aratsire'se*, do not get up (imper.).

380

tsisa'k', turning back. Participle of *tsici'*, to turn back; *ak'tsici'a ahu'm*, those who turned back were many. For first person, see 397.

381

k'arabiase'n de'ritde'arak', under it he pretended to go. *k'ara-* goes with whole sentence; for the verb, compare under 375; *rit* is presumably *-rit(se)*.

383

tsisa'hak', he turned back. Compare 380; *-hak'* = ?
a'kaxpu'ak', he stepped on it. *a'ka*, on; *xpu*, probably connected with *xapi'*, to fall.

385

daxci'xsitsak', it was broken up and destroyed. Reduplicated stem *xci* (*xsi*); *tsa*, possibly = *tse*, to cause, make; *da-*, possibly prefix expressing violence (*dap'e'*, to kill; *daxe'mbi*, to break, neuter verb).

386

k'aratsire'sa, it no longer got up. Typical correlative use of *k'ara-* and *-sa*.

390

k'u'awe i'ce'wak', I fooled it exceedingly (or: I fooled it to death) (lit., I fooled it so I caused it to die). *k'u'a* for some reason is treated as causative, hence *we* (for *wa*) is suffixed.

392

mace'wu'əc, that which we said. Plural *ce'wu'ə* for singular *ce'wa*.

k'arahi' tsitse'ky, apparently reached (met) it. *tsitse'*, it seems, looks like. Compare *hin'e' balse'kyatēc k'arahu'tsitse'ky*, this dear man has come, it appears; *be're(t)tsitse'ky*, I have none apparently; *hira' itse' tsitse'ky*, he seems to have waked up just now.

393

ba'iru'əc, we have been wont to say. *ba'*, I say; *-iru(ə)*, plural usitative suffix; *-c*, definite article, past.

394

ak'biəxse'ndecci'we'wim, I pretended to go under that tree. Compare 372 and 375. It is conceivable that here and in 375 *ci* = *ce*, to want, to be eager (*ce'ce*, eager-to-die). The idea in 372, 375, and 394 seems to be simulation of "one who . . .," but the stem for "to simulate" remains obscure.

395

bi'tsipu'awim, I jumped. Possibly *bi'tsipu'a wi-m* (*bi'tsipu'a*, I jumped; *wi*, first person independent pronoun; *-m*, oral comma).

398

andi'awec, what I had done. For *an-* (*ara-*), see page 19; another change of *a* to *e* vowel before *c*.

399

xa'pde'm, it fell. *xap(i)*, to fall; *de'*, to go; *-m*.

400

k'o't'ba waka'kuwim, thus I kept on doing. For *-wim* compare under 395; *waka'ku*, first person of auxiliary *da'ku* in 384.

daxci'xisa'k', was broken up. Either this or the form in 385 is probably erroneous.

403

rara'hi'c, there you go. Probably the *h* should be deleted, which makes the form usitative of *dare'* (*rare'*); thus: *rara'.i-c*, there you have been wont to go.

404

e'ky hin'e' hiri'se. These several demonstratives, like *hiri'caraka'rək'*, are supposed to go with a pointing gesture.

hiri'c araka'rək', this way. Presumably, *hire'*, there, + directive *c* (*s*); compare *hiri'se* immediately preceding; *araka'rək'*, presumably for *ara'karək'*, you look.

batce'tse'm, comes together. The idea is that of a Symplegades-like closure, but the analysis is not wholly clear; *batc-* is the reciprocal; *-c* is perhaps directional, making "toward each other"; *tse* = to cause (?). *de'* for *tse'*, as in another version, and in 413, seems more reasonable: "going toward each other" (sides of the rock).

k'o'n na.'ut', those who go there. *-t'* as classifier of a category.

405

birə̀ba'ket', people. -t', generic.

bi'ut', whenever they wish. Usitative -t' seems correlative with *birə̀ba'ket'*, those people who wish to jump over the hollow.

awu'a k'o re'ruk', inside they are wont to go. -ru, probably usitative plural.

du'pte xa'hiky, it spreads apart. *du'pte*, double, both, twofold; *xa*, stem expressing movement; -hi, moment.

k'ar ariri'kyucdu're't'k', then they are unable to get out. Probably misunderstood for *k'ar ari'kyucdu'ret'k'*, which is a transparent plural form that occurs in another version; *ar-* and *-det* in characteristic combination; *ikyuctsi'*, to come out.

413

tsitsi'ra'k', looking for it. Participle of *tsitsi're*.

416

k'arahi'ə̀hə̀kha'k', he came up to it. This form seems incorrect; *hi'ə̀hə̀k'* seems sufficient.

417

ak'a'tse.i'tsipuə̀c ci're'rək', he pretended to want to jump across. Compare, in 422, *ak'de'se're'rək'*, he pretended to want to go, in 375, *ak'de'cirak'*, in 394, *ak'biə̀xse'ndec ci'we'wim*.

du'ptaxi'tseruk', it spread apart. Contraction of form in 405 (?).

420

k'arawate'ra' hictadaka'tək', having gone some distance. *k'ar-*, here denoting completed past; *awate'*, far; *ra*, presumably = *de*, to go; *-ka'tə*, diminutive; the remainder obscure.

422

ak'de'se're'rək', he simulated one wanting to go. *ak'-*, agentive; *de*, to go; *se* = *ce*, to want; *re'rə* = stem for "to pretend" (?). Compare 417, 375, 381.

425

k'ambatsi'rek', when it came together. *bats-*; (*h*)i, to reach, meet; *-rek'* = *rək'*, when.

426

dacipə̀k', passing by it. Participle of *dacipi'*, to pass.

431

k'annu'ptaxisa'tseruk', it no longer spread apart. Correlative *k'an-* and *-sa* frequently express this idea.

432

i'tsipu'arit' de'ky, he jumped (lit., jumping he went). For *-rit*, see under 278.

k'annu'ptaxisahi'rək', it could not spread any longer. *-hirək'* is a puzzling suffix; compare *ahu'hirək'* in 128.

437

ba'wiiwim, when I was there (?). *ba'* might be the first person of *hi*, to reach, meet; the rest of the word, with which compare 394 and *ak'a'tsedese'wewim* in 438, is far from clear. The translation given there and a form cited under 375 suggests the possibility that *wiwi* or *we'wi* may be the first person of a verb meaning to simulate.

k'u'okacbat', I would thoroughly fool him. *k'u'o*, plural form of *k'u'ə*, to fool; *-ka·c*, superlative; *-ba'*, first person of causative; *-t'*, usitative.

438

ak'a'tsedese'wewim, I pretended to go over it. Compare above under 394 and 437.

du'ptaxa·ndək', when it spread apart. Compare 405, 417.

439

baru'ukiciwim, I kept on. *baru'u*, first person of *iru'*, auxiliary; *-kici*, see page 26; *-wim*, compare under 437, 395, 400.

440

i'tsiri'nde·tək', it was helpless (idiom; lit., [for] itself, it [could] do nothing). Compare *bare'tsiri'nde·təm* in 582.

442

ditsira'tsec, a dangerous one. Note *e* vowel before *-c*; compare *ditsira'tsiky*.

445

Compare expression of repeated act with 355 and 393; *-wi* in *ba'wit'*, whenever I say, is obscure.

446

ba·p' xawa'um, some evil beings. Note that *xawi'* yields plural *xawa'u*.

455

awe'ren iru'ahi'tseruk', he stood outdoors. Compare in 35.

456

K'a'ricba·pi'tu bare' hi'sac bare' hi·ky, Old Woman's Grandchild who did not come to us, has come to us. *K'a'ricba·pi'tu* might be vocative as in the soliloquy of 451, but I think the construction given in the translation is probable; since *-c* is appended to the first verb, it can be omitted from the name. Compare also 469; likewise, Teton: Well, my grandson who never came before, has come (Deloria, Dakota Texts, p. 173).

458

b_i xa'pdək', a flat stone. *xa·p(i)*, flat; the indefinite article follows the adjective.

du't'e'tseruk', he picked up. Connected with *du'tsi*, to take, seize.

459

u'ʷce, his anus. Sometimes for "rump."

i'satse'tseruk', he blocked, closed up. *i'satse* (participle; *i'sat'*) doubtless connected with *ak'i'sat'e*, buffalo police, "those who block," soldier. I should suppose an instrumental *i-* should be prefixed to the verb.

460

ara'ʷco'ta, on the floor. *-ta*, postposition. The place between the fire and the beds is designated; *ara'ca* is used for the "altar" of the Tobacco initiation lodge.

a'i'mbiri'tseruk', went clear around. Compare 283.

461

aco'ria, the rear of the lodge (i.e., the place of honor).

bire'm. *bire'ri* would be "enter."

464

i'kyuzaka'te, opposite (i.e., tallying in position underground with the anus aboveground). Doubtless connected with *kyo'xi*, to equal, catch up with. Compare also form in 17. *-ka'te*, adjectival.

465

i'satsec, which stopped it. *-c*, definite article with force of relative pronoun.

i'axi, his forehead. *xi(ə)* seems to be the stem, with *bixi'ə*, *di'xiə* for my, your forehead. But *axi'ə* occurs probably in an absolute sense.

rit'a'k', it struck. Participle of *ditsi'*.

466

k'are'tse'tseruk', he had known it. Quotative. *k'ar-*, past sense.

kuckyo', from before. *kuckyo'* (*kucgyo'*), often in sense of "previous," as also *i'skyo*.

k'a'ritata, smiling. *k'a*; to laugh; *-rit(se)*, moderate; perhaps fused with *data* as participle of *datsi'*, which would then be repeated as *natsi'*.

