

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF SAULTEAUX */mi-/*  
AS EXEMPLIFIED IN A TRADITIONAL COTE FIRST NATION  
TEACHING TEXT**

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**FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH**  
**SUPERVISORY AND EXAMINING COMMITTEE**

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## ABSTRACT

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This thesis has a three-fold purpose. First it presents a Saulteaux narrative collected from a Saskatchewan reserve, Cote First Nation, transcribed, translated and analyzed linguistically. Saulteaux, the Plains dialect of Ojibwe, is spoken in the southern half of Saskatchewan and in Manitoba. The dialect studied in this thesis is the dialect that is spoken in the Kamsack area. Second, the thesis focuses on the use and function of the discourse particle /*mi-*/ in Saulteaux text structure. Following an introduction to the main thesis topic, a cross-dialectal survey of this discourse particle in Ojibwe, both its morphosyntactic form and word order, sets the background for a discussion of the form, function and occurrence of /*mi-*/ in the Saulteaux dialect of Cote First Nation. Third, the linguistic analysis is followed by a lesson plan and discussion of the means and importance for teaching this and other discourse particles and structures of the Saulteaux language in its basic communicative context. This is provided specifically for speakers of Saulteaux and others interested in teaching and preserving the language. This thesis will provide materials that can be utilized in teaching both children and adults the Saulteaux language along with the history, beliefs, traditions and customs of the Saulteaux people through traditional narratives.

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Also to my dear friends, students, teachers and fluent speakers that I have known, taught or who have taught me over the years, to name a few; Helene Cote, Eleanore Peequaquat, Darren J. Okemaysim, Eliza Smith, Doreen Oakes and Sheila Acoose-Gould. And finally, to all those who have assisted me and not been listed here, please accept my apologies and *kihci-mīkwēc* (a big thanks).

The narrative analyzed in this thesis was recorded by Margaret Cote in July 2003 on Cote First Nation. The proper traditional Saulteaux protocol pertaining to acquirement of the narrative was implemented, wherein tobacco, a gift and an explanation of the purpose and use of the recording was given. In turn, Margaret Cote gifted me with permission to use the text for this study. I am very grateful to the late Elder Annie Keewatin for sharing her knowledge with us and hope that I have represented her words appropriately and respectfully.

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## DEDICATION

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There are so many people to thank for their guidance, assistance and expertise in raising me within the Saulteaux language and culture. First I would like to give thanks to *kihci-manitō* (Great Spirit), *ninanāhkomā* (I'm thankful to him/her) for giving me this beautiful language and to my late grandparents, *nimihšōmihšipan* (my late grandfather) John F. Cote and *nōhkōyipan* (my late grandmother) Madelaine Cote, *ninanāhkomāk* (I'm thankful to them) for teaching me the language and raising me with the traditional values and beliefs, without them I would not have known and studied the language. *Ninanāhkomāk nitinawēmākanak* (I'm thankful to my relatives): *nōhs* (my father) Patrick Cote and *nimāmāhkān* (my step-mother) Elizabeth Yuzicappi-Cote for their support, guidance and teachings; *nikāyipan* (my late mother) Faye Cote for giving me life and also for speaking the language; *nikosihsak* (my sons) B.J., Gabe, Tyler and Justis for their patience and support; *nōhsēyēnsak* (my grandchildren) Mikhye, Kieren and Torrin; *nimihsē* (my older sister) Norinne Cote and *nihšīmē* (my younger sibling) Dwayne Cote for their support and guidance; *nimihšōmē* (my paternal uncle) Lawrence Cote, *nisihsē* (my maternal uncle) John 'Bird' Shingoose; *nimihšōmēhipanīk* (my late uncles) Leonard Cote and Lambert Keshane for their guidance and teachings; and to all my extended family that I was raised with. And to *nišikohš* (my paternal aunt), my mentor Margaret Cote for also getting me interested in the language again and for teaching me to understand the way our language works. This thesis is dedicated to all of you *nitinawēmākanak* (my relatives).

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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1p	first person plural <i>exclusive</i>
1s	first person singular
2l	first person plural <i>inclusive</i>
2p	second person plural
2s	second person singular
3p	third person plural
3s	third person singular
3'p	third person ' <i>obviative</i> ' plural
3's	third person ' <i>obviative</i> ' singular
A	animate
ASP.prsp	aspect–prospective (intent)
ben	benefactive
col	colloquial
conj	conjunct form
dim	diminutive
dir	direct
dub	dubitative suffix
emph	emphatic prefix
Eng	English
excl	exclusive
I	inanimate

imp	imperative form
inact	inanimate actor
incl	inclusive
indic	indicative form
inv	inverse
loc	locative suffix
local	local or speech act participant set (first and second persons)
NAD	noun animate dependent
neg	negative suffix
NID	noun inanimate dependent
obv	obviative suffix
p	plural
PC	particle
PN	pre-noun
Poss	possessive prefix/suffix
PR.dem	pronoun-demonstrative
PR.inter	pronoun-interrogative
PR.prs	pronoun-personal
pret	preterit past
preten	pretential suffix
PV	pre-verb
rdpl	reduplication
recip	reciprocal suffix

refl	reflexive
relcl	relative clause marker
s	singular
SRO	standard roman orthography
TH	VTI theme sign
TNS.fut	tense-future
TNS.pst	tense-past tense
VAI	verb animate intransitive
VII	verb inanimate intransitive
VTA	verb transitive animate
VTI	verb transitive inanimate
xact	unspecified actor

### Special Symbols

“?”	question indicator
+	derivational morpheme boundary
–	inflectional morpheme boundary
=	clitic morpheme boundary (primarily person “prefixes” and <i>mi-</i> )

Words broken down into their component morphemes are divided by (+), (–) or (=)

[ ] used within the Saulteaux text indicates the recorder’s speech

This thesis represents one of the first in-depth analyses of the Saulteaux (or Plains Ojibwe) dialect, and the first research dealing with an aspect of its discourse structure. The research pertains primarily to */mi-/* which is a discourse particle used prominently in Saulteaux speech and found extensively in Saulteaux narrative as spoken in Saskatchewan, Canada. The primary data source for the Saulteaux analysis is a narrative text delivered by the late Elder Annie Keewatin of the Cote First Nation, as originally recorded, following traditional protocols, by Margaret Cote. This text, transferred to the current author in the culturally appropriate way, has been transcribed, translated, and linguistically analyzed so as to present the Elder's text in its natural form and to provide for contextual analysis of the usage of */mi-/*. Examples cited for analysis in Chapter 3 are provided by this Elder narrative in Appendix A. As traditional protocol was followed at all stages of the project, university research ethics board approval was neither required nor sought. However, in keeping with the standards of research ethics and particularly in respect for the Saulteaux community, potentially sensitive data (such as names) were omitted.

In addition to the linguistic analysis given as the main focus of this thesis, an additional chapter is provided to help speakers and others interested in the teaching and preservation of the Saulteaux language, including a suggested lesson plan (Appendix B) and introductory discussion of language learning methodology. As such, Chapter 4 is not meant to provide a cutting edge critique of second language teaching methodology, but simply to provide some background for (potential) Saulteaux instructors who are so sorely needed in the battle to retain this seriously endangered language.

The particle */mi-/* does not occur in all languages of the Algonquian family, but it appears to be common throughout the dialects of Ojibwe. A review of current literature provides this thesis with similar or like resources on the particle */mi-/* for other Ojibwe dialects. In comparison and contrast to these dialects, */mi-/* will be surveyed so as to present an examination of */mi-/* in Sauteaux usage. The linguistic analysis will include a morphological survey along with a syntactic and discourse survey. It is furthermore intended that this research contribute to the on-going and necessary Sauteaux language material development and curricula. The use of Elder texts is crucial to preserving and protecting traditional protocols in Sauteaux language and cultural discourse while making it inclusive within mainstream research epistemologies and paradigms.

The Elder's text is given in Appendix A and includes a five-line transcription: line one is the transliteration in the standard roman orthography as described in Cote (1985) and Wolvengrey (1996), line two is a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis, line three is a grammatical morpheme gloss, line four is a literal English morphemic gloss, and line five provides a fluent English translation. A list of abbreviations found within the text and throughout the text of this thesis are provided immediately preceding this chapter. Data from the various sources is cited exactly as it was given and no attempt has been made to regularize orthography for anything other than Sauteaux.

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## **1.1 Language Family**

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Ojibwe is one of the most widely used North American Indian languages. There are as many as 30,000 speakers of Ojibwe in Canada and as many as 20,000 in the United States and it

is considered a viable language for survival as stated in Kinkade (1991:163). Ojibwe belongs to the Algonquian language family, a group of languages spoken over a vast region of central Canada and across the United States. Related languages include: Cree, Montagnais, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, Fox, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Micmac, Potawatami and Arapaho. These languages can be traced back to Proto-Algonquian, as reconstructed by Bloomfield (1946) through comparing cognates from four central Algonquian languages: Fox, Cree, Ojibwe and Menominee. Figure 1.1 on the following page indicates the analysis of the Algonquian Genetic relationship, which according to Edward Sapir (1913) can be extended to include the California “Ritwan” languages in a larger and older language group known as Proto-Algic.

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**Figure 1.1: The Algic Languages**

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**Proto-Algic**

Proto-Algonquian	“Ritwan”		
Delaware Natick-Narragansett Penobscot-Abnaki Malecite-Passamaquoddy Micmac	Arapaho-Atsina Cheyenne Blackfoot Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi Menominee <b>Ojibwe-Odawa-Algonquin-Saulteaux</b> <b>Potawatomi</b> Miami-Illinois-Peoria Shawnee	Yurok	Wiyot

(Adapted from Valentine:2001)

Although Sapir grouped Wiyot and Yurok together as a genetic subgroup within Algic, subsequent research (cf. Haas 1958, and Goddard 1975) has suggested that they are not more

closely related to each other than either is to Proto-Algonquian. However, the term Ritwan is retained here as a convenient label for these geographically related languages. The following table illustrates cognates from several Algonquian languages, which helped lead to Bloomfield's reconstruction.

<b>Table 1.1: Bloomfield's Proto-Algonquian Reconstruction</b>			
	large game bird	beaver	bear
Proto-Algonquian	*peleewa	*ameθkwa	*maθkwa
Plains Cree	piyeew 'partridge'	amisk	maskwa
Delaware	pleew 'turkey'	amóxkw	maxkw
Fox	peneewa 'turkey'	amehkwa	mahkwa
Menominee	peneew 'quail, partridge'		
Ojibwe	pinee 'partridge'	amikk	makkwa
Shawnee	peleewa 'turkey'	hameʔkwa	mkwa
Arapaho	čénee 'turkey, quail, grouse'		wóx

(Adapted from Valentine 2001:13)

These languages not only share similar vocabulary but also a patterned relationship between the sounds of the vocabulary. Based on the comparisons of the vocabulary, word structure and sound system the common parent language was reconstructed as the hypothesized Proto-Algonquian.

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## 1.2 Ojibwe Language and Dialects

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In the same way, dialects or mutually intelligible variants of a single language, share many features, but certain features evident within one dialect may not be evident in all dialects. Only when dialect divergence is so great that mutual intelligibility is compromised do we cross

the fuzzy boundary between dialect and language. It is commonly recognized that the Ojibwe language consists of a number of variant but mutually intelligible forms spread over a large geographic area. The area in which the dialects are spoken is often used to suggest the terms/names applied to the various dialects of Ojibwe, though some terms come from traditional names, often borrowed into English from surrounding languages rather than Ojibwe (*Anihšīnāpēmowin*) itself. In the southern half of Saskatchewan and Manitoba they are referred to as the Saulteaux (or Plains Ojibwe), in Ontario they are referred to as the Ojibwe with the exception of Manitoulin Island where Odawa/Ottawa is the preferred name. In Western Quebec they are referred to as the Algonquin and in North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan they are referred to as the Chippewa or Chippeway. In northern Ontario the dialects include Ojicree (with the name based on the status of Cree in the area not because it is some sort of Creole). These dialects are easily identified as belonging to a single language by their similar sound systems, grammatical categories such as gender classification, and basic syntactic operations.

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### 1.3

### History of the Saulteaux

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The Saulteaux arrived in Saskatchewan in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, moving westward to the prairies from Lake Superior (Peers 1994:3). They were a migratory people who lived around the rapids. The French of the Sault St. Marie region used “Saulteurs”, translated as ‘to gather around’ referring to gathering around the Sault St. Marie. This later became Saulteaux, while Outchibouec (from a French spelling of the pronunciation of the Cree word *ocipwē(w)*), later becoming *Ojibwe* or *Chippewa*. They call themselves the Ojibwe, *Anihšīnāpēk* or Chippeway. Many terms have originated throughout early contact with explorers and settlers as they moved

westward. Other terms such as *Saulteaux*, *Plains Ojibwe* and occasionally *Bungi* have been applied (Peers 1994:vx).

*Saulteaux* is now applied to the most north-westward group, primarily in Saskatchewan and western and southeastern Manitoba, with the term *Saulteaux* also used by some groups in northwestern Ontario. More easterly groups prefer the terms *Ojibwe* or *Anishinaabeg* which also includes *Peguis* and the city of *Winnipeg*, Manitoba. Communities further west interchange between the terms *Saulteaux* and *Plains Ojibwe*. In Ontario a term used is *Ojibwe/Ojibway*, translated as ‘to roast till puckered up’ (Warren 1984:36); in northwestern Ontario and southern Manitoba the ‘ethnonym’ (Peers 1994:xvii) used is *Anishinaabe*, ‘original man/first people’.

European contact, leading to the development of some First Nations communities establishing themselves around trading posts and missions, may have eroded ethnic differences between small local groups. It may further have contributed to the distribution of the term *Saulteaux* and *Ojibwe* to designate formerly separate people, who had connections to the *Outchibouec* and *Saulteurs* by kinship, to trade relations and parallel language and cultural practices.

The *Chippewa* of *Turtle Mountain* refer to themselves as *Nakawiniok* (*Nahkawēniniwak*) translated as ‘those who speak differently’ as claimed by ethnologist James Howard (Peers 1994:xvii). *Bungi* has been applied as they developed relations with European trading companies. The traders with the *Hudson’s Bay Company* used the term *Bungee* (*pankī*) translated as ‘a little bit’. These traders often heard the term from the people and referred to them as the *Bungee*, though the people made reference to the trader’s gifts as not being “adequate to their wants” (Peers 1994:xvii). The use of the term *Saulteaux* in the west simply recognizes a common heritage rather than a specific place of origin; the speakers of the

Saulteaux language spoken did not migrate from Sault St. Marie (Peers 1994:xvii). The name has simply become official for the Ojibwe who moved westward regardless of specific origin.

The westward movement is a bit uncertain or unclear. Some reports indicate that the Ojibwe followed the economy, the fur trade, and in other reports the Ojibwe were pushed out of their hunting grounds and moved for sustenance (cf. Peers 1994). The Saulteaux, who were hunters and trappers became allies with the Cree and Assiniboine and adapted to the different people and environment. Along with them they brought their culture that evolved for thousands of years from generation to generation. They retained their cultural identity and participate in the various ceremonies that were passed on to them through the generations, such as vision quests and the Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society, which is a secret Ojibwa Medicine Society where today's members would be called shamans or medicine men. *Mide-* is the root which has the meaning of spiritual, mystical or sacred (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Midewiwin>).

The Saulteaux of south-eastern Saskatchewan and Manitoba signed Treaty #2 on August 21, 1871 and on September 15, 1874 the Saulteaux of southern Saskatchewan signed Treaty #4. The area that the Saulteaux Band (Cote's Indians) first settled in was originally called *ininī-otōškanink* (*Man's Elbow*), which is presently known as Fort Pelly. Cote First Nation is presently situated 3 miles north of Kamsack along the Assiniboine River. The First Nation now takes its name from the man who signed the treaty, Gabriel Cote, *Pakwaci-omīmī* (*Wild Pigeon*). Gabriel Cote was appointed spokesperson for the band because besides Saulteaux he spoke English and understood their customs. Today the Cote First Nation identify themselves as Onakawēk (*Onahkawēk*), 'Saulteaux speakers' and *Anihšināpēk*, 'the first man/first people'.

First Nation languages of Canada are in danger of extinction as the numbers of speakers are declining. The numbers have been dropping since the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The three main

results of language loss include: population decline due to disease (smallpox) and warfare (people forced out of their home territories and placed with other tribal groups with linguistic differences; hence the common language becomes English); colonization where European trade and negotiation with First Nation people unknowingly put First Nation languages in decline; and residential school, which was the most ‘destructive and eroding measure by Europeans upon First Nation people in inflicting intergenerational endangerment’ (Van Eijk 2002:4) affecting our languages. The primary aspect of residential school was to repress all First Nations language and culture, whereas language is the first thing a child learns as it defines the child’s cultural identity. ‘It severed the bond between children and their families and did irreparable harm to First Nations culture in the span of one generation’ (Van Eijk 2002:4). First Nation language loss leads to loss of First Nation culture.

Since Treaty #4 signing in 1874 and up until the early 1900s, the Saulteaux language and culture was fully intact in that there was full usage in the home and community. During the mid 1900s language further eroded with the implementation of residential schools. First Nations people were forbidden and punished for speaking their language, thus in turn the residential school generation did not speak Saulteaux to their children. By the late 1900s many understood the language but did not speak it. Media also had a great impact on the loss of language. This decline in the language continues today with many not speaking or understanding the Saulteaux language. Throughout our community English has increasingly replaced the use of Saulteaux (Margaret Cote: personal communication). Our people are continuously exposed to English dominance within the school system, the community and the home. Language loss is evident and visible. Fluent speakers are in rapid decline, Elders pass, and English is used for everyday life. It is the effort of today’s generation that can reverse language loss. If no effort is made then

total language loss will be assured. Today there are at least 50 First Nations languages spoken in Canada. There are 15 Saulteaux First Nation Bands in Saskatchewan each with minor variations in dialect (see Table 1.2).

<b>Table 1.2: Saulteaux First Nations in Saskatchewan</b>	
<b>First Nation</b>	<b>Language Spoken</b>
COTE	Saulteaux
FISHING LAKE	Saulteaux
KEESEEKOOSE	Saulteaux
KEY	Saulteaux
KINISTIN	Saulteaux
MUSKOWEKWAN	Saulteaux
MUSKOWPETUNG	Saulteaux
YELLOWQUILL	Saulteaux
COWESSES	Saulteaux and Cree
GORDON'S	Saulteaux and Cree
PASQUA	Saulteaux and Cree
SAKIMAY	Saulteaux and Cree
OKANESE	Cree and Saulteaux
SAULTEAUX	Cree and Saulteaux
WHITEBEAR	Cree and Saulteaux

(Adapted from: Cote (1985) and [http://www.sicc.sk.ca/history\\_maps.html](http://www.sicc.sk.ca/history_maps.html))

In different regions Saulteaux is the dominant language with Cree also being spoken in the area. In a few areas the Cree language has been adopted and has taken dominance of the bands, such as at Saulteaux First Nation. This may be the result of the geographic area in which this First Nation is situated - in northwestern Saskatchewan surrounded by Cree language groups.

It is estimated that a little less than half of the Saulteaux population reside on reserves with the remainder in cities and urban centers among other First Nation groups. Elders are the only remaining fully fluent speakers, quite likely numbering less than fifty. The impact of the residential school era where language was forbidden, and also the lack of representation of First Nation languages in Saskatchewan curricula, are still obstacles our languages face. There are only three First Nations Languages offered for credit in Saskatchewan High Schools in the Southern region. Saulteaux/Nakawe was offered at six schools in 2008 and five schools in 2009. Cree is offered at 50 schools in 2008/2009 and Dené/Denesuline is offered in six schools in 2008/2009 (Okrainetz 2009 personal communication). In the course offerings for Native Languages in 2008/2009 the numbers for Saulteaux were low compared to the Cree language.