467

da . . . da; ? Occurs several times, usually at beginning of a sentence.

ihe't', another. *ihe'*, another; *-t = ?*, unless as happens in other cases the usitative is multiplied with several words in a sentence.

bire'mbiaru't', when they wanted to enter. *bire'm*, for *bire'ri*, assimilated to *bi'a*, to want; *-ru*, probably plural of *-re*; *-t'*, usitative.

ri'tsedu'tseruk', they would hit. Quotative. *-du (-ru)*, plural of usitative.

468

de'ru'tseruk', they would go. *-ru* as in 467. Another version has: *k'ara'k'* *da'a'ku'tseruk'*.

469

ba·wiri'sku'aha·ra, cook ye for him. In another version: *wa·biri'cku'ore*. -*ra*, plural imperative; -*ku*, ethical dative; -*ha* = immediately (?).

ba·ru·sa'hi, he may eat. Perhaps the *h* should be deleted, the future then expressing a possibility; or perhaps the -*hi* suggests immediacy.

470

pi'axi·tdək', a spleen. *pi'axi·te*, spleen.

biri's k'u.o'tseruk', they cooked it for him. *k'u'.o'*, they for him; compare 469.

472

hiri'kyusa'kec, the farthest on this side. *hiri'*, this side; *kyus* = *k'us*, toward it; *a'kec*, perhaps by metathesis = *ha'kec*, the last.

hu'ekyawe, cause it to come. *e*, *e'*, *ə*, despite their phonetic weakness, transform a verb into the corresponding causative. Compare *ha'we*, he destroyed, from *ha'wi*, it is gone. -*kyawe*, imperative particle.

ba'tsira'ci't awaka'mbi'ky, I'll look at it and test it. *tsiraci't'(s)*, to try, test; compare 477, 481. *awaka'mbiky*, immediate future corresponding to *awa'kawiky* for indefinite future. *ba'tsira'ci'tsi'wiky* would be simply: I'll test it. Compare form in 481.

473

da'cgyapaha'tsi'tseruk', he bit it in several places. *da'cgyapək'* would be: he bit it [once]; -(*h*)*a't*, -(*h*)*a'tsi*, has the same meaning as in *dusa'ha'tək'*: they were eating here and there. *da-* appears with several verbs expressing mouth action; for example: *da'pxi*, he bites; *da'xutsi*, he sucks in; *da'tsipi*, he tastes; *da't'at'*, he bites off; *ba·racu'ciky*, I broke with my teeth. Compare forms in 482.

474

cikya'hi 'tse'tseruk', he threw in. Variant of *citse'*, to throw; compare in 489; -*hi*, momentaneous.

ba·wiri'suac, cooked food. *ba-*, indefinite noun prefix; *wiri's*, to cook; -*uə*, gerund; -*c*, definite article.

475

k'ari'tsima'k', I've fixed it well. *k'ar-*, past; -*ma'*, suffixed causative pronoun, generally heard as *wa* intervocalically.

477

hi'ritsisare'c, the one next to him. *hi'ri*, demonstrative; -*tsisa*, postposition; *re* = *ra*, to be; -*c*, definite article.

478

xawi'm, it being bad. *xawi'*, bad; -*m*, oral comma.

duci'i, he might eat it. -*i*, future potential; note absence of oral predicative stop.

479

i'əxaxu'a, all of them. *i'ə*, third person pronoun; *xaxu'a*, all.

482

i'u, teeth. *i'(ə)*, tooth.
awu'atse, inside. *tse* = ?
du'sa.u'tseruk', they put. Plural of *du'u'ci*.

483

ice'o wi.'uk', they wanted to kill thereby. *i-*, instrumental prefix; *ce'*, to die, to kill. Note *su* = they are dead; but: they kill = *ce'o*.
i'kyo't'u''tseruk', that is why they did thus. Plural of *i'kyo'tse''tseruk'*.

485

k'ambaru'cki'ce, feast now. *baru'c(e)*, eat something; *-kice*, sense of pleasurable-ness.
hin'e' pi'axi'tec, [on] this spleen. Object irregularly after verb, evidently added as afterthought.

487

ha:k'. Explained as mere expletive here.
ikya'hatsi'ən, he looked it over. *-(h)atsi* suggests "here and there"; *-ən*, suffix, meaning not clear.

488

hire'ruk', these here. *ru*, plural of *ra*, to be; *-k'* seems inappropriate since the sentence is not closed. For use of third person in reproving those present, compare under 75.

ak'ba-wiri'cicsu'wiky, they are no good as cooks (lit., cooks of something verily not). *-su*, plural negative; *-wi*, emphatic; compare *xawi'owiky* in 173.
o'cet co'rək', is this cooking? (lit., cooking where is it?). *-t*, generic classifier; compare *ma'ret co'rək'*, counterfeit money.

490

o'cbak', having cooked it myself. *o'c*, cooking; *ba*, first person pronoun, causative position.
bu'cbiky, I'll eat. *bu'c(i)*, I eat, with first person future.

491

hawas k'urusa'hi'tseruk', he turned it over again and again. *k'uruci'*, to turn over once; *hawas* gives idea of "around" (*hawas da'watak'*, he roamed about); *-hi*, momentaneous.

492

k'o'ri'uc, which they had put in. *k'o'*, demonstrative, "there"; *re, ra*, to be, here with causative plural.
ara'xa.u'tseruk', were burnt. Plural of causative for passive. Compare the plural of the corresponding neuter verb in 494.

493

ba'watsa't' di'o'tseruk', they were having a hard time (idiom; lit., something powerful [*batsa'tse*] they made).

494

i'u kuruckyə'pbahak', they were holding their own mouths. *du'cgyapuk'*, they were holding some one else's mouth; *kuruckya'puk'*, they were holding their own. For *tsi-* and *ku-*, see §11. The interpreter explained that *tsiruckya'puk'* would be possible and would give the idea of holding their own teeth inside, but I do not feel at all sure of this distinction.

496

hi'sa.ec, who has been wont not to come. *-ε*, usitative; compare *di'ara.i.ec* in 297.

awa'xpək', we with him. *a'xpə*, to be with.

ba'etsi, stories. Often heard *ba.e'tsi*.

batsiwe'kciwo'k', let us tell. Hortatory future. *-kci* adds the idea of pastime and could be omitted, as it is in another version, where the snakes say: *ba.e'tsi wa'tsiwe'wo'k'*.

497

i'wak'o't ce'tseruk', spoke thus. Not wholly clear. *k'o't*, generic of demonstrative; *ce*, to speak; *i'*, instrumental (?); *wa* = indefinite noun prefix (?).

498

hin'e' hu'əc, as he was coming. Common idiom.

i'ctsirək', a jackrabbit. *i'ctse*, jackrabbit.

di'cte, your eyes. Compare forms in 499, 507.

baku'we, give me. *ba-*, peculiar form of first person pronoun objective (instead of *bi'*), but always with this stem; *-we*. imperative particle.

500

co'pka'ce, four. *co'p(ə)*, four; *-ka'ce*, superlative with not readily ascertainable function as a suffix to the numeral.

hi'ciək', he painted it red (lit., he made it red). *-ə*, causative.

501

ci'ri'gyak', he painted it yellow. *ci'ri*, yellow; *-gya*, causative suffix.

pa't'ək', having stuck in the ground. *pa'tsi*, to stick.

502

bi i'əsia, look out for me. Compare *ak'-i'əse*, guardian, in 271.

503

ikye', attention! Presumably a form of *i'kya*, to look. Regularly used in storytelling.

hu'rək', when they say.

504

ε ha'ta're, be sure to say yes. *ha'*, the simple stem, as imperative of *he'* (*ha'*), to say; *-ta're*, emphatic.

505

ham bi'awakusa-t', in some spring. *-t*, usitative; *ham*, some; *bi'awakusa*, spring, from *bi'awakce*, summer.

bara'pu apa're, young cherry trees (lit., [when] cherry trees grow).

isa' wuru'a k'o', in their shelter. *isa'* = apparently something like "solid mass" (related to *isa'*, big?); *wuru'a*, below; *k'o'*, there.

bikye', grass. Note that the next word begins with *c*; otherwise we also find *bikya'*; *bikya' miripi'te'*, spear grass; *bikya'ka'ce*, blue-joint grass.

cu'akate't', when it is green. *cu'a*, green; *-ka'te*, adjectival; *-t'*, usitative.

tawe'ctaka'tet', when it is somewhat warm. *tawe'*, hot; *-ka'te*, diminutive; *cta* (presumably *c* + *da*) is not clear, though it occurs in other moderative expressions, for example *hut'bici'taka'tak'*, a little windy.

maxapa'ut', when we lie down.

bare' hira'mberuc he', we are usually sleepy. In another version, *hirambe'-iruc* was recorded. *hira'wi*, to sleep; *hira'wisa.i'tseruct*, he would not sleep; *ba'p' ira'mbi'a'ta*, though he wanted to sleep in the daytime; *k'arahiramma'.u*, they were already asleep; *da'hira'mbet'*, as soon as he would fall asleep. *he'* may indicate a query: Is it not so?

507

dasara'sak' natsi'tseruk', remained glassily staring. *dasara'sə*, reduplicated, perhaps related to *bire' arasa'cia*, glare of the fire.

509

ha'ratsi'tseruk', they kept on saying. *ratsi*, to continue, auxiliary.

511

it'a'hi'tseruk', he woke up at once. *-hi*, momentaneous; *it'a'*, participial form of *itse'*, to wake up. Conjugation: *bitse'*, *di'tse'*, *itse'*; *bit'u'*, and so on. *itse'sa*, he did not wake up; *ak'itse'wase'*, the one who woke up first.

512

k'o'wi.'ut', when they stopped (?). *-t'* hardly seems to have a usitative meaning here.