One main issue is funding. In 2006 the government funding for First Nations languages across Canada was radically decreased with \$160 million of an original \$172.5 million earmarked for languages cut (<http://media.knet.ca/node/2317>). Without adequate funding it is difficult to find qualified language instructors, curriculum developers, authors and publishers of the Saulteaux language.

In 2007, a Second Language Acquisition Committee was established by a group of people in Saskatchewan representative of First Nations, Heritage, and Francophone communities. The basis of the committee is to seek governmental support and recognition by proposing the possibility of acquiring a second language in Saskatchewan. The proposal included some important reasons and benefits for acquiring a second language: language symbolizes and expresses identity and culture; may further the development of an integrated society; provides assurance of livelihood and access to education for immigrants; assists with economic activity and establishes relations across countries; provides cognitive and

metalinguistic advantages linked to bilingualism (Archambault 2008:2). The Ministry of Education's response in 2009 was that more research was warranted from the committee and further discussions with government officials were required.

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## 1.4

## Review of Literature

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There is very little literature available on the Saulteaux language, but a considerable amount on the various other dialects of Ojibwe. The main works consulted for the linguistic portion of this thesis are descriptions from the dialects of Odawa (*Nishnaabemwin*; Valentine 2001), Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958), and Severn (Todd 1970). The first major work consulted was the *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar* by J. Randolph Valentine (2001), which is a linguistic study of the Nishnaabemwin dialect that is spoken in southern Ontario along the shores of Lake Huron. This source, which contains a great deal of information pertaining to linguistics and grammar, was designed to serve as a resource and reference for teachers. Valentine (2001:963-973) specifically includes a section on *mii*, the Nishnaabemwin equivalent of Saulteaux /mi-/, and this will provide information for discussion in Chapter 2. Second, *Eastern Ojibwa: A Grammatical Sketch, Texts & Word List* by Leonard Bloomfield (1958), which was a great beginning in the study of the Eastern Ojibwa dialect, nevertheless did not contain enough information on syntax and semantics. Third, Evelyn Todd's (1970) dissertation on the *Grammar of the Ojibway language: The Severn Dialect* contains ample information on grammar and syntax of the Severn dialect spoken in the interior of Northwestern Ontario, including some minimal discussion of the Severn use of *mī*. Finally the fourth and most invaluable work consulted was Rhodes' (1998) paper, "The Syntax and Pragmatics of Ojibwe

*mii*”, which contained the most important information on the syntactic and pragmatic properties of this particle.

Additional materials that were consulted and used as reference were of limited use for syntactic information, but still helpful with comparison and analysis. *Nahkawēwin: Saulteaux (Ojibway Dialect of the Plains)* by Margaret Cote (1985), contains a lot of information on Saulteaux grammar, and was designed to serve as a resource for students and teachers. *A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language* by Rev. F. Baraga (reprint: 1979), was written by a non-grammarians to assist missionaries in acquiring the language spoken by the Chippewa, Algonquin, Odawa and Potawatami. *The Ojibwey Language Manual* by Rev. Edward F. Wilson (reprint: 1970), contains some information on grammar and a glossary of words. This manual was also written by a non-grammarians to assist Missionaries and others working or living among the Ojibwe or Chippewa around Lake Superior. Harold J. Logan’s 2001 dissertation *A Collection of Saulteaux Texts with Translations and Linguistic Analyses* assisted with the phonology section. Margaret Cote and Terry Klokeid’s (1985) *Saulteaux Verb Book* assisted with the word-ordering section. Shirley Silver and Wick Miller’s (1997) *American Indian Languages: Culture and Social Contexts* served as a resource for evidential particles.<sup>1</sup>

Secondary sources consulted include: Dale M. Kinkade’s (1991) article on the “Decline of Native Languages in Canada”, which assisted in tracing the number of Ojibwe speakers in Canada; Laura Peers’ (1994) *The Ojibway of Western Canada*, for a history of the Ojibwe migration; William W. Warren’s (1984) *History of the Ojibway People*, for a history of the Ojibwe. These sources add to the background given in the current chapter but add nothing to the discussion of the linguistic structure of the language.

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks to external reviewer, Dr. Rand Valentine, for pointing out several additional possible sources. Although Voorhis (1976) and Belcourt (1839) do not add anything for my discussion, I would, although too late to incorporate their findings, still wish to mention the article on */mii/* by Fairbanks (2008) and the dissertation by Nichols (1980).

Chapter 4 in the present work requires a shift of paradigm to the literature on first and second language teaching, acquisition and learning. However, this is meant as a very basic introduction to help speakers of *Saulteaux* without a background in teaching or language teaching methodologies towards an understanding of the requirements for teaching a language successfully, and specifically how to teach the use of the discourse particle */mi-/*. As such, the materials cited are limited to some basic introductory materials and no attempt has been made to delve too deeply into the rich and demanding literature on language teaching methodology. Sources consulted include those which discuss various language teaching methods such as Curran (1976), Asher (1977), Lozanov (1978-9), and Krashen and Terrell (1983), as well as the work of Knowles (1984) specifically with regard to adult learning. The point here is not to take a critical look at these and other theories and methodologies, but to suggest the usefulness and necessity of natural language learning techniques in the *Saulteaux* learning environment.

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## **1.5 Grammar Sketch**

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The following sections will contain brief descriptions of the phonology of *Saulteaux* and the orthography used in the transcription.

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### **1.5.1 Phonology**

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The *Saulteaux* phonemic inventory has 24 segments: 17 consonants (C) and seven vowels (V). The consonants include 13 obstruents (T) and four sonorants (resonants) (R). The following tables present the vowels and consonants in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

The vowels can be classified into three short vowels and four long vowels. The three short vowels (/ɪ/, /ʊ/, /ə/) are pronounced for a short duration and the long vowels (/i:/, /e:/, /a:/, /o:/) are pronounced for approximately twice as long. The extra vowel sound, [ɔ:], is phonologically conditioned from the merger of /wa:/ when preceded by a consonant (/Cwa:/ > [Cɔ:]). Diphthong vowels are non-existent.

	Front	Central	Back
High	<b>i:</b> <b>ɪ</b>		<b>u</b>
Mid	<b>e:</b>		<b>o:</b> [ɔ:]
Low		<b>ə</b> <b>a:</b>	

(adapted from Wolvengrey 2000, Saulteaux 206 course notes)

Many Algonquian languages share similar stress patterning. Valentine (2001) describes stress patterning by organizing syllables into larger groups called *'metrical feet*, (metrical having to do with rhythmic patterns of pronunciation). Valentine's (2001:54) 'Metrical Stress Rule(s)' is as follows:

- A. A metrical foot consists of a pairing of a weak and strong syllable, with the following restrictions:
  - A1 Only short vowels can be weak; long vowels are always strong.
  - A2 The last vowel in a word is always strong (or alternatively, is exempt from the stress rules).
- B. Build weak-strong metrical feet starting from the beginning of the word.

C. Once footing is completed, de-emphasize metrically weak vowels by reducing them to schwa or deleting them, and give stress to metrically strong vowels.

This stress patterning works for other dialects of Ojibwe and is similar to Saulteaux stress assignment as described by Cote (1985) and Voorhis et al. (1976):

- 1) Each syllable with a long vowel will be stressed.
- 2) The last syllable of every word is obligatorily stressed.
- 3) Every second syllable in a sequence of syllables with short vowels will be stressed.

The other short vowels are realized as one of their unstressed allophones, usually [ə], or are elided.

			Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Obstruents	Stops/ Plosives	fortis	<b>ʔp</b>	<b>ʔt</b>			<b>ʔk</b>	<b>ʔ</b>
		lenis	<b>p</b>	<b>t</b>			<b>k</b>	
	Affricates	fortis			<b>ʔtʃ</b>			
		lenis			<b>tʃ</b>			
	Fricatives	fortis		<b>ʔs</b>	<b>ʔʃ</b>			<b>(h)</b>
		lenis		<b>s</b>	<b>ʃ</b>			
Sonorants	Nasals	+vd	<b>m</b>	<b>n</b>			<b>[ŋ]</b>	
	Laterals	+vd						
	Rhotics	+vd						
	Glides	+vd				<b>j</b>	<b>w</b>	

(Wolvengrey 2000, Saulteaux 206 course notes)

The consonants are divided into obstruents (stops, affricates, fricatives) and resonants (nasals, and glides). There are no liquids (l and r) in the Saulteaux language. The obstruent phonemes are described as either fortis (strong) or lenis (weak). Fortis is a stronger articulation sometimes marked by pre-glottalization. Fortis consonants are unvoiced in all environments and sometimes aspirated. Lenis is a weaker articulation and lenis consonants are usually voiceless

and unaspirated but lead to voicing between vowels or following nasals. The resonant consonants consist of two nasals and two glides. The nasals /m/ and /n/, are similar in articulation to the English nasals. The [ŋ] only occurs as an allophone of /n/ when it precedes a velar, the nasal assimilates to the following consonant. The glides /w/ and /j/ (<y>), also are similar in articulation to the English glides. The glides are “subject to elision between vowels in rapid speech...glides are often used morphophonemically to separate vowels” (Logan 2001:47-48). The /h/ is marginal as a consonant in Saulteaux, usually restricted to interjections. As discussed below, the symbol <h> is “used as part of the digraph for fortis consonants, elsewhere, it represents the glottal stop [ʔ] between vowels or word-finally” (Wolvengrey 1996:415).

A total of nine consonant clusters also exist in the language: mp, nt, nk ([ŋk]), ns, nc, ʃp, ʃt, sk, and ʃk. The first five clusters begin with nasals voicing the following consonants. Additionally in the cluster [ns] the ‘n’ is not pronounced, though the preceding vowel becomes nasalized.

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## 1.5.2

## Orthography

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The information on Saulteaux phonemes and spelling given in this section come from Margaret Cote’s (1985) book *Nahkawēwin: Saulteaux (Plains Dialect of Ojibway)* as well as discussions with Margaret Cote and Arok Wolvengrey and adaptations of course notes. The orthography used in Cote’s book and in the Elder text analyzed in this thesis is the Standard Roman Orthography (SRO), which is based on the roman alphabet. The Saulteaux phonemic inventory of vowels and consonants listed in the Standard Roman Orthography is the preferred version from Wolvengrey’s course lecture notes (2000):

<b>Table 1.5: Vowels in SRO</b>			
	Front	Central	Back
High	<b>ī</b> <b>i</b>		<b>o</b>
Mid	<b>ē</b>		<b>ō</b> ((C)wā)
Low		<b>a</b> <b>ā</b>	

<b>Table 1.6: Consonants in SRO</b>								
			Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Obstruents	Stops/ Plosives	fortis	<b>hp</b>	<b>ht</b>			<b>hk</b>	<b>h</b>
		lenis	<b>p</b>	<b>t</b>			<b>k</b>	
	Affricates	fortis			<b>hc</b>			
		lenis			<b>c</b>			
	Fricatives	fortis		<b>hs</b>	<b>hš</b>			
		lenis		<b>s</b>	<b>š</b>			<b>(h)</b>
Sonorants	Nasals	+vd	<b>m</b>	<b>n</b>			<b>(n)</b>	
	Laterals	+vd						
	Rhotics	+vd						
	Glides	+vd				<b>y</b>	<b>w</b>	

Since the establishment of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Center in 1972 the Standard Roman Orthography has been the writing system used for Cree. The Saskatchewan Indian Federated College (presently the First Nations University of Canada) used this writing system for Cree courses and this orthography provides the closest cognate for the two closely related languages and is the preferred writing system for Saulteaux courses. There are a few reasons for using the Standard Roman Orthography, such as it is a more consistent writing system than other attempts based on the English spelling system (e.g. Modern Roman Orthography, cf.

Wolvengrey 1996). The spelling is consistent with the sounds in that one symbol represents one phoneme. There is a distinction between fortis and lenis consonants, and long and short vowel sounds, unlike English where a symbol may represent many sounds or different sounds may be spelled with the same symbol. The SRO is also more compatible with the Syllabic writing form, which is based on syllables. It also clearly illustrates the close relationship between Saulteaux and Cree as Algonquian languages, and this writing system is presently used at the First Nation University of Canada in the Saulteaux and Cree Language writing classes.

The vowels distinguish between short and long with length represented by a macron over the vowel in the written form. The consonants distinguish between fortis (strong) <hp> and lenis (weak) <p>. The alveopalatal fricative <š> is written with a hachek < ˇ >. Thus, this orthography represents the phonemic facts for the Saulteaux language (cf. Wolvengrey 1996).

The various Ojibwe dialects utilize different orthographies, which will represent the phonemic or phonetic facts of that particular dialect. Table 1.7 (on the following page) indicates the orthographic representation used by the respective author(s) (initials in brackets) in the various dialects.

The orthographies show similarities in their representations. They agree with the four sonorants (resonants) and three short vowels and there is some agreement with the obstruents. Vowel length representation varies. Length is indicated by a macron over the vowel <ā>, double vowels <aa>, a colon after the vowel <a:>, a dot mid place following the vowel <a·> and by two vowels together <uy> (where Wilson classifies these as diphthongs (Wilson 1970:10)). Reduced

<b>Table 1.7: Orthographic Representation of Ojibwe Dialects</b>						
Nishnaabemwin (RV)	Eastern Ojibwa (LB)	Severn (ET)	Otchipwe (FB)	Chippewa (EW)	Ojibwe (RR)	<b>Saulteaux</b> (MC)

b	p	p	b	b	b	<b>p</b>
d	t	t	d	d	d	<b>t</b>
g	k	k	g	g	g	<b>k</b>
c	c	č	tch	c	c	<b>c</b>
s/z	s	s	s/z	s/z	s/z	<b>s</b>
sh	š	š	j	j	sh	<b>š</b>
p	pp	hp	p	p	p	<b>hp</b>
t	tt	ht	t	t	t	<b>ht</b>
k	kk	hk	k	k	k	<b>hk</b>
j	cc	hč	dj	ch	j	<b>hc</b>
sh	ss	hs	ss	sh	sh	<b>hs</b>
zh	šš	hš	sh	zh	zh	<b>hš</b>
h	ʔ	h	h	h	h	<b>h</b>
m	m	m	m	m	m	<b>m</b>
n	n	n	n	n	n	<b>n</b>
w/wh	w	w	w	w/wh	w	<b>w</b>
y	y	y		y	y	<b>y</b>
i	i (e, u)*	i	i	i (e)	i	<b>i</b>
a	a (e, u)*	a	a	a (e, u)	a	<b>a</b>
o	o (e, u)*	o	o	o	o	<b>o</b>
e	e·	(e) ē	e	ee	e	<b>ē</b>
ii	i·	ī	ii	uy	ii	<b>ī</b>
aa	a·	ā	aa	au/ah	aa	<b>ā</b>
oo	o·	ō	oo	oo	oo	<b>ō</b>

\*Bloomfield often uses <e> to indicate a reduced vowel or schwa rather than the long /e:/ indicated in many other orthographies.

vowels are indicated by <e> or <u> in Bloomfield and Wilson's orthographies. The /e/ in some orthographies are marked for length. Baraga's orthography represents nasalized vowels with a diacritic <~> over the vowel <ã>. Baraga does not include the <y> in his spelling system.

Baraga and Wilson's orthographies are old writing systems based on the English orthography. Valentine adopts the writing system Rhodes utilizes, whereas Severn and Saulteaux adopted the Standard Roman Orthography (differing only in the Saulteaux lack of the hachek over <c>).

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## 1.6

## Summary

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This chapter provides general information on the Algonquian Language family and more specifically the Ojibwe Language and the dialects of Ojibwe. It touches upon the migration of the Ojibwe, names by which they are referred to or what they prefer to be called by region, and concludes with a bit of history on the Saulteaux of Cote First Nation. For more detailed accounts of migration and names consult one of the sources: Peers (1994) and Warren (1984).

It also discusses the state of the language and the preservation and revitalization efforts, which will be discussed a little further at the end of chapter four. The literature review provides the sources which will allow for the comparison of /mi-/ across the other dialects and the morphological, syntactic and discourse survey which will be conducted in the following chapters.

The sections on phonology and orthography provide the groundwork for the reading of the text and for comparison within the other dialects. For more detailed accounts of phonology and orthography consult one of these sources: Bloomfield's (1958) *Eastern Ojibwa* and Valentine's (2001) *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar*.

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## 2. MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC SURVEY OF DIALECTS

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The information presented in this chapter pertains to studies conducted on the particle /*mii*/, which is common in both formal and informal Ojibwe discourse. The morphological and syntactic survey examines these studies, compares and contrasts and then analyzes the particle in various Ojibwe dialects.

Languages exhibit variations in their inventories of parts of speech, though all languages show overlaps in the categories they manifest. Determining the parts of speech of a given language is based on the consideration of a few factors, including morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria. Morphologically, /*mii*/ is often treated as a particle but can be classified as a proclitic, occurring before, and attached to, a word (i.e. /*mii*-/).<sup>2</sup> A syntactic survey will examine the rules that govern the way sentences are formed specifically with regard to co-occurrence of the particle /*mii*/, the variety of lexical items and the position of /*mii*-like constructions. The survey will provide a basis for formulating my analysis and provide the comparative and contrastive parameters through similar or like resources on the particle /*mii*/ in dialects of Ojibwe. When writing about the various Ojibwe dialects, I will generically represent the particle as /*mii*/ in comparison to its representation in *Saulteaux* as /*mi*-/. The analysis of the various other Ojibwe dialects in this chapter provides a framework for the next chapter of the thesis and the survey of /*mi*-/ in *Saulteaux*.

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### 2.1 Survey of Other Dialects

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The texts examined for reference were: *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar* (2001) by J.

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<sup>2</sup> The morpheme is represented with a hyphen (-, i.e. *mi*- or *mii*-) rather than an equal sign (=, i.e. *mi*= or *mii*=) which is otherwise common in the representation of clitics. The hyphen, however, follows the standard roman orthography for *Saulteaux* which is preferred here.

Randolph Valentine; *Eastern Ojibwa: A Grammatical Sketch, Texts and Word Lists* (1958) by Leonard Bloomfield; *A Grammar of the Ojibway Language: The Severn Dialect* (1970; Ph.D. dissertation) by Evelyn Todd; and ‘The Syntax and Pragmatics of Ojibwe *mii*’ (1998) by Richard Rhodes. Secondary sources examined for comparison of the variants include: *Nahkawēwin: Saulteaux (Ojibway Dialect of the Plains)* (1985) by Margaret Cote; *A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language* (1979) by Rev. Fredrick Baraga; and *The Ojibwey Language Manual* (1970) by Rev. Edward Wilson. The secondary sources contained very little grammatical information on the function or use of the particle, but have provided examples of the morpheme for scrutiny.

Based on a survey of these sources the following table compiles information on the form of the particle (as indicated by orthographic representation), grammatical classification provided within each source, and the translation(s).

<b>Table 2.1: Classification of Particle by Author</b>				
Author	Dialect	Orthographic Representation	Grammatical Classification	Translation
Valentine	Nishnaabemwin	mii	particle/adverb	it is
Bloomfield	Eastern Ojibwa	mi·	predicative particle	it is that; it was then
Rhodes	Ojibwe	mii	particle	this is what; that’s it
Baraga	Otchipwe	mi	quantifying adverb	It is
Wilson	Chippeway	me	adjective (particle)	It is so
Todd	Severn	mī	particle	it is
<i>Cote</i>	<i>Saulteaux</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>particle</i>	<i>it is, so</i>

Pronunciation of the particle varies slightly. Where most dialects have a long vowel /i:/, Saulteaux and possibly Baraga's Otchipwe have the vowel short /ɪ/. The majority of the authors classify the element as a particle, though a few classify the element as an adverb, which is a functional subclass of particles, or as an adjective. In this latter application it seems that the element functions as a predicative, having similar behavior as a verb. Variations in translation may be as a result of limited research on /mii/ as the morpheme is either found in discourse or predication analyses. The Saulteaux dialect will be examined and discussed in Chapter 3.

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## **2.2 Word Classes that Co-occur with /mii/**

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A wide variety of other elements such as particles (2.2.1), pronominals (2.2.2), nominal (2.2.3) and verbs (2.2.4) can co-occur with /mii/.

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### **2.2.1 Particles**

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The term 'particle', sometimes referred to as 'indeclinable' (because of its unvarying form), stems from a structural approach to categorizing the various parts of speech into word classes based on the inflectional properties of words. Particles are elements or words that do not fit into any other speech category. Some particles are emphatic or expressive words or 'flavoring' elements that add 'spice and flavor' to the phrase (Rhodes 1998:286). Discourse particles occur in a variety of languages and occur in one form or in minimal variation. In Algonquian languages these particles express notions such as time, location, manner, degree or circumstance of an action, state or event. The entire class of 'particles' as defined morphologically, could be subdivided functionally into such subclasses as: emphatic, evidential, temporal, interrogative, locational, manner, degree, quantificational, and conjunction. These

functions are described as playing a part in establishing ‘text coherence’ (Rhodes 1998:286).

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### 2.2.1.1 **Emphatic Particles**

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Emphatic particles add various kinds of emphasis to statements or parts of utterances and are common in running discourse or narratives. The various dialects utilize emphatic particles. The following chart will provide emphatic particles which co-occur with /*mii*/ as illustrated or cited by the various authors. Only examples as illustrated or cited by the authors will be provided.

<b>Table 2.2: Emphatic Particles</b>		
<b>Dialect</b>	<b>Particle</b>	<b>Function</b>
Nishnaabemwin	go	emphatic heightens assertiveness  accessory signification of reinforcement
Eastern Ojibwa	ko	
Ojibwe	go	
Otchipwe	go	
Nishnaabemwin	sa	emphatic of novelty
Eastern Ojibwa	essa → ssa	
Ojibwe	sa	accessory signification of answer adverb of affirmation and consent assertive enclitic
Otchipwe	sa	
Chippeway	suh	
Severn	hsa	
Nishnaabemwin	naa	emphatic marking evaluative information
Nishnaabemwin	sha	emphatic of contradiction predicative emphatic
Eastern Ojibwa	ešša → šša	
Nishnaabemwin	maa	emphatic expressing/request for cooperation

One type of emphatic particle is /go/ or /ko/, which ‘heightens assertiveness’ or functions as ‘reinforcement’. Example (1) is from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:971):

- (1) *mii go eta datgaagon gaa-teg.*  
 ‘It was only the back bone (keel) that was there.’  
*mii* av ‘it’s’; *eta* av ‘only’; *datgaagon* ni 0s ‘keel’; *gaa-teg* vii ic conj. part 0s (CCNJ)  
 ‘which IN was there’.

This particle is used as a focusing device in constructions using relative clauses (or English clefted-sentences). The focused item can either be a noun phrase (NP) or pronoun (PR), and in the example it is the NP, *datgaagon* ‘the back bone’. Valentine states these constructions represent exhaustive listing focus, “in which the speaker asserts the uniqueness of the focussed element in the context specified by the rest of the sentence” (2001:970). Exhaustive listing focus always involves *eta* ‘only; just’ as in the example.

Bloomfield only states that /mi-/ (‘it is that/it was then’) is followed and modified by inanimate pronouns and particles, he does not discuss the function of the particles. Example (2) is from Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958:133):

- (2) *mi·ko na·iw eppane·e·ši-eya·t*  
 ‘This is where he always is.’

In the example focus is on the subject.

In Ojibwe, /mii/ is used to focus any clausal participant such as the subject in example (3) from Ojibwe (Rhodes 1998:288).

- (3) *mii go niin widi ezhnaazhkaahooyaan...*  
 ‘I was the one who was sent there...’

It participates in idiomatic or specialized constructions, as in examples (4) and (5) (from Rhodes 1998:291):

- (4) *mii-go ge-ginwaa maajaag.*  
 ‘You too, get a move on!’

In this example it occurs with an imperative, but emphasis is on the subject.

- (5) a) *kaawiin gga-wiijiwesii.*  
 ‘You’re not coming’
- b) *mii go.*  
 ‘I am too.’

In this example /*mii*/ can function in conversation to mean “on the contrary”, as in (5b). These functions may be related but more pragmatic research must be done.

Baraga does not discuss the function or use of the particles. Example (6) is from Otchipwe (Baraga 1979:537):

- (6) *mi go gaie nin.*  
 ‘And so I will’

In this example focus is on *nin* ‘I’ the actor/subject.

#### 2.2.1.1.2

#### /sa/

A second type of emphatic particle which ‘emphasizes novelty’ and is common in narratives is *sa*, *ssa*, *suh* or *hsa*. In the examples (7) and (8) it functions as a discourse sequencing predicative adverb. /*mii*/ is followed by a clause having a verb in the conjunct order inflection (and a relative root usually shows changed conjunct in a relative clause). Examples (7) and (8) are from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:964-65):

- (7) *mii go iidig gii-zhaabwaakzod, mii sa iidig gii-ni-nbod.*  
 ‘So he was badly burned and died along the way.’  
*Mii* av ‘and’; *iidig* av ‘it seems’; *gii-zhaabwaakzod* vai conj. 3sProx ‘ANsg was burned through’; *mii* av ‘and’; *iidig* av ‘it seems’; *gii-ni-nbod* vai conj. 3sProx ‘(CCNJ) ANsg died along the way’.
- (8) *aaniish, mii sa ge wii maaba kwe iidig waabmaad wadi ezhcigenid niwi.*  
 ‘Well this woman too saw what the man was doing there.’

*Aanish* av ‘well’; *mii* av ‘so’; *ge* av ‘also’; *wii* prn per 3s ‘3s’; *maaba* prn 3sProx ‘this’; *kwe* na 3sProx ‘woman’; *iidig* av ‘it seems’; *waabmaad* vta conj. 3sProx >>3’obv ‘(CCNJ) what AN obv is doing’; *niwi* prn na 3obv ‘that/those’.

Valentine thinks the normal unmarked order is probably for the verbs to directly follow /*mii*/, though a few particles such as *sa*, *go* and *dash* can intervene and evidential particles such as *giuwenh* or *iidig* can follow the clitics as in example (7).

Bloomfield states that the particle most commonly occurs after the first word of a verb expression and applies to the expression as a whole. Example (9) is from Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958:189-90):

- (9) *mi· tašš ka· ene-ntema-n*, “*mi· ssa no-nkwa ssa ucipwe-muttawak*”, *nenki--ene-ntam*.  
 ‘So I thought, “Now is the time I’ll speak to her in Ojibwa,” I thought.’

The particle’s initial vowel is dropped after both vowels and non-syllabics. In this example the emphasis is on the relative root complementizer.

The emphatic *suh* ‘it is so’ is an adverb of affirmation and consent in Chippeway, as indicated in example (10) (Wilson 1970:358):

- (10) *me suh*  
 ‘be it so’

The author does not isolate the particle *me* (i.e. /*mii*/) nor discuss its use.

In Otchipwe the emphatic *sa* is defined as ‘sometimes, because, for’, depending on the context in which it is used, while the function of the particles *mi* and *sa* are not discussed. Example (11) is from (Baraga 1979:68):

- (11) *mi sa aw ikwe od akikobanin*.  
 ‘To this woman belonged the kettle.’

Focus is on the NP, *aw ikwe*.

In Ojibwe /*mii*/ forms two constructions which are both described as clefts when cited in isolation. The first type of /*mii*/ cleft-construction has /*mii*/ as the first word of its clause

followed by second position particles such as *sa*, and a verbal predicate. The verb can be otherwise unmarked as in example (12) (Rhodes 1998:286):

- (12) *mii sa giuwehn gii-biindge-gwaashknid wa nini...*  
'What the man did was jump inside (so they say)...'

Or these 'simple' /*mii*/ cleft-constructions can contain a "complementizer", (i.e. the demonstrative *wi* 'that'), preceding the verb, as in example (13) (Rhodes 1998:287):

- (13) *aanii-sh mii sa wi gii-ni-maajaad iidig wa.*  
'So apparently what he did was leave.'

The *wi* complementizer introduces the verb as a complement clause. Exceptionally here, the sentence level particle *aanii-sh* precedes the particle /*mii*/, and this will be examined in the word order section (see 2.3).

The second type is more complex, since /*mii*/ appears capable of predicating alone in clauses without verbs, as in example (14) (Rhodes 1998:288):

- (14) *aa, mii sa wi.*  
'Ok, that's it.'

Here, the "complementizer" really seems to be merely a focussed demonstrative.

Rhodes states that /*mii*/ is used to focus any clausal participant, regardless of grammatical relation in the clause. Example (15) (Rhodes 1998:288) illustrates a *mii*-cleft whose clausal participant *maanda* 'this' is a relative root complement (i.e. it is an additional manner complement of the verb):

- (15) *mii sa maanda gaa-zhichgewaad giw Nishnaabeg zhaazhi go.*  
'This is how the old time Indians used to do things.'

*mii*-clefts with relative root complements are common.

Certain common idiomatic expressions are formed as relative clauses without external heads. One such common idiom is for story endings, as in example (16) (Rhodes 1998:289):

- (16) *mii sa ekoozid.*  
 ‘That’s as far as it goes.’

In Severn the emphatic enclitic *hsa* ‘indeed’ marks assertive sentences. These sentences usually occur in response to a question. The enclitic modifies declarative and existential sentences as in example (17) (Todd 1970:81):

- (17) *mī’ hsa tēpwē*  
 It-is indeed true  
 ‘That’s for sure.’

### 2.2.1.1.3

### /naa/

A third type of emphatic that ‘marks evaluative information’ is *naa*. Example (18) is from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:586):

- (18) *mii naa gaa-zhichgewaad giw nishnaabeg gaa-niigaanzijid.*  
 ‘This is what the Indians who were leaders did.’  
*Mii* av ‘and’; *gaa-zhichgewaad* vai conj 3pProx ‘(CCNJ) what ANpl did’; *giw* prn 3pProx ‘those’; *nishnaabeg* na 3pProx ‘Indians’; *gaa-niigaanzijid* vai conj part 3pProx ‘(CCNJ) ANpl who were in charge’.

Emphasis is on the main clause.

### 2.2.1.1.4

### /sha/

A fourth type, an emphatic of ‘contradiction’ is *sha*. Example (19) is from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:964):

- (19) *mii-sh wa mndimooyenh bbaa-yaad, mii gii-wabmaad ninwan, mansooyan.*  
 ‘This old lady was wandering around and she saw some men, strangers.’  
*Mii* av ‘and then’; *wa* prn 3sProx ‘that’; *mndimooyehn* na 3sProx ‘old woman’; *bbaa-yaad* vai conj 3sProx ‘(CONJ) ANsg goes around’; *mii* av ‘and’; *gii-waabmaad* vta conj 3sProx ‘(CONJ) ANsg saw An obv’; *ninwan* na 3obv ‘man/men’; *mansooyan* na 3obv ‘stranger(s)’.

This particle typically occurs when characters are introduced into a story or when particular focus is put on them, while it also functions as a discourse sequencer. It can be the first major constituent in a *mii*-clause, which serves to give the nominal prominence.

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#### 2.2.1.1.5

#### /maa/

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The last type of emphatic that ‘expresses cooperation or requests cooperation’ is *maa*.

Example (20) is from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:971):

- (20) *mii maa naa pii iw gaa-maadseg iw treaty gaa-wnjii-miindwaa niw zhoonyaan.*  
‘That was at the time that the treaty started, that’s why they were given those coins.’  
*Mii* av ‘it’s’; *maa* av ‘then’; *pii* av ‘time’; *iw* prn 0s ‘that’; *gaa-maadseg vii ic conj 0*  
‘(CCNJ) when IN started’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *gaa-wnjii-miindwaa vta ic conj x > 3pProx*  
‘(CCNJ) why ANpl were given Y’; *niw* prn 0p ‘those’; *zhoonyaan ni 0p* ‘coins’.

It is a focus device that adds emphasis to statements or components of statements.

The authors who did not discuss or give examples of the emphatics with the particles perhaps did not understand the function or realize the importance of the particles in narratives, or simply did not encounter them. A few authors translated the language into phrases, quotes and expressions concerning western religion, so the language was not traditional Ojibwe.

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#### 2.2.1.2

#### Sequencing Particles

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Table 2.3 (on the following page) provides the main sequencing particle in the various dialects. Only examples as illustrated or cited by the authors will be provided.

The adverbial element, *dash*, is a very common word in the Nishnaabemwin language. It is susceptible to encliticization with a preceding word, such as /*mii*/ and it becomes an essential part of the word it is associated with. When it occurs with /*mii*/ it functions as a discourse sequencing device and as a focuser in constructions with relative clauses and related

Table 2.3: Sequencing Particles		
Dialect	Form	Translation
Nishnaabemwin	dash	‘so; then’
Eastern Ojibwa	etašš → tašš	‘and; then’
Ojibwe	dash	‘so; then’
Otchipwe	dash	‘but; then’
Chippeway	dush	‘but; and; then’
Severn	tahš	‘so then; moreover’

constructions. Examples (21) and (22) are from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:151-52):

- (21) *Mii dash gchi-gtaamgok mü-sh gii-gnabaasninig iw wjiimaanwaa mii dash gii gbwanaabaagwewaad, mii dash gaa-wnjii-wiiji-yaawaad maaba gwiiwzens niw ookmisan.*

‘And there was a great storm and it capsized their boat and they drowned, and that’s why this boy was staying with his grandmother.’

*Mii* av ‘and’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gchi-gtaamgokk* vii conj 0 (CONJ) the weather is really terrible’; *mii-sh* av ‘and then’; *gii-gnabaasninig* vii conj 0obv (CONJ) INobv capsized by wind’; *iw* prn 0s ‘that’; *wjiimaanwaa* ni 3pProx (0s) ‘their boat’; *mii* av ‘and’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gii-gbwanaabaagwewaad* vai conj 3pProx (CONJ) ANpl they drowned’; *mii* av ‘that’s’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gaa-wnjii-wiiji-yaawaad* vta ic conj 3sProx >> 3obv (CCNJ) why ANsg was with ANobv’; *maaba* pr 3sProx ‘this’; *gwiiwzens* na 3sProx ‘boy’; *niw* pr 3obv ‘that/those’; *ookmisan* na 3sProx (3obv) ‘ANsg’s grandmother’.

- (22) *Mii dash nonda gaa-zhwenmigjin.*

‘And it’s this one (obv) who took pity on him.’

*Mii* av ‘it’s’; *dash* av ‘then’; *nonda* pr 3obv ‘this/these’; *gaa-zhwenmigjin* vta ic conj part 3obv >> 3sProx (CCNJ) who (ANobv) took pity on ANsg’.

In example (21), it functions as a discourse sequencer serving to ‘pace and delimit’ sequential narration like the English running narrative, ‘so’ or ‘then’. In example (22), it functions as a focus device providing explicit focus on the person spoken about.

Example (23) is from Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958:182):

- (23) *mi· tašš ki·ki·we·petto·ya·n ki·wi·ntemawak aw nenkašše.*  
'Then I ran home and told my mother about it.'

The author does not discuss the function, only mentions that it is an enclitic particle. In this example it serves as a sequencing device.

When *dash* appears in /*mii*/ cleft constructions in Ojibwe, the reading is almost a temporal or logical outcome, 'and then' or 'so' as in examples (24) and (25) (Rhodes 1998:291):

- (24) *mii dash gii-dgoshnaang widi oodenaw Carlisle ezhnikaadeg ggizheb.*  
'Then this morning we arrived in a town called Carlisle.'

- (25) *mii dash gii-giiwebtooyaan, gii-wiindmaway aw ngashi.*  
'So I ran home and I told my mother.'

A common form of /*mii*/ clefts is on relative root complements as in the quote in example

(26), and with a negative, as in example (27) (Rhodes 1998:289):

- (26) *mii dash [gaa-zhid...]*  
'That's [what she told me...]'

- (27) *mii dash gonad Nimkiig gaa-wiigiiwehn wgashkhaasiiwaan.*  
'Apparently, the Thunderers couldn't do it.'

A more complex /*mii*/ construction includes an NP containing a relative clause as in example (28) (Rhodes 1998:288):

- (28) *mii dash naa niw gaazhgensan [gaa-wdabhagiiswaanwaaajin].*  
'It was cats they used for clocks.'

Regardless of its grammatical relation in the relative clause, /*mii*/ is used to focus any clausal participant as the main argument, as also seen in example (29) (Rhodes 1998:288):

- (29) *mii dash niw [gaa-gnahmawaawaajin giw getaijig...]*  
'These were the ones [who the parents warned...]'

A rare form of /*mii*/ construction can occur with an independent verb as in example (30) (Rhodes 1998:289):

- (30) *mī dash maaba shkiniikwe wgi-yaawaan wiiikiwenyan...*  
 ‘And this young woman had a friend...’

The particle *dash* in Otchipwe is defined as a copulative conjunction (which connects or continues a sentence) or a disjunctive conjunction (which expresses opposition in different circumstances) according to its significance. It is a copulative conjunction when signifying ‘and’, as in example (31) (Baraga 1979:73):

- (31) Joseph *ogi-odapinan Abinódjian oginigaie mī dash ga-iji-madjad.*  
 ‘Joseph took the children, his mother and departed.’

Although, Baraga (1979:491) calls the next instance in (32) “disjunctive”, signifying ‘but; then’, it simply seems to mirror the same usage as in (31).

- (32) *Nibiwa joniia ki gashkia, osam dash kid atáge, mī dash iw gego wendji-danisissiwán.*  
 ‘Thou earnest much money, but thou playest too much, and therefore thou hast no property.’

The particle *dush* in Chippeway is a conjunctive particle. The only example provided is the minimal form given here as example (33) (Wilson 1970:379):

- (33) *me dush*  
 ‘then (thereupon)’

The author did not discuss the particle or the function or the particle.

In the Severn dialect, two equational sentences, which are two non-verbal expressions either a Subject and Predicate or NPs, are coordinated and modified by the enclitic *tahš*. The enclitic serves to connect the sentence to previous discourse. In existential sentences the predicate/predicative asserts the existence of an entity at a particular time or place or generally. An existential sentence is introduced by *mī* ‘it is; it was’ and is the most common type of sentence in extended discourse and conversation. One type of existential sentence is composed of *mī* and a particle as in example (34) (Todd 1970:82):

- (34) *mī tahš mīnawāč ē-nīpininik... mī ihiwē*  
 It-was then again when it is summer ... it-was that  
 ‘so when it was summer again, that was ...’

*ahpin ē-kī-pōni-pimātisič ahawē ayamihē-okimā*  
 when that-has-end-he lives at that minister  
 ... when that minister died.'

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### 2.2.1.3

### Evidential Particles

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Evidential particles play an important role in many Amerindian languages. Silver and Miller (1997:34) state that ‘evidentials have to do with two aspects of reality, the reliability and the source of the knowledge embodied in speech.’ They form a separate and delineated system within the grammar and obligatory systems are common, there is a lot of variation in evidential particles. Evidential particles ‘provide a means by which a speaker can index the nature and reliability of his/her report’ (Valentine 2001:147). Whatever language is spoken, speakers must be concerned with the reliability and source of knowledge. They are common in narratives where the speaker’s report of the events may not be first-hand knowledge.

In Nishnaabemwin evidential particles (adverbs) that function to add an element of doubt or uncertainty to a predication are *giwehn* and *iidig*, the latter occurring only as a second constituent. These are translated as the English expressions, ‘it seems’, ‘evidently’, ‘they say’ or ‘allegedly’, as in examples (35) (Valentine 2001:735) and (36) (Valentine 2001:967):

(35) *Mii giwehn zhiwi gii-gbeshwaad.*  
 ‘And so it seems they made camp there.’  
*Mii* av ‘and’; *giwehn* av ‘evidently’; *zhiwi* av ‘there’; *gii-gbeshwaad vai conj 3pProx*  
 ‘(CONJ) ANpl camped’.