513

bi'gyem, I in turn. Connected with *bi*, I, and *bi'tsi*, myself.

515

bawa'kase'n. An idiom; *b*, probably *ba-*, generic object. *awa'ka*, first person of *i'kya*, to see; *se* (*sa*), not; *n*, perhaps merely connective before *d* of next word. The meaning of the entire sentence is: Your grandmother—even if I have not seen her—must surely have told you plenty of stories.

di a'xpək', in your company. *a'xpək'*, being with, from *a'xpə*.

tsiwa' da'ku.'ima'tsiky, must have told continually. *da'ku'*, auxiliary; *-i*, third person future; *-ma'tsiky*, future particle, here denoting cogency of inference.

516

bikyuku'wo'k', we'll listen. First person of *ikyuku'*, to hear, listen; *-wo'*, plural of first person future. Compare usitative form in 521.

518

ico'tse'ta, in front of. *-ta*, locative postposition; *ico'tse*, in front of; *baco'tsen*, in front of me.

a'i'mbirec, which went around. That is, those sticks which they had placed in front of the *ara'co* and which went clear around. Compare *a'i'mbiri'tseruk'* in 283 and 460.

i's aracu'sa'k', they faced the *ara'co*. *i's*, face; *aracu* = *ara'co*; *-s*, toward; *-a*, causative third person.

520

basat', in the fall. *base'*, fall; *-t'*, generic classifier.

hut'bici'taka'tat', when there is a little wind. *hutse'*, wind; *-bici*, to be extant, to have; for the rest of the word, see under 505. In another version we find *hutbici'ək'*, having caused a wind.

ari'tsiratsi'ə, a shelter. Perhaps to be analyzed into *ar-*, locative prefix; *i'tsi*, themselves; *ratsi'ə*, gerund of *datsi'*, to stay. Perhaps *i'tsi* should be *i'tsi*, well, *maxape'rit'bot'*, whenever we are about to lie down for a short rest. *-rit*, moderative. Compare, in 526, *maxa'pbot'* because it is night and a full rest is indicated. Compare also *maxapa'.ut'*, when we lie down there. *-bo'*, first person future plural.

batsa'tsioxot', whenever they rub against each other. *bats-* is reciprocal; *a'xaxe*, to rub; *-o'*, plural; *-t'*, usitative; *a'tsi* may be postposition *atsi*, as in *batsa'tsiək'*, being over each other.

bare' hira'wise'ruc he', we usually get sleepy, do we not? *hira'wi*, to sleep; seems to be here contracted with *wici* (*wis-*), to have. *ru*, plural form of usitative. *he*, interrogative particle. In the corresponding part of other versions the stem *iha'wi* replaces *hira'wi*; for example, *bi'awukusat' ba'pit' hut'bici'taka'tək' biha'wut' i'tsiruc*, in the spring, in the daytime, when there is a little breeze, we are wont to sleep well.

521

In another version the equivalent sentence reads: *tsu'se ε ha'k' tsu'se k'an-εhesa'.u'tseruct*, half said yes, half already yes said not. Note that the forms *he'su* and *hesa'.u* are apparently optional; in other words, the negative particle, *sa*, can be pluralized by adding *u* or by the substitution of *u* for *a*. There may, of course, be an implied difference in meaning.

522

See under 505.

523

ba'pit', in the daytime. *ba'p(e)*, day.

xara'cdakata'tət', when it drizzles. *xare'*, rain; *xara'icta'tsiky*, it will probably rain. For form here, compare under 505 and 521.

ace' i'ritse, it strikes against the lodge. *i'ritse*, from *ditsi'*, to strike; compare in 182.

i'xawu'atət', so that it rattles. *i'-*, instrumental to express result; *xawu'a*, to rattle.

bita's ba'zapək', on the side we lying. First person participle of *xapi'*; *bita's* suggests the opposite of *ara'co* (lying on the stomach?).

bat'bu'o, our soles. *it'bu'ə*, his sole(s); *isa'pe' it'bu'ret'k'*, his moccasin is soleless; *di't'bu'ə*, your sole(s).

tawe'wak' baka'ut', we remain warming. *tawe'*, warm, hot; *wa-*, first person pronoun, causative; plural expressed in auxiliary.

525

baxa'pbo't', when we are about to lie down. See under 521.

baratso'ose, bleached wood. *bara'*, wood; *tso'ose*, white, bleached.

bi'kyukawaka'ritək', when we are listening (and looking?). *ikyuku'*, to listen, hear; *awa'ka*, I look, see. I rather incline to interpret the second part as the first person of an auxiliary related to *a'ku'*, combined with *-rit*. Compare in 528.

ammare'hira wara'xta, I don't know how we sleep. *am-*, how; *mare'*, we; *hira*, probably for *hira'wi*, contracted before another *w*.

527

sata'tsit', rather thick. *satse'*, thick; *-atsi*, in moderative sense; *-t'*, generic.

i'waci'ut', when we camp. *ici'*, to camp; hence apparent infixation of first person pronoun.

aci' hiraka'tsiky, the camp is newly made. *hira'*, just now; *hira'k'e'*, now; *tsi = tse*, to make (?). The sentence is not wholly clear.

bare' hu'tsi'ritatak', the wind blows on us. *bare' hu'tsi'ritsiky* would be stronger; the wind lashes us, hence the first *t* in *-ritatak'* probably means "as though."

mare' apa'cedat'. Here also *-cda* has diminutive force: we are rather tired; *apa'ce*, to be tired, conjugated as active verb: *bapa'ce*, *dapa'ce*.

ciri'are'tat, are rustling. I cannot analyze.

bikyukuki'sak', we listen to it and . . . *bikyuku'* and *-ki's(a)*, participle.

bi'kyukawakaritu'a, we keep on listening. Compare 526.

528

he'rit'de'rək', when he said that. *he'*, he said; *-rit'*; *-de'* possibly momentaneous; *-rək'*, when.

k'amma.iri'reta'ndək', now when they remained silent. *iri'ret*, to be silent, from *iri'*, to speak, *ret*, negative; *ta'n = ta're*, truly. The explanation is that the form suggests silence after repeated calling.

530

The sentence means: They are habitual evildoers. *ba'i'ky*, what he sees, idiomatic for "mischief" in this context; *di'ə'kura'k'* probably from *di'ə*, to do, *a'ku*, auxiliary of continued state; *-ra'k' = ?*

532

a'peta, around the neck. *a'pe*, neck; *-ta*, locative.

dapa'xi'tseruk', he chopped off. Also used of a tree. First person: *ba'pa'ixiky*.

533

ara'tskisi'ək', he went along in a line. I cannot analyze this.

a'puata dapə'pəxak', he chopped off their necks, one after another. *a'puā*, plural of *a'pe*; reduplication of *dapa'xi*, in 533, where only one neck is chopped off.

o'rawək', he is coming. *rawək'* is participle of *na'wi*, to proceed, come along; *o'* perhaps represents *hu*, to come, in this combination (cf. *bo'*, I come).

o'ra, he is coming. Compare *hu'ra*.

k'arawa't'ka'tdək', already there was only one of them. *k'ar-*, past sense; *hawa't'*, one; *-ka't(a)*, diminutive.

axpi'tse'tseruk', he had remaining. *axpi'*, to remain; *tse = tse'*, to cause.

534

it'a'hi'tseruk', he woke up. See 512.

535

a'para'xe'tem. Interpreted here as a cry of alarm, not as vituperative: Ghostlike one!

bare' ha'we'ixy, he is destroying us. *ha'wi* is: to be gone, exhausted, lacking; for example, *ictu'kec k'ara-ha'wim*, their meat was gone (used up). Participially we find *hawa'k'*, worn out. *ha'we'* is the causative derived therefrom; for example, *ma'ra-kawi'əc k'ara-ha'we'tseruk'*, the evil things he had destroyed, it is said. The form under discussion here may be contracted from *ha'we'* and *-hi*, momentaneous.

537

dīha'wisa, do not sleep. Imperative. From *iha'wi*, to sleep. Note that with this (as with several other verbs beginning with *i*) the imperative is formed from the second person, not the simple stem.

538

biha'wurək', if I slept. The plural form, as often, for the first person singular. *sa'p' hiri'kyahē'*, what can he do? *hiri'*, to do; *kyahē'*, exclamatory interrogative particle.

539

sa' hec, too bad! Derived from *sa'* (= *ce'*), dead, to faint, die; *sa'hi*, the momentaneous form, = he just died, fainted.

ha'mba bi'awec, I wanted to wipe them out. *ha'wi*, see 535; here with first person causative; *bi'awec* = *biawa*, with change to *e* before *c*. Note use of definite article to denote past by way of contrast.

iriwi'ky, he managed to escape with his life. *iri'*, to live, be alive. Note the forms: *ba'mbi*, I'll live; *i'mbiəc*, he wanted to live; *it'iri'*, is he still living?

-*wi*, explained to suggest that the snake's escape was against expectation, often serves as an emphatic particle; compare 173.

543

i'werit de're'tseruk', she pretended to cry; *i'we*, to cry; *-rit(se)*; *de're*, possibly reduplicated, appears as the verb "to pretend" here. Compare *i'pia-re-ksu'ə*, magpie imitation; *bara'xat-de-c*, plays crazy; *ce'-rerak'*, he pretended to be dead; also 417, 422.

544

ikya'hak', she saw him. *-hak'* seems to have inchoative force here.

546

k'andara'k'usak', you were not returning any more. Typical combination of *k'an-* and *-sa*; compare forms in 541, 547. Note that the verb of a sentence quoting a person's speech or thought takes the oral stop.

i'wi'wec, that is why I said. *i-*, causal prefix; *bi'we*, I cry; *-c*, definite article past.

548

di'we k'arak'owi'ək', stop your crying. The final *-k'* would not normally figure in a simple command; perhaps the idea is: your [cause for] crying is over. Or, the *-k'* is meant to give a participial flavor.

549

Compare sentence with 355 and 445.

551

biritsgye'm, a lake. *bire'* (*biri'*), water; *ha'tsgye*, long. *tsi'rupe*, buffalo bull. Sometimes heard *tsi'rape*.

552

hu'tsi'sa na'ut', those who go in the direction of the wind. *hutse'*, wind; *-tsi'sa*, locative; *na'u*, they go; *-t'*, generic classifier.

na'xutsiky, he sucks in. *baraxu'tsiky*, I suck in; *dara'xutsiky*, you suck in.

553

hut'bise'k', when it is windy. Participle of *hut'bici'*.

daka'pək'. Participle of *daka'pi*, to float, to be blown. Note: *naka'pirək'*, when it blows away; *hutse' hin'e' acu'əc naka'pi'tse'ky*, the wind blew this skull. *u'wu*, the inside of the mouth.

562

da'tside'tseruk', it sucked him. Doubtful translation. In another version *da'xutsi* appears as in 552; in still another, *ra'oxutək'*.

566

ri'ək', he got to. Here apparently equivalent to *hi*; note that the plural of *hi* is *ri'o*.

567

arape', whom he had swallowed. *ar-* in characteristic use; *ape'*, *apa'*, to swallow, to eat up.

568

hira' ak'ce' tsi', those who had lately died were also there. *hira'*, just now; *ak'ce'*, those who died; *tsi'*, also, again.

it'awace'saka-tu'rək', there were some still not quite dead. *it'*, still; (*h*)*awa*, some; *ce*, dead; *-sa*, not; *-ka-tu*, plural of diminutive, to express pity.

k'arak'awi'ta-rək' ka.'u'tseruk', they were in bad condition. *-ta're*, truly.

569

hira'rape', those recently swallowed. Contracted from *hira'*, just now, *arape'*, whom he swallowed.

ari'at'detta'ru'tseruk', they were truly in good condition. *ar-*; stem not clear, indicates having something the matter; *-det*, negative; *-ta'ru*, plural of *-ta're*.

573

k'o't'du, do you act thus? *k'o't'*, thus; *-du*, second person plural of *k'o'tba*, thus I do.

574

andi'mbiaru tsi'rarama, you must look for safety. Compare 298: *andi'mbia tsi'ri*, look for safety; *-ru*, second person plural; *tsi'rarama*, probably for plural imperative of *tsi'ri* (*tsi're*), to look, with imperative *-ma* (*-wa*) added. See also below, 575, 583. *andi'mbiaru* can be construed as: how you want to (or will) be alive; *an-*; *di'ri*, you live; *biaru*, second person plural of *bi'a*, to want.

575

andi'mbiararidu'reta, without trying to get safety. *-reta*, negative; the rest of the word = *andi'mbiara*, singular of form in 574, with *-ritdu* as plural of *-ritde*.

daraka.'u, you (pl.) remain. In another version *daka.'u* appears as below in 581; this is simply second person of the plural auxiliary *ka.'u*, corresponding to first person *maka.'u*. But some of the auxiliaries seem to have redundant forms.

576

watse'o, men. Plural of *batse'*.

577

k'aratso'su, bleached. Plural of *tso'sa*.

578

do'ctsisak'[k'o're', those who were there on the hither side (i.e., who came later). *do'c* is used both with spatial and temporal significance.

k'ara.i'kyuruxi'pisu 'tseruk', they were no longer able to move (lit., to wrinkle or pinch themselves). For *k'ara . . . su*, correlatively used, compare 546. *i'kyu* = reflexive *i'tsi*, brought into harmony with the following vowel; *xi'pi*, to wrinkle.

579

axu'o, their bodies. Plural of *axu'a*, body.

k'arasa'k', already dead. Refers to the bodies. The form is participial and singular, but was corrected from the plural *su'ak'*.

580

ari'at'de:tu''tseruk', they were in good condition. Same as form in 569 except for omitted *-ta're*, emphatic.

581

hire'ruk'. Probably: you here!

sa:p' di'ara:ritum, what are you doing that . . . *-ritu*, plural of *ritse*; *-m*, has connection with what follows.

582

bare'tsiri:'nde:tem, we cannot help ourselves. *i'tsiri:'ndetem*, he is helpless. *ambi'kyucdu:'retem*, we are unable to get out, so . . . *am-* . . . *-det*, typical correlation; *ikyuctsi'*, he gets out. *bikyuctsi' wia'wuk'*, we want to get out.

maka.'uct, we have been staying. *-ct* is sometimes translated with sense of perfect or even pluperfect.

583

di watse'ohirək', considering you are men. For *-hirək'*, compare *ahu'hirək'* in 128.

andi'mbiarabisa'tsisa, couldn't you have made an effort to save yourselves? For *andi'mbiara*, see 574; *-bis* for *-bici*, to have, to be in existence; *a'tsi*, common verbal suffix; *-sa*, not. The negative query expresses what they ought to have done; compare 75.

586

acki'ci, a Sun dance. *ac(e')*, lodge; *-ki'ci*, imitation (?).

be'kciwo'k', let us have. Hortatory future with pluralization only of future first person pronoun; *e'*, to have; *-kci* = *ki'ci*, probably to suggest the quasi nature of the dance.

587

disa'ara, dance ye! *dici'*, to dance; *-ra*, imperative plural; compare plural of indicative in 593.

588

bi'ruk' bi'gyen bu'retak', we cannot do it for ourselves. Idiom; compare with 584. The singular would be *be'ret'ək'*; *bi'ruk'*, emphatic and often exclusive plural.

590

na'cuka:te, your little heads. *a'cu'o*, head; diminutive probably to express sympathy.

dici'gye, make them dance. *-gye*, causative suffix; note form in 594.

591

ku' t'a'tskyar:ta't, even though those alone. *ku'*, demonstrative; *-da't*, disjunctive.

596

tse'kyata're, do it truly. *tse*-, to make; *-kyat*, diminutive; *-ta're*, emphatic.

597

Note these cases of suffixed causative first person plural pronoun.

598

dasara'sak', smooth. Reduplication. I suspect connection with *ta'ci*, slippery, greasy.

du'ci'tsire'tseruk', he touched it. Possibly *-re* has inchoative force; compare form in 599.

599

basbi'ractaci, my whetstone (lit., my slippery stone). *ractac*, reduplicated, is evidently related to *dasara'sak'* in 598. In another version the answer is: *wacbi'rəc ta'ciky*.

600

da'sara'tsgye, the aorta (identified by reference to a dictionary illustration). *da's*, heart; *ar-*, where; *ha'tsgye*, long.

602

basi'ptsupək', my pipestem. *i'ptse*, pipe; *u'pe* = end (or *hup*, perforated?).

605

i'wawi'kyutsgye, what I plan with. *i-*, instrument; *wa-*, indefinite object; *i'kyutsgye*, to plan, design; for example, *ac i'kyutsk'ək'*, having designed the tipi. The stem seems to be *i'tsgye*, for we find *ak'-as-i'tsgye*, the tipi designers; *ku*, *kyu*, may indicate one's own. *ak'-du'x-ikyutsgye*, war captain = the one who plans the war party (*du'xiə*).

607

i'tsirace'n, because he is so good. *-race'n*, causative suffix.

i'kyarəmak', look at it. Imperative. *-rə*, plural imperative; *-ma*, imperative participle (?; compare 574); *-k'* = ?

608

pa'ckyahitseruk', he cut it to pieces. *pa'ckyə*, to cut; *-hi*, moment.

610

cewi'ak', he was going to die. *wi'a*, commonly for third person future.

tata'hək', staggering. Reduplication of unknown stem unless reduplication of *da* = *de*.

611

du's amme'əxe, between his ribs. *du'us(e)*, rib(s); *baru'use*, my rib(s); *am* = *ara*, where; *mə'əxe*, postposition, between. The repetition of the word at the end of the sentence seems redundant.

asa'sa'tsi'tseruk', he split, it is said. A fine sample of reduplication. In another version I get: *du'us əmmə'əxec asa'tək'* (first person: *ba'sa't'ək'*).

613

ara'rək'u co'oka'ra, your home, wherever it be. Compare in 75, 86: *anna'-ko (andaku') co'okarək'*, wherever his home be. Another version has: *da'suo co'rurək'*, where the plural of a pluralized form, *asu'*, with singular meaning is of interest.

618

hec. This connective is said to express here a contrast with what precedes. He was coming home.

he're'rək', while she was thinking.

619

iwa'hat'de're'tseruk', she fell to crying. *de're*, possibly "she pretended"; compare under 381, and others.

621

k'arak'uka'tsem, the dear boy is back. *-ka'ta*, diminutive of endearment in verb, here merged with *tse-m*, meaning obscure.

623

hu'ac, what has been said (the aforementioned). *hu(ə)*, plural of *he'*, he said; *-c*, definite article.

tsitse'gya'hak', he remembers. Note that here *gya'*, causative suffix, seems to replace *tse'*, the causative verb. Compare 118.