(36) *Ootaahaa! Mii giwehn zhaazhi go aabta-giigoonywud wa!*  
 ‘Goodness! Already it seems he’s half fish!’  
*Ootaahaa* av ‘oh my’; *Mii* av ‘then’; *giwehn* av ‘allegedly’; *zhaazhi* av ‘already’; *aabta-giigoonywud vai conj 3sProx*  
 ‘(CONJ) ANsg is half-becomes a fish’; *wa* prn 3sProx  
 ‘fish’.

Prominence can be given to particular particles resulting in placement at front of a clause as in example (36).

In Ojibwe a *mii* cleft on relative root complements are common and often formed with no external head, as in example (37) (Rhodes 1998:289):

- (37) *Mii giuwehn [enaajmotwaad wa mndimooyehn niwi wniijaan 'san].*  
 ‘Apparently, that’s [what the old lady told her children].’

In Otchipwe, it is known as the ‘dubitative’ or ‘traditional’, as in example (38) (Baraga 1979:256):

- (38) *Kishpin wawiiataanong ijad, mi idog iwapi ge-wabamagwen ogwissan, kishpin keiabi bimadiginigwen.*  
 ‘If he goes to Detroit then, I suppose, he will see his son, if he is living yet.’

The missionaries avoided the ‘dubitative’ on the belief that ‘we ought to speak in an assuring manner in relating Scriptural facts’ (Baraga 1979:96).

#### 2.2.1.4

#### Temporal Particles

Temporal particles refer to the time or duration of an event, action or state. They overlap with interrogative particles which will be discussed in section 2.2.1.10. Examples (39) (Valentine 2001:588-589) and (40) (Valentine 2001:827) are from Nishnaabemwin:

- (39) *Mii ngoding bbaa-miinkeyaang mii gii-megwaashkwaangdwaa giw nisnaabeg gaa-wnikewaad iitog wdaabjichganwaan iw wii-wiisniwaad.*  
 ‘Once we were out berry picking we happened to meet these Indians who had apparently forgotten their utensils for eating.’  
*Mii* av ‘and’; *ngoding* av ‘once’; *bbaa-miinkeyaang* vai conj 1p ‘(CONJ) we were going around gathering berries’; *mii* av ‘then’; *gii-megwaashkwaangdwaa* vta conj 1p>>3pProx ‘(CONJ) we encountered ANpl’; *giw* prn 3pProx ‘these’; *nisnaabeg* na 3pProx ‘Indians’; *gaa-wnikewaad* vaio ic conj 3pProx ‘(CONJ) when ANpl forgot (Y)’; *iitog* av ‘it seems’; *wdaabjichganwaan* ni 3pProx(0p) ‘their utensils’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *wii-wiisniwaad* vai conj 3pProx ‘(CONJ) ANpl will eat’.

This type of clause is common in the beginning formula for narratives.

- (40) *Mii noongo dbikak wii-maajaayaan gaa dash gnandwenmisnoon maa nshike ji-yaayan.*  
 ‘Tonight I’m going to go away and I don’t want you to be here alone.’

*Mii* av ‘so’; *noongo* av ‘today’; *dbikak* vii conj 0 ‘(CONJ) IN be night’; *wii-maajaayaan* vai conj 1s ‘(CONJ) I will go away’; *gaa* av ‘no’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gnandwenmisnoon* vta ind 1s>>2s neg ‘I don’t want you (SG)’; *maa* av ‘here’; *nshike* av ‘alone’; *ji-yaayan* vai conj 2s ‘(CONJ) you SG will be’.

Example (41), including the temporal particle *a·ši* “already” is from Eastern Ojibwa

(Bloomfield 1958:194):

- (41) *Mi· a·ši ki·tekoššink aw ki·ko~.*  
 ‘That is when the fish have arrived.’

In Ojibwe, the *mii* construction with a temporal particle contains a complementizer as in example (42) (Rhodes 1998:287):

- (42) ...*mii baamaa iw da-giishkwag aw mtig.*  
 ‘...then, later on, I shall cut down those trees.’

Example (43), including the temporal particle *waiba* “soon”, is from Otchipwe (Baraga 1979:164):

- (43) *Gi-wewibendaman mi waiba ga-bi-ondji-giweian.*  
 ‘Because thou hast made haste, therefore thou hast come back soon.’

Example (44), including the temporal particle *ahzhegwuh* “already”, is from Chippeway (Wilson 1970:132):

- (44) *Kahween megwach me ahzhegwuh ke-ishquah-weseneyaun.*  
 ‘No thank you, I have finished.’

Example (45), including the temporal particle *mīnawāč* “again”, is from Severn (Todd 1970:82):

- (45) *Mī mīnawāč kā-iši-mīnak niyānanwāpihk šōniyān*  
 it-is again that-thus-I-give-it-to-him five-metal money  
 ‘again I gave it to him five dollars.’

In these examples, (42)-(45), focus or emphasis is on a temporal context as specified by the particle.

Locative particles refer to the location in relation to some reference point. These include simple and complex particles. Examples (46), (47) (Valentine 2001:536-37) and (48) (Valentine 2001:734) are from Nishnaabemwin:

- (46) *Mii maa naa iw gaa-naabdizid maaba gii-bmiwdood iw kidwin, mzhinwe, wgii-zhinkaanaawaan.*  
 ‘It was this one’s work to carry a message, messenger they called him.’  
*Mii* av ‘it’s’; *maa* av ‘there’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *gaa-naabdizid* vai ic conj 3sProx ‘(CONJ) that ANsg was put to such use’; *maaba* pr 3sProx ‘this’; *gii-bmiwdood* vti conj 3sProx>>0 ‘(CONJ) ANsg carried IN’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *kidwin* ni 0s ‘message’; *mzhinwe* na 3sProx ‘messenger’; *wgii-zhinkaanaawaan* vta ind 3pProx>>3obv ANpl called ANobv so’.
- (47) *Mii odi gii-mkamaang iw zaaghigan, miinwaa baatiindoon miinan, giigoonyag ge yaawag maa zaaghigning.*  
 ‘And there we found this lake, and there were lots of berries, and there were also fish there in the lake.’  
*Mii* av ‘it’s’; *odi* av ‘there’; *gii-mkamaang* vii conj 1p ‘(CONJ) we (excl) found IN’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *zaaghigan* ni 0s ‘lake’; *miinwaa* av and’; *baatiindoon* vii ind 0p ‘INpl are abundant’; *miinan* ni 0p ‘berries’; *giigoonyag* na 3pProx ‘fish’; *ge* av ‘also’; *yaawag* vai ind 3pProx ‘ANpl are there’; *maa* av ‘there’; *zaaghigning* mo 0 loc ‘in lake’.
- (48) *Gchi-zaaghigan zhonda ge-dgog, mii zhonda ge-bi-zhaawaad ge-giigoonykejig.*  
 ‘There will be a big lake here, where people will come to fish.’  
*Gchi-zaaghigan* ni 0s ‘big lake’; *zhonda* av ‘here’; *ge-dgog* vii ic conj 3sProx ‘(CCNJ) IN will be there’; *mii* av ‘and’; *zhonda* av ‘here’; *ge-bi-zhaawaad* vai ic conj 3pProx ‘(CCNJ) ANpl will come’; *ge-giigoonykejig* vai ic conj part 3pProx ‘(CCNJ) ANpl who will fish’.

In example (46) the translation suggests that the emphasis is on the reference point of subject, but in examples (47) and (48) the emphasis is clearly on the reference point of location.

Example (49) is from Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958:201):

- (49) *usa·m kešite· mi· ema· pi·nci·ye?i·nk.*  
 ‘It’s too hot in here.’

Example (50) from Ojibwe (Rhodes 1998:289) is a *mii* cleft with a locative oblique participant:

- (50) *Zaam gzhide **mii** maa biinjiihiing.*  
 ‘It’s too hot where it is [I am] inside.’

In both examples emphasis is situated on location.

Example (51) is from Otchipwe (Wilson 1970:142):

- (51) ***Me** omah mahjesing ewh ishwauching chapter Genesis aduming.*  
 ‘Here beginneth the 6<sup>th</sup> Chapter of the Book of Genesis.’

Examples (52), (53) and (54) are from Severn (Todd 1970:81):

- (52) ***Mi** wētē niwāhkāhikan*  
 It-is there my house  
 ‘there is my house.’

The NP may be deleted after the locative proform, which may also combine with certain locative phrases as in examples (53) and (54):

- (53) ***Mi** wētē išpimink*  
 It-is there up  
 ‘it’s up there’
- (54) ***Mi** ohomā čīmānink*  
 It-is here in-the canoe  
 ‘It’s here in the canoe.’

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### 2.2.1.6

### Manner Particles

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Manner particles refer to the way or manner an action, event or state is undertaken.

Example (55) is from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:621):

- (55) *Gaye wii niwiidigemaagan **mii** naasaab ga-izhitwaad, niin gaawii.*  
 ‘My husband too, practised that rite, but not I.’  
*Gaye* av ‘and’; *wii* pr pers 3s ‘ANsg’; *niwiidigemaagan* na 1s (3sProx) ‘my spouse’; *mii* av ‘it’s’; *naasaab* av ‘equivalently’; *ga-izhitwaad* vai ic conj 3sProx ‘(CCNJ) ANsg practised religion so’; *niin* pr pers 1s ‘I’; *gaawii* av ‘not’.

Example (56) is from Otchipwe (Baraga 1979:533):

- (56) ***Me** geget ejinagwak.*  
 ‘It’s likely enough.’

The emphasis is on affirmation, marking the particle *geget* ‘really, truly’.

Example (57) (Wilson 1970:145) and (58) (Wilson 1970:157) are from Chippeway:

- (57) *Egewh nayaushing anduhnuhkejig keche mujjeëzhewabezewug, me tebishko anuhmeähsegoog.*  
‘These people at the point are very wicked, they may as well be pagans.’
- (58) *Me quuyuck.*  
‘(it’s) all right.’

Emphasis is on the manner ‘adverb’ or particle as in example (58).

In Severn, they are used to form existential sentences as in examples (59) and (60) (Todd 1970:81):

- (59) *Mī kwayahk*  
It-is correct  
‘that’s right’
- (60) *Mī nāhsap*  
It-is the same  
‘it’s the same’

In all of these examples emphasis is on the manner of the event, action or state specified.

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### 2.2.1.7

### Degree Particles

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Degree particles refer to the degree or intensity and they overlap with quantificational particles which will be discussed in section 2.2.1.9. Example (61) is from Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958:191):

- (61) *mi· e-tta nempi·šš ka·-pemicuwank ke·keše·pa·wekakk.*  
‘Only then did the water flow, in the morning.’

The particle *e-tta* ‘only’ defines focus.

Example (62) is from Ojibwe (Rhodes 1998:290):

- (62) *mii tepwe miinawaa eni-waapaninik okii-waapamaan tetako ephiihci-minwaapecwic aha minhkewiwihsh kaa-kii-mihsawinawaac.*  
 ‘And indeed when it got to be dawn ‘Minohkwewihsh’ saw a very handsome man that she wished to have.’

Example (63) is from Otchipwe (Baraga 1979:550-51):

- (63) *kid inendam na, nidji, gi-dagwishinomagak oma anamiewin, mi awashime nibiwa anishinabeg wendji-nibowad.*  
 ‘Do you think, my friend, because religion has arrived here, therefore more Indians die now.’

In Severn, the combination of *mī* with *ēhta* may be followed by a nominal phrase as in example (64) (Todd 1970:81):

- (64) *mī ēhta wāpōs, mōs, kinōšē*  
 it-is only rabbit moose fish  
 ‘there was only hare, moose, fish’

In Nishnaabemwin, *eta* does not occur in the second position when following /*mii*/, however it can occur as a third constituent when following /*mii*/ as example (65) seen in the next section 2.2.1.8.

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### 2.2.1.8 Conjunctive Particles

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Conjunctive particles serve to connect phrases, clauses or sentences. Examples (65)

(Valentine 2001:576-577) and (66) (Valentine 2001:773) are from Nishnaabemwin:

- (65) *Mii ge eta bezhig nwi yaamwaad, gaa gegoo waa-miijwaad, gchi-gzheb dash gii-nishkaa aw bezhig wgii-nda-waabmaan niw bnewan mii-sh go gaa-piichi-boodwewaad giw aaning.*  
 ‘And they have only one shell, and nothing to eat, so this one got up early and went looking for some partridges, while some of them started a fire.’  
*Mii* av ‘and’; *ge* av ‘also’; *eta* av ‘only’; *bezhig* nm ‘one’; *nwi* ni 0s ‘bullet’; *yaamwaad* vii conj 3pProx>>0 ‘(CONJ) ANpl have IN’; *gaa* av ‘not’; *gegoo* pr indef 0 ‘anything’; *waa-miijwaad* vii ic conj part 3pProx>>0 ‘(CONJ) what ANpl will eat IN’; *gchi-gzheb* av ‘very early in the morning’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gii-nishkaa* vai ind 3sProx ‘ANsg got up’; *aw* pr 3sProx ‘that’; *bezhig* nm ‘one’; *wgii-nda-waabmaan* vta ind 3sProx>>3obv ‘ANsg looked for ANobv’; *niw* pr 3obv ‘that/those’; *bnewan* na 3obv ‘partridges’; *mii-sh* av ‘and then’; *gaa-piichi-boodwewaad* vai ic conj 3pProx ‘(CONJ) ANpl were in the process of making a fire’; *giw* pr 3pProx ‘those’; *aaning* av ‘some’.

- (66) *Mii zhiḡwa wii-ni-maajaayaan.*  
 ‘Now I must leave right away.’  
*Mii* av ‘so’; *zhiḡwa* av ‘now’; *wii-ni-maajaayaan* vai conj 1s ‘(CONJ) I will leave’.

Example (67) is from Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958:141):

- (67) *Mi·šikwa wi·-ni-ma·ca·ya·n.*  
 ‘Now I must leave right away.’

Example (68) is from Ojibwe (Rhodes 1998:287):

- (68) *Mii gye go gii-bskaabnaashkwindwaa.*  
 ‘And then they were driven back.’

Example (69) is from Otchipwe (Baraga 1979:551-552):

- (69) *Ima gaie B...ejinikadeg mi gaie ima gi-kitchi-odenawang.*  
 ‘And so in a place called B...there was a great village there too.’

In some cases, especially with the connective/temporal particle *zhiḡwa/šikwa*, there may be considerable overlap between connective and temporal particles.

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### 2.2.1.9 Quantification Particles

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Quantification particles refer to ‘how many’ in general terms and are related to numbers and exhibit similar grammatical behaviour. Example (70) is from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:726-27):

- (70) *Mii dash gii-godkoniiziid widi giyahii gii-bkonaad niw waawaashkeshwan gye go mii kina gii-mnozwaad.*  
 ‘Then he scrambled up there to the top (of the bluff) and cut up the deer and roasted it all.’  
*Mii* av ‘and’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gii-godkoniiziid* vai conj 3sProx ‘(CONJ) ANsg climbed up slope’; *widi* av ‘over there’; *giyahii* av ‘on top’; *gii-bkonaad* vta conj 3sProx>>3obv ‘(CONJ) ANsg skinned ANobv’; *niw* pr 3obv ‘that/those’; *waawaashkeshwan* na 3obv ‘deer’; *gye* av ‘and’; *mii* av ‘then’; *kina* av ‘all’; *gii-mnozwaad* vta conj 3sProx>>3obv ‘(CONJ) ANsg cooked ANobv’.

Examples (71) (Baraga 1979:546) and (72) (Baraga 1979:487) are from Otchipwe:

- (71) *Mi kakina gi-bositchigadeg.*  
 ‘All is shipped now.’

- (72) *Mi minik.*  
'That is all.'

Example (73) is from Chippeway (Wilson 1970:29):

- (73) *Me minik.*  
'It's enough.'

The construction in examples (72) and (73) is common in all dialects and is translated as 'it's enough', 'that's enough' or 'that's all' and may be used as an idiom in narrative or discourse endings.

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### 2.2.1.10 Interrogative Particles

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Interrogative particles are used in questions that request simple agreement or disagreement (i.e. polarity (yes/no) questions). They are closely related to interrogative proforms. Example (74) is from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:978):

- (74) *Mii na wii-boontaayang?*  
'Is this when we (incl) stop working?'  
*Mii* av 'it's'; *na* av 'yes/no question'; *wii-boontaayang* vai conj 21 '(CONJ) we (incl) will stop working'.

Example (75) is from Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958:167):

- (75) *Mi· na ema· e·nta·ye·k?*  
'It is there that you (pl) live?'

Example (76) is from Otchipwe (Baraga 1979:138):

- (76) *Mi na eji-kikinoamagoian?*  
'Art thou taught so?'

Example (77) is from Chippeway (Wilson 1970:130):

- (77) *Me nuh goo mahbah kewedegamahgun?*  
'Is this your wife?'

In Severn, interrogative enclitics modify existential sentences as in example (76) (Todd 1970:89):

- (78) *Mī na ihiwē kwayahk*  
It-is yes-or-no that correctly  
'Is that right?'

In this type of sentence the interrogative enclitic is essential. These types of constructions are often used for an agreement of an assumption or a coherent assumption and an affirmative answer is expected.

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#### 2.2.1.11

#### Summary of Particles

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Co-occurrence of the particle */mii/* with these various particles implies that */mii/* functions as a discourse device, serving to mark discourse cohesion or provide focus in specific constructions (as with relative clauses). Its focus can be an NP or pronoun and these nominals can represent any clausal participant regardless of the grammatical relation in the clause. Prominence is given to characters previously introduced into a narrative or discourse or when particular focus is on the character. It also emphasizes the time, location, manner, degree, etc. of the event, state or action. The particle */mii/* also functions as a discourse sequencer in narrative and regular discourse. It serves to pace and delimit sequential narration.

In most */mii/* constructions or clauses the verb is in the conjunct order, which will be briefly discussed in the section 2.2.4. */mii/* cleft constructions can contain a complementizer and the construction complements an NP (noun phrase). */mii/* can also predicate in non-verbal clauses and also participates in idiomatic or specialized constructions. Clefts formed with no external head are common in idioms as briefly discussed section 2.2.1.1.2.

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**2.2.2****Pronominals**

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A pronominal is a word or phrase that functions to represent an entire Noun Phrase referent (i.e. as a pronoun). Pronouns are words that serve various grammatical functions affiliated with nouns and nominals. The Ojibwe dialects have pronoun sets including personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

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**2.2.2.1****Personal Pronouns**

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Personal pronouns identify people and things based on their conversational role. In English these are words such as; ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘he’, ‘she’, etc.

Valentine states that in Nishnaabemwin the personal pronouns ‘are also used in focusing contexts with the predicative element /*mii*/’. (Valentine 2001:614) No examples in any of the dialects were cited by any of the authors, and examples of the personal pronouns only appeared as a subsequent constituent following /*mii*/ with another particle.

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**2.2.2.2****Demonstrative Pronouns**

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Demonstrative pronouns ‘point’ out the referents on the basis of proximity to some reference point, often the speaker’s location. Demonstrative pronouns that specify close proximity to the speaker are “proximal”, those that are distant are “distal”, and those that are ‘farther’ are “remote”. They also index the nominal categories of gender, number and obviation. Only examples, of particle and pronoun, as illustrated by authors will be provided.