624

k'arahira'wice i'k'arak'awi'ta'nnək', when he was exceedingly sleepy. *hira'wi*, he sleeps, merged with *-wice*; in such combinations this suffix expresses a disposition toward a certain state or behavior. Compare *bi'we-wiciky*, I feel like crying; *ba'ra'wiam hira'k'e' di'awa-wiciky*, three things now I should like to do; *bicgyisa't' bawara'x-biciky*, I feel like singing a Big Dog song. *i'-*, instrumental with final meaning; *k'awi'*, bad; *ta'nnək'* = *ta're* plus *-nək'*. The entire clause = when he already felt sleepy so that it was truly intense.

ise'c co'pət', his four arrows. *-t*, because there were only four altogether. If a selection from a larger number were possible, it would be *co'pəm*.

tsi'wara'tsec, his marked ones. *mara'tse*, to mark, paint, draw, write; *ba'waratse*, letters; *tsi-* indicates that he had marked his own arrows. Compare *ictse' tsipackyu'k*, he cut his own finger; *isa'cgyeka'ce kuruci'ky*, he ate his own dog; *da'se kuruci'tsiky*, he touched his own heart; and, in 639, *a'peta kurux'e'm-bi'tseruk'*.

pa'tsikyuk', he stuck them up. *pa'tsi*, to plant a stick; *-kyu*, plural, possibly of causative *tse*.

627

i'ritde'tseruk', it struck. Compare form in 632.

628

co'surək'e', what is he coming for? *co'*, interrogative; *-s*, directive; *(h)u*, to come; *-rək'e'*, interrogative particle.

630

da'hirambe't', as soon as he would fall asleep. *-t'*, usitative; *da-* is several times translated "as soon as"; *hirambe'* is evidently a fusion of *hira'wi*, to sleep, with some other element. Compare *k'ara-hiramma'u*, they were already asleep.

i'rit'det', it would strike him. *-t'*, usitative.

it'a da'ku'i'tseruk', he would wake up. *it'a*, participle of *itse'*. Note that the auxiliary takes usitative *-i*, not *-t'*, here.

632

i'rit'de'rit'de'rək', when they struck him again and again. Reduplication. Compare *i'rit'de* in 627. *i-* denotes action by itself; *dit'*, to strike; *-de'*, probably inceptive.

k'ammareta'tseruk', already there was no response. *mare't(a)*, not, is used elliptically to denote negative of any number of expectable or desirable events, hence must be differently rendered according to context.

634

hi'isa', hard (i.e., sharply). Possibly related to *hi'c*, fast.

636

birende'tseruk', it had entered. *bire'ri*, to enter; *-de*, inceptive. Compare form in 639.

637

k'an nacipi'tseruk', it had already passed. *nacipi'*, to go past.

638

kuruxe'mbi'tseruk', he broke himself. Quotative. *duxe'mbi*, to break with the hands; *ku-*, for *tsi-*, reflexive, the substitution presumably due to the vowel of the instrumental prefix.

639

tsiwu's an'o'pe, brain cavity. *tsiwu'se*, brain; *an-*, locative prefix; *(h)opi*, *(h)upi*, to be pierced.

640

he't'. Obscure, the usual sense being: but. However, it should be combined with the preceding word: *hawac da'watak'et'*, as he was customarily roaming about.

641

i'əse'tseruk', he would watch over him. Compare 502 and 271 for imperative and agentive forms.

642

awe'ta, on the ground. *awe'*, ground; *-ta*, locative.

ba'tsi'tseruk', he was lying. *ba'tsi*, to lie, was said to imply lying without one's volition.

643

ci'cəhe, distinct parts. Reduplicated from *ci'ə*, distinct, separate, in 644. Note that the vowel in this word is open in contrast to that of *ci'ə*, a long time, late.

na'wirək', were three. *na'wi*, three.

644

ici'se, his rump. *baci'se*, my rump; *dici'se*, your rump. This stem does not seem to be used independently of possessives.

ma'tək', was lying. Participle of *ba'tsi*, in 642.

645

Inversion of predicate, subject, and object here, where meaning is quite clear.

647

ikya'n da'ku'tseruk', he would take a look at him. Compare forms in 640 and 653.

648

tsire'sa'tseruk', he did not get up. *tsire'*, *tsira'*, to rise.

649

A good example of the use of definite article for relative clause: this snake which had entered this brain cavity.

650

o'rək' na'tsi'tseruk', he was waiting. *o'rək'*, participle of *o'ri*, to wait for. Compare *di'awo'riky*, I am expecting you; *mi'o'rewa*, wait for me.

651

i'kyucduare'ək', whenever he should get out. *i'kyuctsi'*, to get out; *ikyuc'tu* would be the plural form; the remainder is not clear except for *-ək'*, temporal.

du'ctsit' bi'ət' na'tsi'tseruk', he continued wanting to seize him. *bi'ət'*, from *bi'ə*, to want, to be about to, with *-t'*, usitative; *du'ctsi* occurs in 682.

652

da', as soon as (?) (whenever [?]). Compare 630.

653

i'piaka'tece, magpie. *-ce*, vocative suffix; compare *bi'ace*, woman, in 60; *-ka'te*, diminutive suffix. The stem, *i'pia*, occurs in *i'pia-re-ksu-ə*, magpie-imitating-sportively (a boys' meat-stealing prank).

654

arak'o't'e', the truth of the matter (lit., how that is). *ara-*, how; *k'o't'e'*, from *k'o'*, demonstrative. *arak'o't'e'* is also used for a person's character: *bi'arak'o't'e'*, my character, nature.

sa'p' i'kyo't'dək', why he is that way (lit., what on account of he thus is). *e'kya*, find out. Related to *e'tse*, to know. Note again the ready substitution of the causative suffix for the causative verb, and vice versa.

658

he'rit'ək' he're'rək', when he pondered and scrutinized it. *-rək'*, temporal. The two expressions are often used and not easily explained, though *-rit'ək'* is obviously the participle of a verb ending in *-ritsi*, and *-re* is identical with a common suffix.

662

marara'sa'tsiə, have you any information? From *ma-*, indefinite object; *dara's(e)*, your heart. *da's*, heart, enters into many combinations expressing thought or feeling. Compare *barase' kyawi'ky*, I am angry (or: sorry); *marara'sa'ta.uwici*, have you suspected anything? *barə da's k'o't'ək'*, we believe. Also in 666.

664

sa'patsi, what is it? Probably *sa'p* with *-a'tsi*.

665

i'exasam, a snake. *-m* instead of *-rək'* in 658, presumably because for the magpie speaking the snake was now a known object.

666

daci'kya'tsi'tseruk', he pondered it. *daci* related to *da's*, heart, and *tsiraci'tse*, to test, in 477, 481.

667

hut'bici'gyak', he made it windy. *hutse'*, wind; *-bici*; *-gya*, causative. *batsa'tskya'ce'tseruk'*, he made it exceedingly strong. *-ε'* seems to carry the causative idea here. Compare 671.

668

ma'ra, year. *ba're* really means winter. *hawat'a't'dək'*, about one. *hawa't'e*, with approximative *-a't'* and indefinite *-dək'*.

669

daka'pək', floating. Compare 563.
a'cu'pərək', a gully. *a'c*, creek; *u'pe'*, the end.
pa'tatsia, rolling. Compare *ismi'n'atsec pa'tatsi'gyak' de'tserək'*, when he sent his shield rolling; *ba'pa'tatsia*, wagon.
da'pi'tseruk', it went into it. *da'pi'*, to go into (also heard *daxpi'*): *min'a'tse' maraxpi' ware'wiky*, I'll enter the fortifications.

671

xara'gyak', he caused it to rain. *-gya*, causative; *xare'*, *xara'*, rain.

672

bira'k', was [flooded with] water. The second vowel seems incorrect to me, since "water" is *bire'* and changes the final vowel to *i*. For example: *xare' ma'a'ko pitekisa' k'ota' k'ambiri'ky*, it rained for 100 days, all over was water.

i'rutsitsi'tseruk', with it he filled. *i-*, instrumental; *du'tsikye* or *du'tsitsi*, to fill; compare note under 654, also form in 675.

673

xare'c, the rain. Follows predicate, probably because added as an after-thought.

674

are'kyace'tseruk', he made it extremely hot. Compare under 667.

675

buru'a'tseruk', it was boiling. The stem, so far as I know, means "to boil" only in neuter sense; otherwise *ditsi'tse* is used.

676

tawe'i, it was hot, hence . . . *tawe'*, hot; *i*, probably instrument to be taken as prefix to rest of sentence.

ba'iri'ce'tseruk', was uncomfortable, suffering. *ba-*, indefinite object; *iri'ce*, to suffer; *ba'wiri'ce'ky*, I suffer; *ba'wiri'sum*, we suffer. Doubtless related to *ari'ce*, to be hungry.

677

o'sak', he was being cooked. Participle of *oc(e)* in 488, 490.

678

amba'watsa't'da't', though he was powerful. *-da't'*, disjunctive; *watsa't'* = *batsa'tsi*, powerful; *ba-*, nominal prefix; the exact force of *am-* here eludes me. Another interpreter in another version translated the same expression: he is not so powerful.

k'araci'aritsict, it is a long time now. *k'ara-*; *ci'ə*, long; *-ritsi*; *-ct*.

kuckyo', a long time. I do not know whether this is merely a synonym of *ci'ə* or adds a shade of meaning. Compare 680.

680

k'arace'ct, he has been dead. *-ct* for *-k'*, as in 679, and in *-tseruct*.

683

ducku'ə'tseruk', he pulled him out. *ku'ə* looks like a plural form of *tsi*; compare *du'ctsitsi* in 682, also *i'kyucku'ə* in 682.

685

di·di', you. Repetition of independent pronoun for emphasis is common; see under next word.

watsa'tsindək', we'll see whether *you* are powerful. Though the meaning is

clear the analysis is not wholly so: Is *n* purely a phonetic connective? Why not simply *watsa-'t-dək'*, then? I suggest that *n* may represent the second person future, *-ri'*; *watsa-'tsi-ri-dək'* would then naturally pass into the given form.