The following tables, Table 2.4, Table 2.5, Table 2.6, and examples (79) through (85), are from Nishnaabemwin. The two sets of demonstratives given in Tables 2.4 and 2.5 reflect dialect variation within Nishnaabemwin: Set 1 is Manitoulin Island Odawa and Set 2 is found at other

locales. Examples (79) (Valentine 2001:552), (80) (Valentine 2001:537), and (81) (Valentine 2001:779) contain proximal demonstrative pronouns:

Table 2.4: Nishnaabemwin Proximal Demonstrative Pronouns				
Code	Set 1	Set 2	Meaning	Grammatical Category
3s	maaba	aw	‘this (one)’ animate	proximate AN, proximal sg
3’	nanda, nonda	now	‘this (one)’ animate	obviative AN, proximal
3p	gonda	gow	‘these’ animate	proximate AN, proximal pl
0	maanda	ow	‘this (one)’ inanimate	IN proximal sg
0p	nanda, nonda	now	‘these’ inanimate	IN proximal pl

(Adapted from Valentine 2001:123)

- (79) *Mii maaba ga-kidod zhaagnashii-gchi-gimaa.*  
 ‘That’s what this white officer said.’  
*Mii* av ‘and’; *maaba* pr 3sProx ‘this’; *ga-kidod* vai ic conj 3sProx ‘(CCNJ) ANsg said’; *zhaagnashii-gchi-gimaa* na 3sProx ‘English (white) leader’.
- (80) *Mii aw kwezens ntaawgid mii aw gimaa pii iw enaad, “Mii sa noongo ji-gkinoohmoonaan iw sa ge-gi-naadziyan niigaan.”*  
 ‘When a young woman reaches maturity, the chief at that time says to her, “Now I would instruct you about the way you’re going to live in the future.”’  
*Mii* av ‘then’; *aw* pr 3sProx ‘this’; *kwezens* na 3sProx ‘young woman’; *ntaawgid* vai conj 3sProx ‘(CONJ) ANsg grows up’; *mii* av ‘then’; *aw* pr 3sProx ‘that’; *gimaa* na 3sProx ‘chief’; *pii* av/ni ‘time’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *enaad* vta ic conj 3sProx>>3obv ‘(CCNJ) ANsg spoke to ANobv’; *mii* av ‘so’; *noongo* av ‘now’; *ji-gkinoohmoonaan* vta conj 1s>>2s ‘(CONJ) I will teach you (SG)’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *ge-gi-naadziyan* vai ic conj 2s ‘(CCNJ) you (SG) will live so’; *niigaan* av in the future’.
- (81) *Aahaaw! Wegwendig wedaase enendmogwenh, mii nanda ge-daapnaad pwaagnan.*  
 ‘Okay! Whoever thinks himself a brave, he is the one who will take this pipe.’  
*aahaaw* av ‘okay’; *wegwendig* pr dub 3 ‘whoever’; *wedaase* na 3sProx ‘a warrior’; *enendmogwenh* vai ic conj dub 3sProx ‘(CCNJ) ANsg might feel so’; *mii* av ‘it’s’; *nanda* pr 3obv ‘this/these’; *ge-daapnaad* vta ic conj 3sProx>>3obv ‘(CCNJ) ANsg will take ANobv’; *pwaagnan* na 3obv ‘pipe(s)’.

A nominal can be the first major member in the *mii* clause, which serves to give the nominal a bit of prominence. This typically occurs when characters are introduced into a story or when particular focus is put on the character. By placing a nominal at the front of the *mii* clause, it gives prominence to a character already introduced, as in examples (79) and (80).

Distal or ‘farther’ pronouns as given in Table 2.5 specify concepts equivalent to English ‘that’ and ‘those’. Examples (82) (Valentine 2001:585), (83) (Valentine 2001:687) and (84) (Valentine 2001:620) contain distal demonstrative pronouns.

<b>Code</b>	<b>Set 1</b>	<b>Set 2</b>	<b>Meaning</b>	<b>Grammatical Category</b>
3s	wa	aw	‘that (one)’ animate	proximate AN, distal sg
3’	niwi, niwin	niw	‘that (one)/those’ animate	obviative AN, distal
3p	giwi, giwig	giw	‘those’ animate	proximate AN, distal pl
0	wi	iw	‘that (one)’ inanimate	IN distal sg
0p	niwi, niwin	niw	‘those’ inanimate	IN distal pl

(Adapted from Valentine 2001:124)

- (82) *Mii wa nini dakweman gaaa-bkinaagen’jin mbingoo.*  
 ‘That’s the man whose wife won at bingo.’  
*Mii* av ‘it’s’; *wa* pr 3sProx ‘that’; *nini* na 3sProx ‘man’; *dakweman* na 3sProx (3obv) ‘ANsg’s woman/wife’; *gaaa-bkinaagen’jin vai ic conj part 3obv* ‘who (ANobv) won’; *mbingoo ni? 0s* ‘bingo’.
- (83) *Mii sa iw gaa-izhichigewad gii-zagaswaawaad, mii agiw gidawemaag.*  
 ‘This is what they have decided upon having smoked, your brothers.’  
*mii* av ‘that’s’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *gaa-izhichigewad vai ic conj 3pProx* ‘(CCNJ) what ANpl did’; *gii-zagaswaawaad vai conj 3pProx* ‘(CONJ) ANpl smoked tobacco’; *mii* av ‘it’s’; *agiw* pr 3pProx ‘those’; *gidawemaag* na 2s(3pProx) ‘your brothers’.

- (84) *Mii iw ezhitwaawaad gaye nii ninijaanisag.*  
 ‘My children too, have that religion.’  
*Mii* av ‘that’s’; *iw* pr 0s ‘that’; *ezhitwaawaad* vai ic conj 3pProx ‘(CCNJ) which ANpl practice religion’; *gaye* av ‘as for’; *nii* pr pers 1s ‘I’; *ninijaanisag* nad 1s (3pProx) ‘my children’.

Valentine states that usually when the demonstrative pronoun *iw* is associated with */mii/* a subordinate clause will follow in plain conjunct or conjunct with initial change.

Remote demonstrative pronouns, as given in Table 2.6, refer to a ‘third degree’ of distance which may be considered equivalent to English ‘way over there’. Example (85) (Valentine 2001:708) contains a remote demonstrative pronoun.

Table 2.6: Nishnaabemwin Remote Demonstrative Pronouns			
Code	Form	Meaning	Grammatical Category
3s, 0s	widi, wedi	‘that (one) over there’	remote sg
3’	niwi, niwedi	‘that/those (AN) over there’	remote AN obviative
3p	giwi, giwedi wediig	‘those (AN) over there’	AN remote pl
0p	niwi, niwedi	‘those (IN) over there’	IN remote pl

(Adapted from Valentine 2001:125)

- (85) *Mii sa degwaagig dash aawang ogii-igowaan iniw Anishinaaben bezhig, “Mii iwidi ge-dazhi-biboonishiyaan.”*  
 ‘Then since it was autumn, one Indian told them, “Over there will be the place I will spend the winter.’  
*mii* av ‘and’; *degwaagig* vii ic conj 0 ‘(CCNJ) when IN was autumn’; *dash* av ‘then’; *aawang* vii conj 0 ‘(CONJ) IN was’; *ogii-igowaan* vta ind 3obv>>3pProx ‘ANobv said to ANpl’; *iniw* prnt 3obv ‘that/those’; *Anishinaaben* na 3obv ‘Indians’; *bezhig* nm ‘one’; *Mii* av ‘it’s’; *iwidi* pr 0s ‘over there’; *ge-dazhi-biboonishiyaan* vai ic conj 1s ‘(CCNJ) I will spend winter there’.

The particle *mii* occurs with all sets of demonstrative pronouns. A demonstrative that co-occurs with the particle functions as a discourse sequencer in *mii* clauses and as a focus device

which gives prominence to the proximity of the reference point from the speaker’s location (explicit focus). Valentine finds no difference between *mii* clauses with *iw* and regular discourse sequencing *mii* clauses.

Eastern Ojibwa demonstrative pronouns differentiate for gender, number and obviation for ‘near’ and for ‘farther’, as indicated in Table 2.7.

<b>Table 2.7: Eastern Ojibwa Demonstrative Pronouns</b>			
<b>Grammatical category</b>	<b>‘this’</b>	<b>‘that’</b>	<b>‘that over there’</b>
animate sg	ma·pa	aw	uwiti, uwe·ti
inanimate sg	ma·nta	iw	uwiti, uwe·ti
animate pl	ekonta	ekiw	ekiwi, ekiwe·ti
obviative inanimate pl	eninta	eniw	eniwi, eniwe·ti

(Adapted from Bloomfield 1958:43)

Example (86) is from Eastern Ojibwa (Bloomfield 1958:133):

- (86) *mi· ma·nta ka·ešisseto·t.*  
 ‘This is the way he placed it.’

Bloomfield states *mi·* is modified by the inanimate demonstrative pronoun *iw* and *ma·nta* as in the example.

In Ojibwe *mii*-constructions in isolation are analyzed as clefted, and example (87) (Rhodes 1998:286) is a focus cleft:

- (87) *Mii maanda sa ge waabandameg.*  
 ‘This is what you (all) will see.’

This construction is also used in the expression for the ending formula for texts, as in (88) where a subordinate clause follows the */mii/* clause (changed conjunct), or shortened to the common idiom in (89) (Rhodes 1998:292).

(88) *Mii iw mnik ekdoyaan.*  
 ‘That’s as much as I’m going to say.’

(89) *Mii iw.*  
 ‘That’s all.’

In his earlier research, Rhodes did not recognize the distinct syntax of the two types of *mii* clefts, a focus cleft and a clausal cleft, but he now suggests that at least one /*mii*/ cleft can occur in every paragraph.

In Otchipwe, demonstratives are those that indicate persons or things spoken of. They are divided into two classes, animate (Table 2.8) and inanimate (Table 2.9).

<b>Table 2.8: Otchipwe Animate Demonstrative Pronouns</b>		
<b>‘refers to “near” animate objects’</b>		
<b>Number</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Singular	aw	this
	waáw	this one
	mábam	this here
Plural	ogów	these
	mámig	these here
<b>‘refers to “distant” animate objects</b>		
Singular	aw	that, that one, that there
Obviative	iniw, aniw	that, that one, that there
Plural	igiw, agiw	those, those there
Obviative	iniw, aniw	those, those there

(Adapted from Baraga 1979:77-78)

Examples (90) and (91) refer to animate objects (Baraga 1979:78):

- (90) *Mi aw inini débenimad iniw manishtánishan.*  
 ‘This is the man that owns those sheep.’
- (91) *Mii mámig ninidjanissag, iniw dash nijishe onidjanissan.*  
 ‘These here are my children and those are my uncle’s children.’

<b>Table 2.9: Otchipwe Inanimate Demonstrative Pronouns</b>		
<b>‘refers to “near” inanimate objects’</b>		
<b>Number</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Singular	ow	this
	mándan	this here
Plural	onow	these
	iniw	these here
<b>‘refers to “distant” inanimate objects</b>		
Singular	iw	that, that there
Plural	iniw	those, those there

(Adapted from Baraga 1979:79)

Examples (92) (Baraga 1979:66) and (93) (Baraga 1979:531) refer to inanimate objects.

- (92) *Mi ow nin kitiganiban, bakán dash ningétchi nongom nin kitigé.*  
 ‘This was formerly my field, but now I make my field elsewhere.’
- (93) *Migwetch; mi iw.*  
 ‘I thank you; that is enough.’

The *mi* clause in (93) may be used in general as an idiom in storytelling or when discourse is ending.

Table 2.10 is from Chippeway (adapted from Wilson 1970:27), and examples (94) (Wilson 1970:132) and (95) (Wilson 1970:269) refer to inanimate objects.

<b>Table 2.10: Chippeway Demonstrative Pronouns</b>		
<b>Grammatical category</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
AN singular	máhbah, wah-owh	this
AN plural	máhmig, óogoo	this
AN obviative	máhmin, énewh	this
IN singular	máunduh, oo-oo	this
IN plural	oonoo	this
AN singular	owh	that
AN plural	égewh	that
AN obviative	énewh	that
IN singular	ewh	that
IN plural	énewh	that

(94) *Me oo-oo ewh pahtuhkuhegun kah-ahbujjeboyaun.*  
 ‘Here is the fork I used.’

(95) *Me ewh neezhig madwasing.*  
 ‘That is the second bell.’

In Severn, *mī* and a demonstrative pronoun compose a type of existential sentence as in examples (96) and (97) (Todd 1970:80):

(96) *mī ahawē ninkosihs.*  
 It-is that my-son  
 ‘That’s my son.’

- (97) *mī ihiwē ēhkitoč.*  
It-is that he says  
'That's what he says.'

Todd states that the meaning of the verb does not change when a demonstrative pronoun intervenes in a basic clause with a relative root verb as in the example (97).

Interrogative pronouns, which are used when asking questions of 'who', 'what', 'where', etc. do not co-occur with /*mii*/ in the dialects researched. No examples were found.

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### 2.2.2.3

### Summary of Pronominals

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The particle /*mii*/ co-occurs with all sets of demonstrative pronouns and this allows for discourse sequencing in /*mii*/ clauses. It is also a focus device which gives prominence or explicit focus to the proximity of the reference point from the speaker's location. Isolated /*mii*/ forms are clefted, meaning that /*mii*/ forms are focus devices in constructions using relative clauses. Valentine concludes that focus constructions with /*mii*/ are similar to identificational constructions (constructions used to assert identity of persons or things) with the focused item as an NP or pronoun.

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### 2.2.3

### Nominals

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A nominal is a noun, pronoun or participle that functions as an argument of a verb in a construction. Nouns in Algonquian languages are sub-grouped according to grammatical gender. The two basic genders are: animate and inanimate. Animate refers to most living things (people, animals, birds, insects, fish, trees and some plants), culturally important items including some personal items, and some parts of the universe and anatomy. Inanimate refers to most non-living

things, some plants and items that do not fit into the animate category. Nouns also agree in gender, number (singular/plural) and obviation.

Examples of /*mii*/-focussed nominals in the sources cited are not common, but some can be found. Example (98) is from Nishnaabemwin (Valentine 2001:611):

- (98) *Bngiishenh wgii-gaadaajmotwaan wiinawaa nishnaabewwaad wii-daapnigaazwaad, mii gchi-mookmaan gaa-kidod.*  
'He concealed a little in telling him that since they were Indians, they would be seized according to what the American had said.'  
*Bngiishenh* av 'a little'; *wgii-gaadaajmotwaan* vta ind 3sProx>>3obv 'ANsg made an uncomplete report'; *wiinawaa* pr pers 3p 'ANpl'; *nishnaabewwaad* vai conj 3pProx '(CONJ) ANpl were Indians'; *wii-daapnigaazwaad* vai conj 3pProx '(CONJ) ANpl would be seized'; *mii* av 'that's'; *gchi-mookmaan* na 3sProx 'American'; *gaa-kidod* vai ic conj 3sProx '(CCNJ) ANsg said'.

Example (99) is from Chippeway (Wilson 1970:139):

- (99) *Me twahebun ka-dubzhe-menequawaud pezhekewug.*  
'There is a hole for the cattle to drink.'

This example illustrates a cleft focus construction; the particle *me* occurs in first position introducing the new information being supplied, and this is separate from the verbal construction.

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### 2.2.3.1

### Summary of Nominals

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Although not commonly attested, the particle /*mii*/ can occur with the nouns, in which case focus or emphasis is on the noun regardless of the grammatical gender. In English, nominal subject expressions (NP) precede the restricted verb expression in word order, while in Algonquian languages this is not essential and nominal expressions can precede the verb expression or follow it. The two examples given above were the only two examples found in the texts researched, so beyond attesting their rarity, little more can be said at this time and this remains an area for further research.

A verb is a word that expresses the idea of an action, event or state. In Algonquian languages verbs with different semantic role relationships are used depending on what aspects of an action, event or state the speaker wishes to focus on. The two types of verbs are intransitive and transitive. An intransitive verb has a single semantic role and there is therefore no transfer of action. A transitive verb has two or more semantic roles coding a transfer of action. The verbs also agree with gender, number and obviation. Two types of intransitive verbs are Animate Intransitive (AI) and Inanimate Intransitive (II) and the two types of transitive verbs are Transitive Animate (TA) and Transitive Inanimate (TI).

These verbs can be put in the various modes such as, the imperative and negative imperative, used for commands and negative commands; independent and negative independent, used for statements, negative statements and polarity questions; and the conjunct and negative conjunct mode, used for subordinate clauses, negative subordinate clauses and supplementary questions. Verbs in the conjunct order present tense will undergo an initial change. An initial change is a change in the first syllable of the verb. The first syllable of a verb containing the short vowels [i] and [a] will change to [ē] as in the verb in example (102), a verb containing the short [o] in the first syllable will change to [wē-] as in the verb in example (106).

Examples (100) (Valentine 2001:819) and (101) (Valentine 2001:813) are from Nishnaabemwin:

- (100) “*Bjiinag go bi-bepeshaabang, bi-makwaabang, **mii** ji-baabubaagndamaan”, *wgii-naan sa giivehn*.  
 “As soon as the streaks of light appear, as soon as the glow of dawn shows, I will shout”, he said to them.’  
*Bjiinag* av ‘shortly’; *bi-bepeshaabang* vii conj 0 ‘(CONJ) IN be streaks of light at dawn’; *bi-makwaabang* vii conj 0 ‘(CONJ) IN be red light of dawn’; *mii* av ‘then’; *ji-**

*baabubaagdamaan* vti conj 1s>>0 ‘(CONJ) I will scream at INsg’; *wgii-naan* vta ind 3sProx>>3obv ‘ANsg said to ANobv’; *giiwehn* av ‘allegedly’.

- (101) *Ngo-namhe-giizhgak noongo maanda giizhgak mii wii-webkamgak.*  
 ‘A week from today is when it will happen.’  
*Ngo-namhe-giizhgak* vii conj 0 ‘(CONJ) IN one week’; *noongo* av ‘today’; *maanda* pr 0s ‘this’; *giizhgak* vii conj 0 ‘(CONJ) it is day’; *mii* av ‘then’; *wii-webkamgak* vii conj 0 ‘(CONJ) IN will begin’.

Examples (102) (Bloomfield 1958:166) and (103) (Bloomfield 1958:214-215) are from Eastern Ojibwa:

- (102) *Mi· e-šenikka:sot ca·n.*  
 ‘That’s his name John.’
- (103) *ma·pa tašš ekkiwe·nsi~ uki·-ki·we·wena·n eniw ukwissan, kaye kwa mi· ki·eššama·t.*  
 ‘Then this old man led his son home and gave him food to eat.’

Example (104) is from Ojibwe (Rhodes 1998:287):

- (104) *Gaa-waabang mii gii-zhiwnigooyaang waa-dzhi-nokiiyaang.*  
 ‘In the morning, we were shown to our work stations.’

*mii* is the generally the first word of its clause although this example contains a fronted temporal adjunct clause.

Example (105) is from Otchipwe (Baraga 1979:164):

- (105) *Mi gi·bónendamän ga·iji·kitchi·matchi·dodagoián.*  
 ‘I have now forgotten (I have done thinking), how ill I have been treated.’

Example (106) is from Chippeway (Wilson 1970:52):

- (106) *Kuhba keezikusuh kenúndoomikwa me wanje·uhyákoosid.*  
 ‘He has been hunting beaver all day and is so tired.’

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### 2.2.4.1

### Summary of Verbs

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The particle /*mii*/, as attested in the examples above, occurs with all verb types and quite likely with the full range of inflections (e.g. tense, person and number), as well as other pre-verbs. Pre-verbs are attachments at the beginning of the verb which have a grammatical meaning

or function that modifies the verb, such as a tense pre-verb. Verbs in the conjunct mode, particularly those that undergo initial change, appear to be quite common, while constructions in which /*mii*/ occurs with an independent verb are rare. This may well be tied to the common appearance of /*mii*/ in cleft constructions. Emphasis or focus is on the action, state or event as represented by the verb.

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## 2.3

## Word Order

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Earlier research indicated that Algonquian languages have a ‘free’ word order, but present research suggests word order is not ‘free’ and there are still constraints in the positioning of certain elements. The survey indicates that there are tendencies within the positioning of certain elements. In the Ojibwe language there are rules that govern the way constructions and sentences are formed and the functions that lexical items and phrases perform depend on the word order. Word order is used to ‘keep track’ of the information status of the various elements of a construction or sentence.

Word order within the various dialects is variable. Rhodes determined that in Nishnaabemwin verb-initial orders were preferred, Verb-Object-Subject (VOS) and Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) with the VOS most preferred as in the following example (107) from Valentine (2001:934):

(107) [*wjiigdahaan*]<sub>V</sub> [*iw wiigwaam*]<sub>O</sub> [*aw kwe*]<sub>S</sub>.  
 ‘That woman is sweeping out that house’

*Wjiigdahaan* vti ind 3sProx>>0s ‘ANsg sweeps out INsg’; *iw* prn 0s ‘that’; *wiigwaam* ni 0s ‘house’; *aw* prn 3sProx ‘that’; *kwe* na 3sProx ‘woman’.

The medial-verb orders, SVO and OVS, acceptable with the SVO being most acceptable as in the Ojibwe example (30) section 2.2.1.2 repeated here as example (108) (Rhodes 1998:289):

- (108) *mii dash maaba shkiniikwe wgii-yaawaan wiiikiwenyan...*  
'And this young woman had\_a friend...'

An example of OVS order is the Chippeway example (100) section 2.2.3 repeated here as example (109) (Wilson1970:139):

- (109) *Me twahebun ka-dubzhe-menequawaud pezhekewug.*  
'There is a hole for the cattle to drink.'

Verb-final orders SOV and OSV disfavored (Valentine 2001:934) but are found in Nishnaabemwin as in the example (110) (Valentine 2001:935);

- (110) *Nmishoomsimban niizh bezhigoongzhiin ogii-yaawaan.*  
*Nmishoomsimban* nad pret 1s(3sProx) 'my late grandfather'; *niizh* nm 'two';  
*bezhigoongzhiin* na 3obv 'horse(s)'; *ogii-yaawaan* vta ind 3sProx(3obv) 'ANsg had ANobv'.

'Rhodes asserts that the most basic pragmatically neutral order is VOS' (Valentine 2001:935).

Valentine agrees but states that VSO and OSV are also allowed as the Ojibwe example (37) section 2.2.1.3 which is a VSO order, repeated here as example (111) (Rhodes 1998:289);

- (111) *Mii giuwehn [enaajmotwaad wa mndimooyehn niwi wniijaan'san].*  
'Apparently, that's [what the old lady told her children].'

Preference for verb-initial orders applies to transitive verbs only whereas the VS and SV orders are common with intransitive verbs as the Ojibwe examples (3) section 2.2.1.1.1 a VS order and example (15) section 2.2.1.1.2 a SV order repeated here as examples (112) and (113) (Rhodes 1998:288);

- (112) *mii go niin widi ezhnaazhkaahooyaan...*  
'I was the one who was sent there...'

- (113) *mii\_sa maanda gaa-zhichgewaad giw Nishnaabeg zhaazhi go.*  
'This is how the old time Indians used to do things.'

Nishnaabemwin prefers word orders where the O follows the V (Valentine 2001:935).

In the various dialects the particle /*mii*/ appears in the initial position when it co-occurs with other elements (i.e. particles, nouns, verbs and pronouns). A /*mii*/ expression (phrase or

clause) will often occur in the first position of a construction relegating everything else to post-clausal or modifier status (e.g. relative clause, adverbial clauses).

A /*mii*/ construction can predicate a non-verbal clause as in the Ojibwe example (14) section 2.2.1.1.2, repeated here as (114) (Rhodes 1998:288).

- (114) *aa, mii sa wi.*  
'Ok, that's it.'

When the /*mii*/ clause appears before the demonstrative, the demonstrative serves as an antecedent for a relative clause (Rhodes 1998:288), and this is a hallmark of focus constructions.

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### 2.3.1 Sentence-initially vs. Non-initially

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The majority of occurrences of the particle /*mii*/ are sentence-initial, but other elements sometimes appear to precede /*mii*/, such as adjunct clauses used for setting (115), interjections (116) or simply preceding clauses in the discourse (117) which thus all occur outside the clause containing /*mii*/.

- (115) *Kishpin wawiiataanong ijad, mi idog iwapi ge-wabamagwen ogwissan, kishpin keiabi bimadiginigwen.*  
'If he goes to Detroit then, I suppose, he will see his son, if he is living yet.'  
(Otchipwe; Baraga 1979:256)

In (115), the *kishpin* (if) clause provides the setting, and *mi* begins the next clause in Otchipwe. Example (43) above provides another such example from the same dialect. In (116) from Nishnaabemwin, as also (44) above Chippeway, interjections precede but are set apart from the main clause begun by *mii*. Though this is not always marked by a comma in the transcriptions from the sources, the structure suggests that it should be.

- (116) *aaniish, mii sa ge wii maaba kwe iidig waabmaad wadi ezhcigenid niwi.*  
'Well this woman too saw what the man was doing there.'  
*Aanish* av 'well'; *mii* av 'so'; *ge* av 'also'; *wii* prn per 3s '3s'; *maaba* prn 3sProx 'this'; *kwe* na 3sProx 'woman'; *iidig* av 'it seems'; *waabmaad* vta conj. 3sProx >>3'obv

‘(CCNJ) what AN obv is doing’; *niwi* prn na 3obv ‘that/those’.  
(Nishnaabemwin; Valentine 2001:964-965)

Finally, (117) provides a series of clauses from Nishnaabemwin, each begun with *mii* and again commas structurally separating the clauses would not be inappropriate.

- (117) **Mii** dash gchi-gtaamgok **mii**-sh gii-gnabaasninig iw wjiimaanwaa **mii** dash gii gbwanaabaagwewaad, **mii** dash gaa-wnjii-wiiji-yaawaad maaba gwiiwzens niw ookmisan.  
‘And there was a great storm and it capsized their boat and they drowned, and that’s why this boy was staying with his grandmother.’  
*Mii* av ‘and’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gchi-gtaamgokk* vii conj 0 ‘(CONJ) the weather is really terrible’; *mii-sh* av ‘and then’; *gii-gnabaasninig* vii conj 0obv ‘(CONJ) INobv capsized by wind’; *iw* prn 0s ‘that’; *wjiimaanwaa* ni 3pProx (0s) ‘their boat’; *mii* av ‘and’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gii-gbwanaabaagwewaad* vai conj 3pProx ‘(CONJ) ANpl they drowned’; *mii* av ‘that’s’; *dash* av ‘then’; *gaa-wnjii-wiiji-yaawaad* vta ic conj 3sProx >> 3obv ‘(CCNJ) why ANsg was with ANobv’; *maaba* pr 3sProx ‘this’; *gwiiwzens* na 3sProx ‘boy’; *niw* pr 3obv ‘that/those’; *ookmisan* na 3sProx (3obv) ‘ANsg’s grandmother’.  
(Nishnaabemwin; Valentine 2001:151-152)

Having excluded examples of this type, the occurrence of /*mii*/ in the sentence-initial position is very consistent in the majority of the dialects with the exception of the Walpole Ojibwe dialect where a few ‘sentence level’ particles such as *gye go* and *aniish* precede /*mii*/ as the example (13) in section 2.2.1.1.1 (Rhodes 1998:287), repeated here as (118):

- (118) *aanii-sh mii sa wi gii-ni-maajaad iidig wa.*  
‘So apparently what he did was leave.’

However, this is very much like the example given in (115) and perhaps it is only the absence of a comma setting this initial interjection/connective apart from the clause that suggests this is somehow different from the other dialects. In the Manitoulin Island dialect /*mii*/ precedes sentence level particles as in the example (119) (Rhodes 1998:287):

- (119) *mii gye go gii-bskaabnaashkwind waa.*  
‘And they were driven back.’

Thus, which particle precedes may vary subdialectally, but even the Walpole Ojibwe dialect may not present as many counter-examples as originally apparent. In other dialects, the particle /*mii*/

always precedes other elements that co-occurs with it. It also always occurs in the first position in a clause. The occurrence of */mii/* non-initially is rare if not completely unattested.

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## 2.4

## Conclusion

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The comparison of the particle */mii/* and its occurrence with other elements in the various dialects indicates that the grammatical function of the particle */mii/* is consistent in that it functions as a discourse sequencing device delimiting and pacing in narratives and discourse. It also serves as a focus-marker in that it gives prominence or explicit focus to the one(s) or thing(s) referred to. Occurrence and non-occurrence of elements with the particle are also similar as the examples given indicate. A complete lack of examples of the particle's co-occurrence with some element indicates that the particle does not co-occur with that specific element (e.g. personal pronouns). Although there are a variety of possible word orders in Ojibwe the particle's position in a clause, construction or sentence is consistent therefore indicating that function and use of the particle is also consistent. It remains to be seen if this consistency is also exhibited in the Saulteaux dialect.

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### 3. DISCOURSE AND SYNTACTIC SURVEY FOR SAULTEAUX

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This chapter will provide a syntactic analysis of the discourse and focus-marking particle /*mi-*/ which occurs in the Plains Ojibwe dialect, Sauteaux. A grammatical analysis of the Elder narrative, which is included in Appendix A, will provide like examples for comparison of those in the preceding chapter. The analysis will compare and discuss similarities and differences within the dialects of Ojibwe. Where no examples are found in the Elder narrative, examples will be provided from Cote's (1985) *Nahkawēwin: Sauteaux (Ojibway dialect of the Plains)*, Cote's (2011) *Nēnapohš Āhtahsōkēwinan*, or from personal communication with Margaret Cote, former Sauteaux Language Studies instructor at First Nations University. Cote (1985) contains a minimal amount of grammatical information on the particle and no syntactic information, but provides examples for comparison and analysis within the stories at the end of the text.

Conditioning factors for the use of the particle to be discussed will include: elements that co-occur with the particle; function and use; word order and positioning in constructions. The analysis will provide some insight into the semantics of the proclitic particle /*mi-*/.

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#### 3.1 Word Classes that Co-occur with /*mi-*/

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As with the other dialects examined, in Sauteaux a wide variety of elements can co-occur with /*mi-*/ . These elements are: particles, pronominals, nominals and verbs. The following sections will discuss the elements that co-occur and elements that do not. The number of textual examples where the particle /*mi-*/ occurs with the word classes are as follows: 86 occurrences with particles, 86 occurrences with demonstrative pronouns, one (1) occurrence with a personal pronoun, and 21 occurrences with verbs for a total of 194 occurrences in the Elder narrative.

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### 3.1.1

### Particles

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Saulteaux also has the various types of particles as found in the other dialects of Ojibwe. Cote (1985) classifies these elements as ‘adverbs’, but this term does not fully fit these elements. An adverb is an element that adds information about a verb, adjective or other adverb. They do add function as adverbials where they add information or emphasis to a verb or another element such as a ‘particle’. Saulteaux does not have a distinct class of adjectives though some of these elements (as particles) function adjectivally giving a reason why these elements should not be termed ‘adverbs’ in Saulteaux. The examples provided will include these various types of particles and their occurrence with the particle /*mi-*/. Particles are both bound and free morphemes. Bound morphemes are morphemes that cannot occur alone as a word, they must occur with other elements. A free morpheme can occur alone as a word.

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#### 3.1.1.1

#### Emphatic Particles

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A common particle that occurs in Saulteaux running discourse and in narratives is what Valentine (2001) calls an emphatic, as in example (1) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 281):

(1) *Mi-iwē kēmā pinkwi, **mi-iko** iwē kitā-āpahcitōm kišīpīkisakinikēyēk.*

mi=iwē	kēmā	pinkwi	<b>mi=iko</b>	iwē
PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC	NI	PC=PC	PR.dem(Is)
it is=that	or	ashes	<b>it is=</b>	that

ki=tā-āpahcitō-m	kišīpīkisakinikē-yēk
2=TNS.fut-VTI+TH-2p, indic	VAI-2p, conj
You=will-to use s.t.-you (all)	to wash/scrub the floor-you (all)

‘That’s it or ashes, that’s what you use to wash the floors.’

The emphatic particle can occur without /mi-/ as in example (2) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 298):

(2) *Āh, pami-manišikē ōwiti akāmahīnk kotink iko.*

āh	pami–manišikē	ōwiti	akāmah+īnk
PC	PV–VAI(3s), indic	PC	NI+loc
aah	to go–s/he cuts hay	over there	across the river+at

kotink	<b>iko</b>
PC	PC
one time	

‘Aah, he was cutting hay over across the river one time.’

In example (1) the particle /mi-/ occurs with the emphatic and serves as a focus-marker and emphasizes what is spoken about. In example (2) the emphatic occurs with a temporal particle and it places emphasis on the particle it follows. Although common in storytelling it is only used once in this particular text.

The particle *ša* can co-occur with /mi-/ in Sauteaux. The Elder text did not contain an example using the particle with /mi-/, but example (3) is from Cote (1985:236-37):

(3) ***Mi-ša** okimāhkān okosihsan kā-iši-kakwēcimāt wāpiwanēnsan ci-wītikēmikot.*  
 ‘So the chief’s son asked Little Flower would she marry him.’

The particle *ša* can occur without /mi-/ as in example (4) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 91):

(4) *Nita-kī-wanīkihik šako itok kīšpin otāhpinipan.*

ni=ta–kī–wanīkih–ik	<b>šako</b>	itok
1s=TNS.fut–TNS.pst–VTA–inv.(3s),indic	PC	PC
I=will–past–to raise–s/he	differently	apparently

kīšpin	otāhpi–ni–pan
PC	VTA–inv.3s>1s–pret
if	take me=s/he+had

‘I would have been raised differently apparently if she had taken me.’

In example (3) the particle /*mi-*/ serves as a discourse sequencer, marking a continuance in the story. In example (4) the emphatic occurs with a dubitative particle and puts emphasis on that particle of doubt or uncertainty.

The particle *na* co-occurs with /*mi-*/ as in example (5) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 272):

(5) *Āh, mi na iwē!*

āh	<b>mi</b>	na	iwē
PC	PC	PC	PR.dem(Is)
ahh	<b>it is</b>		that (one)
‘Ah, that one!’			

This particle can occur alone as in example (6) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 134):

(6) *Na mi-iwē i, mi-iwē ahko kēwīn nipāpāhipan nikī-kakīhkimik.*

<b>na</b>	mi=iwē	i	mi=iwē	ahko
PC	PC=PR.dem(Is)	PR.dem(Is)	PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC
see	it is=that	one	it is=that	also
kē+wīn	ni=papa[h]+ipan	ni=kī-kakīhkim-ik		
emph+PR-Prn(3s)	1sPoss=NA+pret	1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic		
also/too+him	my=father+the late	me=past-advise-s/he		
‘ <u>See</u> that’s it, that’s what also, he too, my late dad had advised me.’				

In example (5) it serves as a focus-marker and gives focus to what is spoken about, in example (6) it marks evaluative information that is expressing a judgment about something or assigning value to it. In this sentence, the topic is what her late father had told her.

The particle *hsa*, which Valentine (2001) calls a contradictive particle, also co-occurs with /*mi-*/ as in example (7) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 81):

(7) *Mi-hsako awē ‘Bullīns’ kā-išinihkāsot.*

<b>mi</b> =hsa+ko	awē	‘Bull+īns’	kā-išinihkāso-t
PC=PC+PC	PR.dem(As)	Eng+dim	relcl-VAI-3s,conj

**it is=so+dub** that one bull+little that—to be called—s/he

That was the one Little Bull was his name.

The particle can occur without /mi-/ as in example (8) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 253):

- (8) *Wāhowa wīnkēhsa kihci-nānōntākosiwak pišāniko mi-omā kihci-wēwītamōk pišāniko ahko kā-kihci-pāškamowāt wīnkē ahko.*

wāhowa	wīnkē+ <b>hsa</b>	kihci-nānōntākosi-wak
PC	PC+PC	PV-VAI-3p,indic
oh my	very+so	great—to make sounds(thunder)—they

pišāniko	mi=omā	kihci+wēwītam=ōk	pišāniko	ahko
PC	PC=PC	PV-VAI-3p,indic	PC	PC
just	it is=here	big—to make noise—they	just	apparently

kā-kihci-pāškamowāt	wīnkē	ahko
TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3p,conj	PC	PC
past+big+to clasp (thunder)=they	very	so

‘Oh my very much so there was thundering right here many of them (they were) there was clasps of thunder very much so.’

In example (7) it is used with the contradictive *hsa* and the emphatic *-ko* to serve as a focus-marker. In example (8) it occurs with a degree particle and emphasizes the degree/assertiveness of the action.

The emphatic *wīn* which Valentine (2001) states expresses ‘unexpectedness’ also co-occurs with /mi-/ as in example (9) from Cote (2011:36-37):

- (9) *Mi-wīn o kakētīn kī-kakwē-kimōšāpimāt.*  
 ‘Of course he was really trying to watch.’

No examples were found in the Elder text and within the other dialects. It can occur without /mi-/ as in example (10) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 263):

- (10) *Mēwinšā kotawīn mi-tahs wīn nōnkom, kān ānīhš wīhkā kēkō kīnawint kēkō kimikoškācitōhsīmin.*

mēwinšā	kotawīn	mi=tahs	wīn	nōnkom	kān	ānīhš
PC	PC	PC=PC	PC	PC	PC	PC
long ago	probably	it is=but		today	no	because
wīhkā	kēkō	kīnawint	kēkō	ki=mikoškācit+ō-hsī-min		
PC	PC	PR.prs(2p)	PC	2=VTI+TH-neg-21,indic		
ever	something	us	something	you=to disturb-not-we (incl)		

‘Long ago anyway but now today, but we never bother anything or disturb anything.’

In example (9) the particle occurs with the emphatic and serves as a focus marker on the subject. In example (10) the particle follows the sequencing particle and gives emphasis to the sequencer. These particles are bound morphemes and have similar functions and use as with the other dialects.

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### 3.1.1.2 Sequencing Particles

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In Saulteaux the particle *tahs* can be translated to ‘but’ or ‘then’ if it is used to connect two parts of a construction. *tahs* always precedes the first word of the second part of the construction. The sequencing particle can co-occur with /*mi-*/ as in example (11) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 263) , repeated from (10) above:

- (11) *Mēwinšā kotawīn mi-tahs wīn nōnkom, kān ānīhš wīhkā kēkō kīnawint kēkō kimikoškācitōhsīmin.*

mēwinšā	kotawīn	<u>mi=tahs</u>	wīn	nōnkom	kān	ānīhš
PC	PC	PC=PC	PC	PC	PC	PC
long ago	probably	it is=but		today	no	because
wīhkā	kēkō	kīnawint	kēkō	ki=mikoškācit+ō-hsī-min		
PC	PC	PR.prs(2p)	PC	2=VAI+TH-neg-21,indic		
ever	something	us	something	you=to disturb-not-we (incl)		

‘Long ago anyway but now today, but we never bother anything or disturb anything.’

It can occur without /*mi-*/ as in example (12) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 179):

(12) *Kān wīn i kotinō, owē **tahs** kā-nōntēnitāwakit awiya.*

kān	wīn	i	kotinō	owē	<b>tahs</b>
PC	PC	PR.dem(Is)	PC	PR.dem(Is)	PC
not	no	that	anything	that	but

kā-nōntē-nitāwaki-t	awiya
relcl-PV-VAI-3s,conj	PC
that-to want-to live-s/he	someone

‘There’s nothing wrong with that, but it was stillborn [i.e. “fell short of birth”].’

In example (11) *tahs* co-occurring with /*mi-*/ functions as a discourse sequencing device, and in example (12) it connects the two constructions, occurring in second position. These are bound morphemes and have similar functions and use as with the other dialects.

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### 2.2.1.3 Evidential Particles

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Another common element of discourse in Saulteaux that adds uncertainty or doubt to a predication is *ītok*, which can be translated as ‘apparently’. As with the other dialects, the use of this particle is because the speaker’s report may not be first-hand knowledge. The evidential particle can co-occur with /*mi-*/ as in example (13) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 11):

(13) *Mi-inkiwē kā-kī-otāhpiniwāt, nōhkōyipan, nimihšōmihš, **mi-ītok** ahpī kā-nitāwakiyān.*

mi=inkiwē	kā-kī-otāhpin-i-wāt,	n=ōhkō[y]+ipan
PC=PR.dem(Ap)	relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s>3p,conj	1sPoss=NAD+pret
it is=those (ones)	that-past-to take me-they	my=grandmother+late

ni=mihšōmihš	<b>mi=ītok</b>	ahpī	kā-nitāwaki-yān
1sPoss+NAD	PC=PC	PC	TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj
my=grandfather	<b>it is</b> =(doubt)	at the time	past-be born-I

‘Those were the ones that had taken me, my late grandmother, my grandfather, apparently at that time when I was born.’