686

di-wikya-'t ba.ic, I have held you as an elder brother. Compare for *wasa'-kaka-'t ba.ic* in 89; *wikya-'t* probably *wikya-'* plus the diminutive suffix.

689

xaxa-'ctarək', a jagged one. I do not know the stem, hence am not sure whether there has been fusion of *-ta-re* with the indefinite article.

690

bi wa.iri'cera.um, you have made me suffer. Plural form; for stem, see under 676; *-m* as oral comma, suggesting causal nexus here.

di warisa-'tsk', I hate you, am furious at you. Elision of final *i* before oral stop probably due to rapid speech. Compare *mi-da-'risa'tse*, do you hate me? *mi-risa-'tsiky*, he hates me.

692

apu'a, their noses. Plural of *ape'*, which the narrator had first dictated. *ha'tsgitu-'tseruk'*, were long. Plural of *ha'tsgite*, from *ha'tsgye*, long.

693

i-a'xaxe-'tseruk', with it [the neck] he rubbed it, filed it. In another version the idea is expressed thus: *ba-'parək' a.i'ək' i'se axaxe-'tseruk'*, to a rock he took him, his face he rubbed.

694

k'arak'o'mba-wiky, I'll stop. *k'ara-*, inceptive; *k'o'mba*, first person of *k'o-wi'ə*, causative of *k'o-wi*, to be finished; *-wi*, first person future.

k'ambiru-'usa, set me down now. Note repetition of *k'am-* in this sentence; *ru-'usa* from *du-'uci*, to lay, put.

k'am bi'cte arara-'riky, you will (i.e., are likely to) reach my eyes with it. *k'am-* goes with entire phrase; *a-*, with; *rara-'riky*, second person future of irregular verb, *hi*, to arrive, reach.

695

axaxi'a da'ku-'tseruk', he continued rubbing. Participle of *axaxe'*, with auxiliary.

696

ba.u'c, anyone's anus. *ba-*, indefinite nominal prefix.

bi'mawisa-wiky, I'll not enter. Almost certainly an error for *bi'marisa-wiky* (found in another version), which is readily analyzed: *bi'mari*, I enter, first person of *bire-'ri*; *-sa*, negative; *-wi*, first person future.

697

k'am ba.i'ky di'əsa da'ku', henceforth continue keeping out of mischief. *ba.i'ky* is often used idiomatically in this sense; compare under 297.

698

k'ambire'nda'k', it entered. Perhaps for *k'ambire'ndək'*, when he entered.

hawa'tatsirə't', however, occasionally. *-rə't'*, disjunctive; *hawa'tatsi*, from *hawa'te*, one, and *-a'tsi*; *hawa'tatatsi*, several.

ba'warapxe'ritbo'm, I shall bite some once in a while. First person future, plural for singular. For meaning of *-rit*, compare *ba'xape'ritbo't'*, when we wish to lie down for a short rest.

ba'wi'p'bicdək', if there is a reason. *ba'-*; *-bic*, *-dək'*; *bi'p*, cause, reason. Compare *basbi'p' co'rək' bi' rap'e'o*, where is the reason for my being killed? *ba'wi'pka'cbicdək' hira' ambe'wic biawak'*, if there is some strong reason, then I want to settle him.

699

e'kyā'. Here exclamation of annoyance.

701

ha''nne'rək'. Evidently identical with the form in 282 and comparable to such expressions as those noted under 658.

702

k'ari'wa'n'e'tseruk', she began to cry. *i'we*, to cry, plus (?).

704

dara'k'usam, you did not return. *-m* again to show some causal nexus.

i'wi'wa waka'ct', that is why I have been crying. *i'-*, instrumental; *wi'wa*, participle of *wi'we*; *waka'*, probably first person of *a'ku'* or *da'ku'*, auxiliary; *-ct* for *-k'*, perhaps to mark complete past. Compare the form in 546.

708

Compare form of statement with 355. The future form of *ma'wiky* is not clear.

712

batse' i'rapu'a, The Two Men. Proper name for this pair. *i'rapu'a*, related to *nu'pe*, two, *iru'pe*, the second; compare form in 719.

715

bi'ək', I having reached. Participle of plural form *bi'u*, we reach.

co'tu'rək', what they are like. Plural of *co'te*; *-rək'*, indefinite.

sa'p'atu'rək', whatever they are. Plural of *sa'p'a'tsi*, from *sa'p'* and *-a'tsi*.

e'wa'tse'wuk', I'll know (find out). Again plural for singular.

718

a'kapde'rək', when he got to the top. Stem probably *a'kap*.

ba'hawa'xək' a''ku'tseruk', they were butchering. *ba'-*, indefinite object; participle of *hawa'xi*, to butcher. *a''ku'* = plural of *da'ku'*, auxiliary.

719

t'ak'ət'. Favorite expletive of Yellow-brow's.
iru'pka:su'rək', there were two of them. Compare under 712.

720

bara'xactatsi'tseruk', a wild sort of fellow. From *bara'x(e)*, mad, foolish; compare *ara'xdə*, not to know; *-ctatsi*, probably to be resolved into *c* and *ta'tsi*, seems to indicate likelihood: likely to be foolish.

hawa't'e . . . hawa't'ec, the one . . . the other. Often used correlatively in this way.

itsi''tseruk', was good. Here evidently in the sense of sensible, respectable.

721

watse'kya't', dear man. Diminutive of endearment.

i't'a a'wa'ku'əc, we have been faring well (i.e., living in peace). Compare 874. *i't'a*, same stem as *i'tsi*, good (pl., *i't'u*); *a'wa'ku'ə*, first person plural of *a''ku*, third person plural auxiliary in 718.

om hu'k', that's he over there coming. *o'*, sometimes used as demonstrative.

722

i'tsiwa'wo'k', we'll treat him well. First future plural. *-wa'*, first person pronoun suffixed for causative.

723

bare' hi'sa.i.əc, who has been wont not to get to us. Compare forms in 469 and 496.

hi'ki'ciky, he has reached us. *-kici*, difficult to interpret as denoting sportiveness here.

724

awa't' baru'cki'ci, sit and feast. *awa't'*, participle of *awa'tsi*, to sit.
mata'ruta'ta't', entrails. The stem is *mata'* (cf. 726), while *-ruta'ta't'* (also: *rutatse*) seems to suggest that the entrails are broken up ready for distribution.

725

ico'tse, in front of him. *baco'tse*, in front of me.

727

na'k'e, embryo calf. Same as word for "child."

ara'ku, take to her. *ara'*, go with it; *ku*, give it to her.

sapi'kya'təm, it is tender. Related to *sa'pi*, chopped (with reference to meat).

du'cki'ci.i, she will eat it. *-i*, third person future.

729

k'ari'tsibisu'tseruk', it was already bearded, mustachioed. *i'tsi(ə)*, beard; *bi'tsiə*, my beard; *-bisu*, plural of *-bici*.

730

k'ar i'wici'tseruk', it was already hairy. *i'(\emptyset)*; body hair, *-wici*.

731

k'us o'rək', when he brought it toward him. *o'*, to bring; *-rək'*.
tsiri'tseruk', he was afraid of it. *tsiri'*, regular verb, to fear; plural, *tsira.'u*.

732

bara'tsi'ritsec, the respectable one. *bara'tsia*, clever, wise, cunning; *-ritse*, approximative.

733

sa:p' i'tsiri'n, how is it possible for him to be afraid of it (lit., because of what can he fear)? *-n* expresses impossibility, extreme doubt, denial of propriety. Compare *bar'et bar'rap'e'n*, trees ought not to kill (lit., trees kill something is inconceivable).

734

ara'mnək', he went on with it. *a-*, with; *ra'mnək'*, from *na'wi*, to proceed.

736

ba'ndək', a tree. Compare 20.

hire'ndək', was there. *hire'n*, demonstrative adverb; *-dək'* probably to be taken as indefinite article: he climbed a tree that was there.

u'tseruk', he climbed. *u'(\emptyset)*, to climb, step on; first person, *awu'a*. Compare *hin'e' wice're awu'awiky*, I shall climb up these buffalo chips.

u'pa's, up. Often in sense of upstream. From *u'pe'*, end, tip, and *-s*, to.

737

bare' ara'kacu'a, limbs. Stem not clear, but *bare'-*, indefinite prefix (or "wood," "tree" ?), and *ar-*, locative, *-u'a*, gerund ending.

a'tsipe'tseruk', he hung it over. Compare plural form in 519.

738

ba'k'tsisa, above it. From *ba'ku*, above, and *-tsisa*, general locative suffix. Compare *do'stsi'sa*, on the hither side; *aktsi'sa*, on the other side; also 744.

739

bita'xio waka'ra, remove this for me. *bita'xiə*, to remove; since the imperative plural is expressed by *-ra*, I do not understand the plural form of this verb. *waka'ra* = *waku'* plus *-ra*.

740

k'o't'ba'wumartsiky, we'll do thus. Plural of *k'o't'ba'wi*; *-martsiky*.

bu'orək', when we come. This temporal expression would normally precede the main verb.

743

k'arahawawa'tatsi, already one year had passed. *k'ara-*, completed past; *haw*, some, one; *awe'*, earth, ground; *-atsi*, approximative. The reference is to the complete cycle of the earth during a year.

744

co'tse't'ba, what did he do (i.e., do you remember)? *co'*, interrogative; *tse'*, to do; *-t'*; *ba*, of uncertain meaning, perhaps to be construed as indefinite prefix to whole following clause.

tsira'k', was afraid of. Participle of *tsiri'* (cf. 731).

awa'tsisa, below him. Compare under 738.

a'tsipewa'wo'm, we hung it. *-wa'*, first person causative; *-wo'*, first person future plural, perhaps best construed as a hortatory in an implied quotation: "Let us hang it below him" [we said, did so, and] there he stayed.

na't'dec, he stayed. Participle of *na'tsi* in 742; *-c*, past (?).