The particle can occur without /mi-/ as in example (14) from Keewatin (Appendix A: line 19):

(14) *Kā-ani-mācīnint **ītok**, mi-imā **ītok** sīpīns iwē ānīhš kī-pimiciwan ahko.*

kā-ani-mācīn-int	<b>ītok</b>	mi=imā
TNS.pst-PV-VTA-xact.3s,conj	PC	PC=PR
past+to+to take him/her=they	apparently	it is=there

<b>ītok</b>	sīp+īns	iwē	ānīhš
PC	NI+dim	PR.dem(Is)	PC
apparently	river+little	that one	because

kī-pimiciwan	ahko
TNS.pst-VII.(0s),indic	PC
past-it flows	apparently

‘Apparently when they took her it was there, apparently there was a creek there because that creek still flowed apparently.’

In example (13) the particle co-occurs and gives prominence to the particle of doubt or uncertainty of the speaker. Placement at front of a clause gives prominence to the particular particle. In example (14) it adds doubt or uncertainty. These are bound morphemes and have similar functions and use as with the other dialects.

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### 3.1.1.4 Temporal Particles

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Temporal particles also occur in Saulteaux and refer to time or duration of an action, event or state of being. These particles can co-occur with /mi-/ as in example (15) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 18) and example (16) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 291):

(15) ***Mi-kēyāpi** i kī-inanohkī kī-tahkopināwisot.*

<b>mi</b> =kēyāpi	i	kī-inanohkī	kī-tahkopināwisot
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PC=PC      PR.dem      TNS.pst–VAI(3s),indic      TNS.pst–VAI–3s,conj  
**it is**=still      that      past–sort of work(s/he)      past–to cut cords–s/he  
‘That was still the kind of work she had done, she cut cords (delivered babies).’

(16) *Mi-mīnawā imā sīpīnk nitayāmin.*

**mi**=mīnawā      imā      sīpī–ink      nit=ayā=min  
PC=PC      PC      NI+loc      1=VAI–1p,indic  
**it is**=again      there      river–by      I=to be/live there–we(ex)  
‘There again by the river we stayed.’

They can occur without /mi-/ as in example (17) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 38):

(17) *Wooh, mi-šikwa mīnawā kōhsēyēnsinān ahsamikowank, wī-ahsaminank nikī-ikōk ahko, nikī-ahsamāk ahko.*

*wooh* mi=šikwa **mīnawā** k=ōhsē+yēns–inān      ahsam–iko–wank  
col    PC=PC    PC      2Poss=NAD+dim–21      VTA–inv.(3s)–21  
wooh    so=now    again    our=grandchild+little–(incl)    feed–s/he–us(incl)

wī–ahsam–iN–ank      ni=kī–(iN)–iko–k      ahko  
ASP.prsp–VTA–xact–21,conj      1s=TNS.pst–VTA–inv–3p,indic      PC  
going to–to feed s.o.–be–we(incl)      me=past–tell s.o–they      would

ni=kī–ahsam–ā–k      ahko  
1s=TNS.pst–VTA–dir–3p,indic      PC  
I=past–feed s.o.–them      would

‘Wooh, so now again our grandchild is feeding us, she is going to feed us they would tell me, I would feed them.’

In example (15) and (16) /mi-/ emphasizes or gives prominence to the temporal particle. In example (17) the particle occurs without /mi-/ and simply further specifies a different temporal particle which is emphasized by /mi-/. These are free morphemes and have similar functions and use as the other dialects.

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### 3.1.1.5

### Locative Particles

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These types of particles are similar in Saulteaux as with the other dialects. They refer to the location in relation to some reference point. These particles can co-occur with /mi-/ as in example (18) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 240) and example (19) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 245):

(18) *Āh, mi-omā kā-tāwinapiwāt ahko inki pinēhsīyēnsak.*

āh	<b>mi</b> =omā	kā-tāwin+api-wāt	ahko	inki	pinēhsī+[y]ēns-ak
PC	PC=PC	TNS.pst-VAI+VAI-3p,conj	PC	PR.dem(A)p	NA+dim-p
Ah	<b>it is</b> =here	past-to open mouth+to sit-they		those (ones)	bird+little-p

‘Ah, they sat there with open mouths those little birds.’

(19) *Yeah mi-imā, mi-imā šikwa nikipicīmin mi-imā šikwa nikapēhsimin.*

yeah	<b>mi</b> =imā	<b>mi</b> =imā	šikwa	ni=kipicī-min
col	PC=PC	PC=PC	PC	1=VAI-1p,indic
yeah	<b>it is</b> =there	<b>it is</b> =there	now	I=to stop-we(excl)

<b>mi</b> =imā	šikwa	ni=kapēhsi-min
PC=PC	PC	1=VAI-1p,indic
<b>it is</b> =there	now	1=to camp-we(excl)

‘Yeah, that’s where, that’s where now we stop that’s where we camp now.’

They can occur without /mi-/ as in example (20) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 133) and example (21) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 199):

(20) Na **omā** o kā-kākīkitowank kinantotākonān ānīn ēntahso-ihkitowank.

na	<b>omā</b>	o	kā-kākīkito-wank
PC	PC	PR.dem(Is)	relcl-VAI-21,conj
see	here	this thing	that-to speak-we(excl)

ki=nantotaw-iko-nān	ānīn	ēn-tahso-ihkito-wank
2=VTA-inv(3s)-21,indic	PR.inter	PV-PV-VAI-21,conj
us=listen to-s/he-us(incl)	what	(how much)-to say-we(incl)

‘Like here (this thing) what we are talking about (saying),he is listening to us what we are

saying.’

- (21) *Āhpihci kwayak okī-otāpinānāwā kihci-ānihsināpēk mēwinšā otišicikēwiniwān nikī-ayā ānīhš imā, nikī-ayā imā nihšinē.*

āhpihci	kwayak	o=kī-otāpinā-nā-wā	kihci-ānihsināpē-k
PC	PC	3=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-0’s-3p,indic	PN-NA-p
really	right	s/he=past-take it-they	great-Indian-p

mēwinšā	ot=išicikē+win-iwān	ni=kī-ayā
PC	3Poss=VAI+NI-3p	1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic
long ago	s/he=to do things+NI-their	I=past-to be/live

ānīhš	<b>imā</b>	ni=kī+ayā	<b>imā</b>	nihšinē
PC	PC	1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic	PC	PC
because	there	I=past-to be/live	there	always

‘The old people really did (took) things right a long time ago, their ceremonies (because) I was there, because there, I was always there.’

In examples (18) and (19) the particles co-occurs with /mi-/ which serves as a focus marker and emphasizes specific location. In examples (20) and (21) the particle occurs without /mi-/ and refers to location with no emphasis or focus on location, in (20) the first element serves as an emphazier and in (21) using the particle twice also serves as emphasis and focus. The /mi-/-marked locational particle is also used in the common idiom as a closing to a storytelling session as in example (22) from Cote (2011:28):

- (22) *Mi-imā ēkōsit.*  
‘That’s as far as it goes.’

The literal translation, ‘*So here it hangs...*’, is in reference to the closing of a storytelling session – ruffed grouse tailfeathers were taken down and held during a storytelling session and hung back on the wall after a storytelling session ended.

The locational particle that indicates a distal location can co-occur with /mi-/ as in

example (23) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 243):

(23) *Mi-kēkēt ēši-ānciškāyānk, mi-īwiti šikwa ~ mi-īwiti šikwa ~ mi-īwiti šikwa nitišāmin ahīnk.*

mi=kēkēt	IC-iši-ānciškā-yank	<b>mi</b> =īwiti	šikwa
PC=PC	IC-PV-VAI-21,conj	PC=PC	PC
it is=really	thus-to move-we(incl)	it is=over there	now

<b>mi</b> =īwiti	šikwa	<b>mi</b> =īwiti	šikwa	nit-išā-min	ahīnk
PC=PC	PC	PC=PC	PC	1-VAI-1p,indic	PC
<b>it is</b> =over there	now	<b>it is</b> =over there	now	I-go there-we(excl)	

‘So we really move on, over there now ~ over there now ~ over there now we go there.’

The particle can also occur without /mi-/ as in example (24) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 148):

(24) *Na mi-šikwa itok awiya okī-kihkēntān i kī-panātišit ōwiti kī-nōmakē išā iwiti kā-išānk ahko.*

na	mi=šikwa	itok	awiya	o=kī-kihkēnt+ā-n
PC	PC=PC	PC	PC	3=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-0’s,indic
so	so=now	apparently	someone	s/he=past-know s.t.-s/he

i	kī-panātiši-t	ōwiti	kī-nōmakē
PR.dem(Is)	TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj	PC	TNS.pst-VAI(3s),indic
that	past-to pass away-s/he	over there	past-s/he goes half way

išā	<b>iwiti</b>	kā-išā-nk	ahko
VAI(3s), indic	PC	relcl-VAI-xact	PC
s/he goes (there)	there	that-go	apparently

‘And so now apparently someone knew about (it) that had passed away over there he went part way there where one goes.’

The examples where the particles co-occur with /mi-/ have a specific focus or emphasis on the location spoken about or introduced in the narration. In the examples where the particles occur without /mi-/ the focus or emphasis is indicated elsewhere. These particles are free

morphemes and have similar functions and use as with the other dialects.

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### 3.1.1.6

### Manner Particles

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These particles that refer to the ‘way’ or ‘manner’ an action, event or state of being is undertaken can also co-occur with the particle /mi-/ in Saulteaux. No examples were found in the Elder text, example (25) is from Cote (2011:38-39):

- (25) *Mi-nēyāp ēši-anihšināpēwit, tēpināhk nēyāp kī-tipahamawāt ini oški-mahīnkanan kā-kī-kipwāpatawīkot.*

‘So he turns himself back into a human, he was satisfied he had gotten even with the young wolf that had given him a swollen black eye.’

The particle can occur without /mi-/ as in the example (26) from Cote (1985: 235, 238):

- (26) *Omincimētān ānīn kā-inīkot ini Mēmēnkwēhsīhkwēn, kīšpin ēkā wīpa pi-ašēkīwēt kahkina kēkō nēyāp ta-mēškocīmakan.*

‘She thinks about what the Butterfly-lady had told her, if she did not leave soon everything would change back to what they were before.’

In example (25) the emphasis or focus is on the manner the action is undertaken, ‘return as before’ and occurs at the front of the clause. In example (26) emphasis or focus is not on the particle and it thus occurs later in the clause, unmarked by /mi-/. These are free morphemes and have similar functions and use as with the other dialects.

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### 3.1.1.7

### Degree Particles

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This type of particle occurs in Saulteaux and can co-occur with /mi-/ and refer to the degree or intensity of how an action is undertaken or carried out, as in example (27) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 71).

(27) *Āh na! mi-iwē, kāwīn kēkō mi-ēhta kā-inācihoyānk kā-iši~, kā-iši-ompikihikōwān.*

ah	na	mi=iwē	kāwīn	kēkō	<b>mi=ēhta</b>
col	PC	PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC	PC	PC=PC
Oh	see	it is=that (thing)	no/not	something	<b>it is=only</b>

kā-ināciho-yānk	kā-iši	kā-iši-ompikih-ikō-wān
TNS.pst-VAI-1p,conj	TNS.pst-PV	TNS.pst-PV-VTA-xact-1s,conj
past-to survive-we(excl)	past-thus	past-thus-to raise-be-I

‘See! That’s it, nothing that’s the only way we survived that is, that’s how I was raised.’

It can occur without /mi-/ as in example (28) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 65).

(28) *Šikwa nīnawint naniškēwapiyānk, nānakotinonk nikī-niškēwapimin nōhkōhipan nīnawint ēhta mihci-nanīšiyānk ōwiti kohci.*

šikwa	nīnawint	na-niškēw+api-yānk	nāna-kotino-nk
PC	PR.prs(1p)	rdpl-VAI+VAI-1p,conj	PC-PC-loc
and	us(excl)	continuous-to be alone+to sit-we(excl)	five-something-in

ni=kī-niškēw+api-min	n=ōhkō[h]+ipan
1=TNS.pst-VAI+VAI-1p,indic	1sPoss=NAD+late
I=past-to be alone+to sit-we(excl)	my=grandmother+late

nīnawint	<b>ēhta</b>	mihci-na-nīši-yānk	ōwiti	kohci
PR.prs(1p)	PC	PVrdpl-VAI-1p, onj	PC	PC
us(excl)	only	just-two-us/we(excl)	over there	sometimes

‘And us being home alone, sometimes for one week we would be home alone my late grandmother only us just (us) the two of us out there sometimes.’

In example (27) the emphasis or focus is on the degree or intensity of the state undertaken and the particle occurs with /mi-/ in clause-initial position. In example (28) emphasis is not on the particle and it occurs in a later position in the clause.

### 3.1.1.8

### Conjunctive Particles

Conjunctive particles connect phrases, clauses or sentences in Sauteaux. These particles are common in Sauteaux and can co-occur with /mi-/ as in the example (29) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 36):

- (29) *Mi-šikwa cīpāhkwēyān, mi-šikwa napōpīhkēyān kihci-ahkihkōnk, mi-šikwa kihci-anihšināpēk papā-ahsamakwā.*

<b>mi</b> =šikwa	cīpāhkwē-yān	<b>mi</b> =šikwa	napōp+īhkē-yān
PC=PC	VAI-1s,conj	PC=PC	NI+derv sf(VAI)-1s,conj
<b>so</b> =now	to cook=I	<b>it is</b> =now	soup+to make-I
kihci-ahkihk-ōnk	<b>mi</b> =šikwa	kihci-anihšināpē-k	papā-ahsam-ak-wā
PN-NA-loc	PC=PC	PN-NA-p	rdpl-VTA-dir.1s>3-3p,conj
big-pail-in	<b>so</b> =and	great-Indian-s	go around-I feed s.o.-I>them

‘And so I cook, and so I make soup in a big pail, and so I go around feeding the old people.’

The particle can also occur without /mi-/ as in (30) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 41):

- (30) *Mi-owē ~ mi-owē kē-išinākwak tāpita kitahtōpowināhk nikī-inikōk ahko, šikwa owē kā-iši-kanawāpamiyānk.*

mi=owē	mi=owē	kē-išinākwa-k	tāpita
PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC=PR.dem(Is)	TNS.fut-VII-0s,conj	PC
it is=this ~	it is= this	will-to look like-it	all the time

kit=ahtōpowināhk	ni=kī-iN-iko-ik	ahko	<b>šikwa</b>
2sPoss=NI	1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic	PC	PC
your+table	me=past-to tell-they	would	and

owē	kā-iši-kanawāpam-i-yānk
PR.dem(Is)	relcl-PV-VTA-dir.local-1p,conj
this	that-thus-look after- you>us(excl)

‘This is ~ this is how it will look all the time your table, they would tell me, and this the way you look after us.’

In example (29) it serves as a discourse sequencer and occurs clausal initial when co-occurring with /mi-/. In example (30) it simply connects the phrases. This particle is a free morpheme and is common in running discourse. It should be noted that many particles can overlap in function depending on the context of the construction or phrase. *šikwa* is one such particle that has the overlapping functions of sequencing, conjunction and temporal marking.

Valentine (2001) classifies the particle *gye* ‘also’ as a conjunctive particle, though there were no examples found in Nishnaabemwin of this particle co-occurring with /mi-/. The equivalent Saulteaux particle *kayē* can be marked by /mi-/ and does so example (31) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 201):

(31) *Mi-kayē ahko ānīhš nihšinē, nihšinē nikī-wanīhikē ahko omā sīpīnk kī-ayāyānk.*

<b>mi=kayē</b>	ahko	ānīhš	nihšinē	nihšinē
PC=PC	PC	PC	PC	PC
<b>it is=also</b>	apparently	because	always	always

ni=kī-wanīhikē	ahko	omā	sīpi-ink	kī-ayā-yānk
1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic	PC	PC	NI-loc	TNS.pst-VAI-1p,indic
I=past-to set snares		there	river-by	past-to be/live-we

‘And also I always, (always) I used to always set snares when we lived there near/by the river.’

This particle can also freely occur on its own, as in example (32) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 220):

(32) *Kī-tōtaman nimihšōmihš sako kayē nihšinē kēkō nikī-oncinihikōk ānīhš ēkā kēkō ta-otaminwākēyān.*

kī-tōta-man	ni=mihšōmihš	sako	<b>kayē</b>
TNS.pst-VAI-2s,conj	1sPoss=NAD	PC	PC
past-to do-you	my=grandfather		also

nihšinēkēkō		ni=kī-oncini-iko-ik	ānīhš
PC	PC	1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic	PC
always something		me=past-disallow-they	because

ēkā	kēkō	ta-otaminwākē-yān,
PC	PC	TNS.fut-VTA-1s,conj
not	something	will-to play with others-I

‘What you do, my grandfather also always (something) disallowed/didn’t allow me (because) to play with anything.’

These conjunctions are free morphemes and have similar functions and use as in the other dialects.

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### 3.1.1.9 Quantification Particles

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These particles refer to ‘how many’ in general terms, and co-occur with /mi-/ in Saulteaux. There was no examples found in the Elder narrative, but example (33) comes from Cote (personal communication):

(33) *Mi-minik šikwa.*  
 ‘That’s enough now.’

This is one of the common idioms in all dialects when referring to the closing of a storytelling session. Since storytelling sessions have no ending this refers to ‘enough’ for the night or at the time of the storytelling session.

It can occur without /mi-/ as in example (34) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 193):

(34) *Kān tahs wīn kēkō, kān ahko nimanāci-tipācimohsī kēkō, minik kēkō kā-kihkēntamān kēkō, you know.*

kān	tahs	wīn	kēkō	kān	ahko	ni=manāci-tipācimo-hsī
PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	1s=Pv-VAI-neg,indic
not	but		something	not		I=to be afraid-to talk about-not

kēkō	<b>minik</b>	kēkō	kā-kihkēnt+am-ān	kēkō	<i>you know</i>
PC	PC	PC	TNS.pst-VTI+TH-1s,conj	PC	[Eng]
something	much	something	past-know s.t.-I	something	you know

‘But there is not a thing I am not afraid to talk about something, as much as I know about something, you know.’

In example (33) /*mi-*/ emphasizes the quantifying particle and is clause-initial. In example (34) the particle occurs with other particles that have qualities of quantity and it also appears to occur clause-initially, although in this case it provides further clarification of the indefinite pronoun *kēkō*. This is a bound morpheme and has similar functions and use as with the other dialects.

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### 3.1.1.10

### Interrogative Particles

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These particles are used in ‘polarity’ questions, also known as ‘yes/no’ questions, these questions do not require specific content, a simple ‘yes/no’ is sufficient. The question particle can co-occur with the particle /*mi-*/ in *Saulteaux*. Although no examples were found in both the *Elder* text and the narratives at the end of *Cote’s* text, the example provided in (35) was discussed in the *Saulteaux 206* course at First Nations University of Canada (2000).

- (35) *Mi na Lynn kā-tōtank?*  
‘Is that what Lynn did?’

Of course, the question particle can occur without /*mi-*/ as in example (36) from *Keewatin* (Appendix A:line 177):

- (36) *Mīnankē. [Kān na kotinō wīn i?]*
- |         |     |           |          |     |            |
|---------|-----|-----------|----------|-----|------------|
| mīnankē | kān | <b>na</b> | kotinō   | wīn | i          |
| PC      | PC  | PC        | PC       | PC  | PR.dem(Is) |
| yes     | not | “?”       | anything |     | that       |

‘Yes. [There’s nothing wrong with that?]

In example (35) emphasis or focus is on the question and the position of the particle is constrained – it always occurs in the second position of the question – and so this is an instance in which /mi-/ might actually appear to occur independently. On the other hand, the question particle *na* could also be interpreted as an enclitic to first position (cf. Wolvengrey 2011:304-311 for a similar analysis for Cree dialects). In example (36) no extra emphasis is on the particle, which is itself marking the negative for emphasis in the question.

As with the other Ojibway dialects some particles must co-occur with /mi-/ or with another element to have a grammatical or semantic meaning as in example (37) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 304):

(37) *Mi-nankona piniwēpiškank i ‘seat’ omanakwaciškān, you know.*

<b>mi</b> =nankona	piniwēpišk+am-k	i	seat
PC=PC	VTI+TH-3s,conj	PR.dem(Is)	Eng
<b>it is so</b> =apparently	to break it off-s/he	that	seat

o=manakwacišk+ā-n                      *you know*

3=VTI+TH-0’s,indic                      [Eng]

s/he=to knock off s.t.-s/he              *you know*

‘Apparently he had broken off that seat he knocked it right off, you know.’

They can occur without /mi-/ but must co-occur with another particle as in example (38) from Cote (2011:52-53):

(38) *Wāhowa, kīnawā nankona nicīmēnsak, kinōntē-kihkēntam na wēkonēn o kā-pimiwinēyān, ahī ninakamonan ono.*

‘Oh, it’s you my little brothers, you want to know what I have in this bag, these are my songs.’

In example (37) the particle co-occurring with /mi-/ gives the semantic interpretation of

‘understanding’ and in example (38) it serves as a focus-marker to the personal pronoun and noun. These are bound morphemes and have similar functions and use as with the other dialects.

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### **3.1.1.11 Summary of Particles**

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Particles that can co-occur with /*mi-*/ in the other dialects can also occur similarly in the Saulteaux dialect. As with the other dialects particles that co-occur with /*mi-*/ serve similar functions, as focus marker and/or discourse sequencer, it also gives prominence to the emphatic particles. These particles are both bound and free morphemes and can also occur without /*mi-*/, the bound morphemes must co-occur with other particles as the examples indicate. When particles occur without /*mi-*/ the focus or emphasis is indicated elsewhere in the sentence or phrase, or is simply neutral.

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### **3.1.2 Pronominals**

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A pronominal is a phrase that functions as a pronoun. Saulteaux also has the pronoun sets; personal, demonstrative and interrogative, these pronoun sets serve various grammatical functions related to nouns and pronouns.

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#### **3.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns**

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Personal pronouns identify people and things based on their conversational role. Saulteaux personal pronouns distinguish between ‘exclusive’ and ‘inclusive’ and singular and plural. Exclusive excludes the one(s) spoken to (the addressee) and the inclusive includes the one(s) spoken to with the speaker. The following table lists the personal pronouns in Saulteaux.

Table 3.1: Saulteaux Personal Pronouns					
singular			plural		
Code	Form	Meaning	Code	Form	Meaning
1s	nīn	I, me	1p	nīnawint	we, us (ex)
			21	kīnawint	we, us (in)
2s	kīn	you	2p	kīnawā	you (pl)
3s	wīn	s/he	3p	wīnawā	they, them

The personal pronouns can co-occur with /mi-/ as in example (39) from Cote (personal communication 2002):

- (39) *Mi-nīn ta-pōhkiškāyān.*  
 ‘So now I will have no money.’

They can occur without /mi-/ as in example (40) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 108):

- (40) *Nihtā-nahkawē wīn, nanakotinonk tahs niwawānēntam ānīn ta-ihkitowān kēkō ihkito, na hī.*

nihtā+nahkawē	<b>wīn</b>	nā+na-kotinonk
PV-VAI.(3s), indic	PR.prs(3s)	rdpl+PV-PC
able to do well-speak Saulteaux(s/he)	him/he	any-sometime

tahs	ni=wa+wānēntam	ānīn	ta-ihkito-wān
PC	1s=rdpl+VAI,indic	PR-inter	TNS.fut-VAI-1s,conj
but	I=continuous+to wonder	how/what	will-to say-I

kēkō	ihkito	na	hī
PC	VAI.(3s),indic	PC	PC
something	to say(s/he)	see	that’s it.

‘Him he speaks Saulteaux well, but sometimes (but) I wonder how to say something, he says, that’s it.’

As mentioned in chapter 2 section 2.2.2.1, there were no examples found in the other dialects, only that they can co-occur in Nishnaabemwin.

Saulteaux demonstrative pronouns share similar grammatical functions with the pronouns of the other dialects. They agree with the nouns they modify in gender, number and obviation. Table 3.2 provides the singular proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns with examples cited from the Elder text.

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Form</b>	<b>Meaning</b>
Animate	awē, a	this (one)
	awē, a	that (one)
Inanimate	owē, o	this (thing)
	iwē, i	that (thing)

The demonstrative pronouns can co-occur with /mi-/ as in example (41) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 4) and example (42) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 15):

(41) *Ahāw, mi-iwē-hša nika-tipātōtān.*

ahāw	<b>mi</b> =iwē-hša	ni=ka-tipātōt+ā-n
PC	PC=PR.dem(Is)-PC	1=TNS.fut-VTI+TH-1s(>0s),indic
all right	<b>it is</b> =this (thing)	I=will+tell it=Is

All right, it is this is what I shall talk about.

(42) *Mi-awē kōhkōnāmpān kī-ihkito, Maškihkiwāpō kī-inā ānīhš mi-a kā-kī-ōhkōwiyān.*

<b>mi</b> =awē	k=ōhkō-nām-pan	kī-ihkito
PC=PR.dem(As)	2Poss=NAD-21-pret	TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic
<b>it is</b> =that one	our=grandmother-our(incl)-late	past-to say(s/he)

maškihki+wāpō	kī-iN-ā	ānīhš	<b>mi=a</b>
NA+NI	TNS.pst-VAI-xact(3s),indic	PC	PC=PR.dem(As)
medicine+liquid	past-to call-be-(s/he)	because	<b>it is</b> =that one

kā-kī+ōhkō+wi-yān  
relcl-TNS.pst-NAD+VAI-1s,conj  
that-past-grandmother-to have as-I

‘It’s that one our late grandmother she said, Medicine water she was called because it is that one that was my grandmother.’

The pronouns can occur without /mi-/ as in example (43) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 17) and example (44) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 81):

(43) *Mi-ītok iwē kā-kī-iši-kakamiškāt mācīnint.*

mi=ītok	<b>iwē</b>	kā-kī-iši-kakamiškā-t
PC=PC	PR.dem(Is)	relcl-TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3s,conj
it is=apparently	that	that-past-to-to take a short cut-s/he

mācīn-int  
VTA-xact-3s  
to take-be-s/he

*Apparently that she had taken a short cut (when) they took her.*

(44) *Mi-hšako awē ‘Bullīns’ kā-išinihkāsoṭ.*

mi=hša+ko	<b>awē</b>	‘Bull+īns’	kā-išinihkāso-t
PC=PC+dub	PR.dem(As)	Eng+Dim	relcl-VAI-3s,conj
it is=so+dub	that one	bull+little	that-to be called-s/he

‘So it is that one called Little Bull.’

The collapsed form is included in the table it is common in narration and discourse as illustrated in example (42). In example (42) the /mi-/ clause precedes a focus-cleft and in the second part it precedes a relative clause. In examples (41) and (42) explicit focus is on the one referred to or introduced. In examples (43) and (44) the demonstratives occur alone and point

out the one or thing referred to.

Table 3.3 contains the plural proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns.

Table 3.3: Plural Saulteaux Demonstrative Pronouns		
Gender	Form	Meaning
Animate	onkowē, onko	these (ones)
	inkiwē, inki	those (ones)
Inanimate	onowē, ono	these (things)
	iniwē, ini	those (things)

The plural forms of the demonstrative can co-occur with /mi-/ as in example (45) from Keewatin

(Appendix A:line 11):

(45) *Mi-inkiwē kā-kī-otāhpiniwāt, nōhkōyipan, nimihšōmihš, mi-ītok ahpī kā-nitāwakiyān.*

**mi**=inkiwē                      kā-kī-otāhpin-i-wāt                      n=ōhkō[y]+ipan  
 PC=PR.dem(Ap)                      relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s-3p,conj                      1sPoss=NAD+pret  
**it is**=those (ones)                      that-past-to take me-they                      my=grandmother+late

ni=mihšōmihš                      **mi**=ītok                      ahpī                      kā-nitāwaki-yān  
 1sPoss=NAD                      PC=PC                      PC                      TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj  
 My=grandfather                      **it is**=(doubt) at the time                      past-be born-I

‘Those were the ones that had taken me, my late grandmother, my grandfather, apparently at that time when I was born.’

They can occur without /mi-/ as in example (46) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 50):

(46) *Nihšinē mi-kā-iši-kakanōšiwāt onko kihci-anihšināpēpanīk.*

nihšinē                      mi=kā-iši-kakanōN-i-wāt                      onko  
 PC                      PC=TNS.pst-PV-VTA-inv.1s-3p,conj                      PR.dem(Ap)  
 always                      it is=past-thus-speak to s.o.-they>me                      those ones

kihci–anihšināpē–pan–īk

PN–NA–pret–p

great–Indian–late–s

‘Always that’s how they always spoke to me these late old people.’

In example (45) explicit focus is on the ones introduced and in example (46) the pronoun refers to the ones spoken about, but it is the act of speaking which is being emphasized by /mi-/.

The following table contains the singular and plural distal demonstrative pronouns.

<b>Table 3.4: Saulteaux Distal Demonstrative Pronouns</b>		
<b>Singular</b>		
Gender	Form	Meaning
Animate	awēti	that ‘one’ (in the distance)
Inanimate	iwēti	that ‘thing’ (in the distance)
<b>Plural</b>		
Gender	Form	Meaning
Animate	inkiwēti	those ‘ones’ (in the distance)
Inanimate	iniwēti	those ‘things’ (in the distance)

The distal demonstrative pronouns can co-occur with /mi-/ as in examples (47) and (48) from Cote (personal communication 2006):

(47) *Mi-awēti kā-kī-tōtank.*  
‘It’s that one over there that did it.’

(48) *Mi-iwēti kā-antawēntaman.*  
‘That’s the thing over there that you want.’

They can also occur without /mi-/ as in the examples (49) and (50) from Cote (1985:192):

- (49) *Awēti nikī-nōntāk.*  
‘That one in the distance heard me.’
- (50) *Anta-kipahan iwēti wāhsēnikan.*  
‘Go and close that window over there.’

The demonstratives are free morphemes.

Saulteaux also has ‘animate obviate’ forms which are used when the demonstrative pronoun refers to an animate ‘obviate’ noun. These forms are used for both singular and plural noun forms and are identical to the inanimate demonstrative pronouns; *iniwē* ~ *ini* and *onowē* ~ *ono*, as in example (51) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 149):

- (51) *Mi-ini okī-wāpamān, ini pēpīnsan pišāniko ani-mihci-tatītipīt a pēpīns mihsa kakwātakitōt ihkito īnšan.*
- |                        |                                   |             |                |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <b>mi</b> =ini         | o=kī-wāpam-ā-n                    | <u>ini</u>  | pēpī+ns-an     |
| PC=PR.dem(obv)         | 3=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3’,indic        | PR.dem(obv) | NAD+dim-obv    |
| <b>it is</b> =that one | s/he=past-to see s.o.-s/he        | that        | baby+small-obv |
| pišāniko               | ani-mihci-tatītipī-t              | a           | pēpī+ns        |
| PC                     | PV-PV-VAI-3s,conj                 | PR.dem(As)  | NAD+dim        |
| just                   | towards-just-to tumble about-s/he | that        | baby+small     |
| mihsa kakwātakitō-t    | ihkito                            | īnšan       |                |
| PC VAI-3s,conj         | VAI(3s),indic                     | PC          |                |
| just to suffer-s/he    | s/he says                         | apparently  |                |
- ‘That’s the one he saw, that baby, that baby was just tumbling around and was just suffering apparently, he had said.’

The object/goal takes an obviate suffix when the subject/actor is a more topical or ‘proximate’ third person (someone other than a first person/speaker or second person/addressee). In the example above *pēpīsan* ‘baby’ is first introduced as an obviate object, while the proximate referent is so highly topical in the discourse at this point that he is only mentioned in pronominal verbal agreement. (The obviate referent then becomes topical and is reiterated in proximate

form, *pēpīns* ‘baby’.) The obviative animate pronoun can occur without /*mi-*/ as indicated in the post-verbal phrase, the full noun phrase.

The particle also occurs with demonstratives that go through inflections such as in example (52) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 182):

(52) *Kā-apītamowāt mi-awēns pānimā* ‘next day’ *kā-nōntamān*.

<i>kā-apīt+amo-wāt</i>		<b>mi</b> =awē+ns
TNS.pst-VTI+TH-3p,conj		PC=PR.dem(As)+dim
past-sit-with-they		<b>it is</b> =that one+ little
<i>pānimā</i>	<i>next day</i>	<i>kā-nōnt+am-ān</i>
PC	Eng	TNS.pst-VTI+TH-1s,conj
later	next day	past-to hear s.t.-I

They sat up with that little being later ‘the next day’ I heard about it.

The demonstrative takes a diminutive suffix and adding the particle /*mi-*/ to the front gives emphasis and focus on the one spoken about, ‘that little being’.

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### 3.1.2.3 Interrogative Pronouns

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Interrogative pronouns (as well as adverbial proforms) are used to ask supplementary questions or used in subordinate clauses. In English these refer to notions such as; who and what (as well as where, why and how). The Saulteaux pronouns are *awēnēn* ‘who’ (sg), *awēnēnak* ‘who’ (pl), *wēkonēn* ‘what’ (sg) and *wēkonēnan* ‘what’ (pl), while the other interrogative proforms include *ānīn* ‘how/what’, *ānti* ‘where’, *ānahpī* ‘when’, *ānīhšwīn* ‘why’. The initial four interrogatives distinguish between singular and plural, animate and inanimate. The particle /*mi-*/ does not occur with any interrogative proforms (pronouns or adverbials), but these already mark inherent focus and thus do not require special marking.

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### 3.1.2.4

### Summary of Pronominals

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Pronouns emphasize topicality in texts, phrases, constructions, etc. When the particle /*mi-*/ occurs with the pronouns it gives explicit focus or prominence to the one(s) or thing(s) referred to. Pronouns are used frequently in the Elder text and when marked by /*mi-*/ function as a focus-marked elements as in the other dialects. /*mi-*/ can co-occur with most pronouns with the exception of the interrogative pronouns and adverbial proforms. Pronouns are free morphemes and have similar functions and use as in the other dialects.

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### 3.1.3

### Nominals

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A nominal is a noun, pronoun or deverbal construction that functions as an argument of a verb. Pronouns were considered in the previous section, and no examples of deverbal constructions were found in the textual sources. As mentioned in Chapter 2 nouns are sub-grouped according to grammatical gender, animate and inanimate. They also agree in gender, number and obviation.

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#### 3.1.3.1

#### Nouns

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Saulteaux nouns can also co-occur with the particle /*mi-*/ regardless of grammatical gender. There were no examples in the Elder text, but examples (53) and (54) are from Cote (personal communication 2006):

- (53) *Mi-nitay kā-tōtank.*  
'It's my dog that did it.'

- (54) *Mi-Lynn kā-tōtank naha?*  
 ‘It’s Lynn that did it right?’

Nouns can also occur without /mi-/ as in example (55) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 21):

- (55) *Pōsīnsan īnšan otani-pimīnisawikōn kā-pahkopīhsēnit īnšan ini pōsīnsan.*

<b>pōsīns-an</b>	īnšan	ot=ani-pimīnisaw-iko-an
NA-obv	PC	3=PV-VTA-inv-3’s,indic
a cat	apparently	s/he=toward-follow s.o.-s/he

kā-pahkopīhsē-nit	īnšan	ini	<b>pōsīns-an</b>
TNS.pst-VAI-3’,conj	PC	PR.dem(obv)	NA-obv
had-to fall into the water-s/he	apparently	that	a cat

‘Apparently a cat goes following her apparently that cat had fallen into the water.’

The obviative suffix indicates the noun is the subject/actor in the phrase. All animate nouns have an obviative form when the verb is in obviation. Nouns are free morphemes whereas the obviative is a bound morpheme.

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### 3.1.3.2 Summary of Nominals

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Focus or emphasis is on the animate nouns in the examples. When the particle /mi-/ is used with a common noun the particle-noun sequence acts as a predicate. No examples were found in the Elder narrative or texts, and examples were not common in the data for the other dialects (see section 2.2.3), but examples do occur in conversation. As mentioned before, little more can be said at this time and this remains an area for further research.

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### 3.1.4 Verbs

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Verbs denote action, events or state of being. Saulteaux verbs share similar grammatical



tense only, while the fact that *mi-* does not undergo initial change shows that it is not a preverb), from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 262):

(58) [eh heh] Yeah, *mi-ēšī-šanakahk mi-iwē i, kēkō kā-oncinēnk.*

eh heh	yeah	<b>mi</b> =IC-išī-šanakat-k	mi=iwē	i
col	col	PC=IC-PV-VII-0s,conj	PC=dem(Is)	PR.dem(Is)
eh heh	yeah	it is=thus-to be difficult-it	it is=that	that

kēkō	kā-oncinē-nk
PC	TNS.pst-VAI-loc
something	past-to curse oneself-on

[eh heh] ‘Yeah, that’s how hard/difficult it is that thing, when one brings something on.’

The VII can also occur without /*mi-*/ as in example (59) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 20):

(59) *Iwē ‘a dam’ šikwa kā-ayāmakahk, mi-iwē kī-ani-āšōhkē.*

iwē	<i>a dam</i>	šikwa	kā-ayāmakat-k
PR.dem(Is)	Eng.	PC	TNS.pst-VII-0s,conj
that	a dam	now	past-to be there-it

mi=iwē	kī-ani-āšōhkē
PC=PR.dem(Is)	TNS.pst-PV-VAI.(3s),indic
it is=that	past-toward-to cross-s/he

‘That ‘a dam’ is there now, that one she had crossed.’

In example (60) /*mi-*/ occurs in the first clause with a transitive animate verb (VTA) in the conjunct mode, from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 259):

(60) *Āh, mi-ēši-kā-kanōnakwā nikākīšomāk kihci-anihšināhkānk, āh, kā-ani-mācīwēwitamowāt.*

ah	<b>mi</b> =IC-iši-kā-kanōn-ak-wā	ni=kākīšom-ā-k
PC	PC=IC-PV-TNS.pst-VTA-dir.1s-3p,conj	1s=VTA-dir-3p,indic



‘I really didn’t like it (this) that the way I was the sickness I had.’

The particle also co-occurs with verbs in the independent mode as in example (64) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 13):

(64) *Mi-iwē ahpī kā-nitāwakiyān, mi-nikī-wīntamāk kā-kī-ōhkōyān.*

mi=iwē	ahpī	kā-nitāwaki-yān
PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC	TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj
it is=that	at the time	past-to be born-I

<b>mi=ni=kī-wīntamaw-ik</b>	kā-kī-ōhkō-wi-yān
PC=1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic	relcl-TNS.pst-NDA+VAI-1s,conj
it.is=me=past-to.tell-s/he	that-past-grandmother-to be-I

‘That was at the time I was born, she had told me the one that was my grandmother.’

Verbs in the independent mode can occur alone as in example (65) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 4):

(65) *Ahāw, mi-iwē-hša nika-tipātōtān.*

ahāw	mi=iwē-hša	<u>ni=ka-tipātōt+ā-n</u>
PC	PC=PR.dem(Is)-PC	1=TNS.fut-VTI+TH-1s(0s),indic
all right	it is=this