745

co'tseri't'dak', how did he manage? *co'tse* as in 744, with *-rit'* and indefinite *-dak'* = *dak'*.

746

awa'kurək'he, let us look (lit., shall we not look?). *-rək'he* = *rək'e'*.

747

k'arak'o'ri'n, he cannot be there any more; *k'o'ri'*, third person future of *k'o'rə'*, to be there; for *-n*, see under 733.

matsa't'dək' da'tsim, powerful as he is (lit., a powerful one he remains).

na'wikyawe'wa, let us go anyway. *na'wi*, to proceed; *-kyawe*, imperative suffix; *-wa*, possibly to strengthen the request, see below 752.

k'uk' k'o't'da't, even so. *k'uk'*, demonstrative; *k'o't'*, thus; *-da't*, disjunctive: even though it be so.

750

k'aratso'sa'tseruk', was already bleached. Favorite expression to indicate age and decay; compare 567.

751

araxaru'rək', a recess, niche. *ara-*, locative; *xaru* = (?).

hin'e' ware'c, this tree. The position of this noun is irregular.

a'tsipak' natsi'tseruk', I was hanging. Participle of neuter verb with auxiliary.

752

mita'xia baka'rawa, remove it for me. *-ra*, imperative; *-wa*, explained by interpreter to denote more pleading attitude.

753

bara'xasec, the one not foolish. *-se* for *-sa*, negative, before *-c*.

ba'pcewa'wo'k', let us say something. *ba'p'-*, perhaps on analogy of *sa'p*, sometimes occurs in sense of indefinite *ba'-*.

ba'k'a'mbo'k', let us ask for something. First person plural future of *k'a'ri'*, to demand, ask for. Compare *marata'tsec k'ari'ky*, he asked for the straight stick; *sa'p ba'k'a'mbi*, what shall I ask for? *k'aru'k'*, they demand, though one might expect *k'ara'.uk'* on analogy of other verbs ending in *i*.

754

di'e·ma'tsiky, he will do it. Note future: *di'ə* + future *i* yields *di'e* here.

755

i'tsicky xawi'ky, he loves strongly. *i'tsici*, to love, evidently from *i'tsi*, good. *bare' i'tsicky*, he loves us; *di' awa'tsicky*, I love you; *dara·k'e ara'tsicc*, you have loved your child; *di awa'tsisu·k'*, we love you. This sentence is to be taken as an objection by the other speaker.

756

k'o't'da·riky, you may do it (i.e., safely). Second person future.

757

bare'rək'dək', if you give us. *-dək'*, conditional; *rək'* = *da'k(u-)*; a typical Crow case of the obscuring of stems in combination. Compare 793.

buruxpə'k' bita'xiwa·wim, I'll take it off and remove it. *buruxpə'k'*, first person participle of *duxpi'*, where *du-* is instrumental prefix, *xpi* = *xapi'*. In the main verb *-m* may be an abbreviated form of *-ma'tsiky*.

759

di'esa.e, she will not do it. Compare under 754.

762

i'ku'pə'k', he came down and. Participle of *ikyu'pi'*, regularly used for dismounting from a horse.

763

bapasa·hi, I am nearly exhausted. *bapa'ce'ky*, I am tired, with *-hi*. Compare *dapa'ce*, are you tired?; also form in 528.

764

ba·k', I having arrived. The form might serve for the past, but the context indicates a participle.

765

tsi'pa'cirək', at dusk. *-rək'*, indefinite; unanalyzed. Compare with diminutive ending in 794.

du'ara, come ye! Note that plural imperative *-ra* is used with plural form of verb, not with singular *hu*.

769

hin'e' it'k'u'sec, before his return. *hin'e'*, demonstrative, often ushers in such temporal statements; *it'*, yet; *-se* = *-sa*, negative.

k'arak'u'sam, that he is not returning. *-m* to mark the subject clause.

i'tsiwiky, it is a very good thing. *-wi*, emphatic.

771

ha'nde'rək', when she said it to herself. So translated in this context; compare *passim*.

775

k'andara'k'usata'rim, you were not coming back at all. *-tari*, intensive; *-m*, oral comma.

776

barasə'rak', my heart. *barase'* is the expectable form; *-rak'* can hardly be indefinite here.

778

ici'ara rak'u'sa, so you did not return for a long time. *i-*, instrumental, goes with whole phrase; *ci'a*, a long time; *-ra*, perhaps causative pronoun, that is: you caused it to be long.

779

ma·u'om, they had killed game. *ma-*, indefinite object; *u'*, to kill game. Compare *u'sawatsi'ə*, Without having killed, they pack game (clan name); note *-o*, plural suffix, instead of *-u*, because stem ends in *u*.

781

k'u'wa·m. Expression denoting: unexpectedly; to my amazement.

bawa'tsiri'reta'ri, I was afraid of nothing. *ba-*, indefinite object; *wa'tsiri'*, first person of *tsiri'*; *-ret*, negative; *-ta'ri*, intensive.

ba·wa'tsiri'wiciky, there is something I fear. Good example of use of *-wici*.

783

ba'tsiri'wisak', there is something I fear. Participial form of that in 781.

786

ma·ta'wut'a'tək', entrails. Almost certainly the *w* should be an *r*. Compare 724.

787

i'waxk'o, thus. Fairly frequent form of demonstrative.

ci'uk', they spoke. Plural of *ce*.

790

ba'ritsiky, I remained. Probably to be taken as first person irregular of *da'tsi*, to remain.

792

bak', I said. Sense determined by context.

793

bita'xiawa·wi'ruk', we shall remove it. *-wiruk'*, plural. The question is, Why does it take the place of *-wa·wo·k'*? Presumably to set off the speakers from the person addressed; in other words, as an exclusive form.

794

bita'xiruk', they removed it. *-ru*, plural of *-re*, probably with inceptive sense.

ba·ra', I going. Participle first person of *de'*, to go.

sasi'a, in the meantime. Probably connected with *sas*, soon.

797

co'ot'da`rək'ε', what will you do, I wonder? For *-rək'ε'*, compare 746.

798

di awa'tsesak' ba'ritsim, I've always loved you, so . . . For auxiliary, compare 790; for main verb, under 755.

diri'a di'awasawi`ndək', how could I refuse your request? *diri'a*, your words, from *iri'*, to speak; *di'asa*, to refuse, from *di'ə*, to do, and *-sa*, negative; *-wi*, first person future; *-n*, probably as in 733; *-dək'*, indefinite, here interrogative.

800

Again expression to mark lapse of time.

802

hin'e' K'a'ricba`pi`tua hu'əc pi'ckyo', after Grandson's coming. Compare under 769. Note that *hin'e'* by itself does not define the priority or succession of events. *pi'ckyo'*, from *pi'ce*, behind, and *kyo'*.

Isa'kawuate, Old Man Coyote. *isa'ka*, old man (*isa'*, old, big); *bu'ate*, coyote.

co'ka hu'rit'de`rək', wherever he may have come from. *-rit'*, not easily defined in this context; *-de'*, possibly inceptive or progressive.

803

hire'ruk', you (pl.) here. *hire'*, demonstrative.

805

bare' a'tsipe'u, we hung it. The form is puzzling, for *bare'* is generally followed by a singular form of the verb, and a suffixed causative pronoun would be expected. Perhaps we should read: *bare' a'tsipe'wu*, over a tree we hung it; compare 790.

ari'kyu'bi`ret'k', he could not descend. Compare 762.

806

k'o' k'us, to him. *k'o'*, demonstrative; *k'us*, to him.

be'wawo'k', we want (are about) to go. *ba'u*, we go, but *be'su*, we do not go. Compare 807.

807

ba'k'aru'm, we demanded and. Compare under 753.

birikyu'wi'um, they are going to give to us. *biri-*; first person plural object in some cases; *kyu* = *k'u*, to give; *wi'u*, plural of *wi'ə*, to want, to be about to.

808

watsu'k'ta`rum, you are my true younger brothers, so . . . *watsu'k'(e)*, my younger brother; Old Man Coyote usually so addresses other beings. Compare the Teton Trickster, Deloria (*op. cit.*, p. 6).

di awa'kabara'kbo'ma'tsiky, I'll help you. Probably: *awa'ka*, I see, look out; *bara'k*, I for you; *-bo'*, first person future plural; *-ma'tsiky*, future suffix emphatic; plural to pluralize object.

810

di''tsikya`ritsi, look out for yourself. *di''tsi*, yourself; *i'kya*, look out; *-ritsi*.

811

k'arak'o'wit', the time has come. Possibly for *k'arak'o'wiky*, it is ready, finished.

812

ba'pce'wa'rək' di'orək', if they do what I say (lit., if I say something and if they do it).

di'awa'wok', I'll consent. *di'a*, to do, often in this sense; again plural for singular.

di'əsu'rək' k'uk' bare't'k', if they refuse, then not. *di'əsa*, not to do, refuse; the antithetical form of the old woman's speech is typical of Crow. Compare 815.

814

k'am ma'a'u, they have been owning something. *a'u*, plural of *e'*, to own.

u'x acdi'cirim, a deer hide from a tipi cover. *u'x(e)*, *u'uxe*, deer; *acdi'cire* (also *acde'cire*), hide from tipi cover after one year's use; *ac(e')*, tipi.

k'am ma'a'u k'o'k', it is the most valuable thing they own (lit., that is what they own [positive for superlative]).

815

da'k'urək', if they give it to you. The forms with *k'u*, to give, are confusingly irregular; here *da* is used as second person pronoun *object*. Compare 757, 807, 829; also *ba'k'biky*, I'll give him; *da'k'u*, you give him.

817

dira', all right (lit., *di(ə)ra'*, do it, go).

amba'ri:kya'm ba'tsec, what I made you demand. *am-*, that which; *ba-*, indefinite object, *ri*, you; *kya'm* = *k'a'ri*; compare 753; *ba'*, first person pronoun; *tse*, to make; *-c*.

823

i'raxk'o'ce'ky, thus she spoke. Compare form in 787.

824

xatsisa'u ka'u'tseruk', motionless they remained. *xatsi'*, to move; *-sa*, negative; *-u*, plural. I have discovered no rule for the difference between plural negative *-sa.u* and *-su*.

825

bat'u'rək', if we give it away. *bat'u'*, first person plural of *batse'*, I give away; second person singular, *da'tse'*; third person, *k'e'*; third plural, *k'u*. Compare 828.

826

da'sua xawa'ha-tək', they were sad for a while. *da'sua*, plural of *da's(e)*, heart; *xawi'*, to be bad; *-(h)a-tək'* suggests *temporary* grief.

827

k'o're-rək', it was he. Why not simply *k'o'rək'*, as usual?
e'kyo-te, of that kind. *-t(e)*, generic classifier.
ham be'ky, I have some. *be'ky*, first person of *e'*, to own.

828

dat'u'ra't, even if you give it away. See 825; *-ra't*, disjunctive.
di'awa wara'k'bo'ma:tsiky, I'll make it for you (pl.). Compare 808.

830

hire't'k'a'ra, stay here! *-ra*, plural imperative; the remainder is a variation of *hire'*, demonstrative, and perhaps *ka.'u*, they remain.

832

marak'a'm biaric, what you were going to demand. *ma-*, indefinite object; *ra-*, second person pronoun; *k'a'm* = *k'a'ri*; *biari*, (?); *-c*, participle. Compare 817.

833

iha.'i, it might be a different (spurious) one. Future often in potential sense.

835

i'kyaditsi'tseruct, she examined it. Note modification of sense by *-ditsi*; *ikya*, to look.

837

k'arahu-'kə, let them come. *-kə* = *gya*, causative suffix.

838

k'ar i'na'wikya:suk', there are three of them now. *i-*, with partitive sense; *-kya:su*, plural of *-ka:ci*.

839

sape' i'ira'wi:ot', who is that third one? *sape'*, who; *i'*, perhaps demonstrative, perhaps ordinal prefix with parasitic vowel following; *ra'wi* = *na'wi*, three. On this analysis, *-ot* remains obscure. I therefore prefer: *i-*, instrumental with causative sense; *i-*, ordinal prefix; *-o*, plural suffix; *-t'*, generic suffix always used to denote *all* of a counted group (see 624). That is: why are there three of them? Compare form in 840.

841

bi andi'atsi'rat'dot', they have tried to get the better of me, but . . . *an-*, how; *di'a*, to do; *tsi'r(e)*, to seek; *-at'* = *a:tse* (?); *-do* = (?); *-t'*, probably *-t'*, disjunctive.

bi ariru'reta'riky, they have truly failed against me. *ar-*, in usual correlation with *-ret*, to express impossibility; *-ta're*, truly; (*h*)*iru'*, plural of *hire'*, to do.

842

bari't'biky, I shall stay. Future of form in 790.

843

hawa'tata'tsikya'ta, one at a time. From *hawa't'e*, one; compare *hawa'tatsi*, occasionally, in 698; note diminutive.

hu'ge, let them come. *-ge*, causative suffix.

844

u'paraci're, blossom. *u'pe'*, end; *ara-*, where, *ci're*, yellow.

isa'ra'tua, her pubic parts. Possibly connected with *icire'*, vulva (*baci'n du'p ba'tse'wo'k'*, let us make him smell our vulvae; *bare' ici'n daru'pdaku*, you have repeatedly smelled our vulvae).

ri.'ək', she put it into. This sense is fairly common; perhaps we are dealing with a causative participle of *rə*, to be there.

847

a'xpaxpək' k'o'wi'ək', he got through lying with her. *a'xpa*, with her; *xpək* = *xapə'k'*, lying.

854

watse'kya'tu, dear men. Plural of diminutive.

hin'e mawa'xpaxpuəc, this one we lay with; perhaps: in this cohabitation of ours. *ma-*, indefinite object; *awa'xpa*, my company, I with her (him); *xpuə*, gerund; *-c*, definite article.

sa'pak', what was it? With quotations of what someone thinks the oral stop is retained. For example: *sape' awa'kak' diri'atsi*, whom do you think I saw?

855

awa'xpəxpu'ct, we have cohabited with. This form suggests that *-ct* denotes past time more definitely than *-k'*. Perhaps *-c* is the definite article with past meaning; *-t*, repetitive.

856

mare'ta'ri, verily no. *mare't'* and *-ta'ri*.

857

ha'tsgyatak', a long one. *ha'tsgye* and *-ka'te*, adjectival.

o''kapatsi'ru.əc, a grooved, hollow one. *o''kap-*, to hollow (*hin'e' bara'm o''kapi'oc*, this hollowed stick); *-ats*, approximative; (*h*)*iru*, they make; that is: one that has been grooved.

k'o't'ə'm, the same kind. Variant of *k'o't'ə*; *-m*, article.

858

t'ak'o'tawiky, true enough. *t'a*, (?); *k'o'ta*, that is so; *-wi*, emphatic.

860

na'mda, he proceeded. = *na'mna*.

861

a'kusa'ra, do not stay, live. *a'ku*, as independent verb here; *-sa*, negative; *-ra*, imperative plural.

862

co'rara'ku'ra, wherever you stay. *co'*, where; *-r*, connective (?); *ara'ku'*, second person of *a'ku*; *-ra* (?).

ara'ra'ku, an abode, home. *ar-*, locative; *a'ra'ku*, you live. Compare *anna''ko'*, his home, in 75.

tsi'rara, look for. *tsi'ra* = *tsi're*, to look for; *-ra*, plural imperative.

863

k'o't'ba'wiruk', thus we shall do. First person plural future exclusive; see under 793. If Old Man Coyote were to be included, they would say: *k'o't'ba'wo-k'*.

864

bare' du'ci'gyatisam, he has not [yet] touched us. Perhaps the reading should be *ts* for *t* in the text. Related forms: *du'ci'gya'tsisa'ra*, do not touch (pl. imper.); *du'ci'tsise*, do not touch (imper.); *baru'citsi'tseruk'*, he touched some.

865

bi'ra, we. Emphatic form.

bi'ts a'wi'um, we have brought ourselves to him (i.e., we have gone out of our way to get into trouble with him). *bi'ts*, reflexive; *a-*, with; *wi'u*, we have reached (*a(h)i'*, regular combination for "to bring to").

866

xatsi'se'ritsisa'ra, do not stop going! *xatsi'*, to move; *-se* = *-sa*; *xatsi'sa*, do not move, stop; *-ritsi*, moderative, here probably suggesting a temporary pause in their flight; *-sa*, negative; *-ra*, imperative plural. The double use of the negative is interesting, *xatsi'sa* being treated as fixed unit. Note also the two different vowels with negative particle, doubtless determined by following vowels. Compare 883.

867

co'c dara'ura, wherever you go. *co'*, where; *-c*, directive; *dara'u*, second person plural of *de*; *-ra*.

868

bi'gyen, I for my part.

awa'ka'kua, my abode. Possibly reduplication of *a'ku*; compare forms in 862, 874, 881.

batsi'mbiky, I shall seek. *batsi'ri* plus first person future.

871

batsa'xpək', together. *bats-*, each other; *a'xpək'*, being with.

i'ru'pta, both. *i-*, ordinal; *rup* = *nu'p*, two.

di'rək', walking. *di'ri*, to walk; *bari'mbiky*, I shall walk; *naxpitse' ri'netec*, Bear-walks-not.

872

di'ase, do not do it. Often *di'asa* is used.

ba'k'baru'ka'ce, I said, I kept on. *iru'*, auxiliary, *-ka'ce*, intensive.

bara'k'diarak', you *would* play your tricks. For this idiom, compare under 297.

873

bi'tsi wa'a'wi'um, now we have got into trouble (lit., we have brought ourselves to something). Compare form in 865.

874

k'am mare't'k', now that is over. Another case where *mare't'k'* as absolute negative must be rendered according to context.

877

ma'arakawi'ac, evil things. *ma'ra-* = *bare-*, generic nominal prefix.

878

da'ka'tsi'tseruk', he was living on. *da'k'u'*, to live; *-a'tsi*.

879

diri'a, come now. Related to *di'a* in same sense.

da'k'u'se, do not stay. *da'k'u'*; *-se* = *-sa*, negative.

880

ba'k'uk'k'o'm, above. Probably should be *ba'k'u k'o'm*, above there.

ba'wiky, I'll be, stay. One of the many senses of *ba'wiky*; what the stem is supposed to be here, it is hard to say.

881

baka'kuwiky, I shall stay. Probably to be taken as reduplicated form of *a'ku*. The verb seems to have many variants; compare 868.

882

hiri'c, thither. *hire'*; *-c*, to.

883

i'gye' xatsi'se, the North Star (lit., Fixed Star). Compare under 866; the change of *-sa* to *-se* is doubtless due to the adjectivalization of the verbal expression.

884

miri'tatsia, the moon. *miri*, the presumably ancient form for sun and moon in Hidatsa, is retained in Crow for the moon, though in certain special combinations it may also refer to the sun.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS USED

AA	American Anthropologist
AES-P	American Ethnological Society Publications
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Publications
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology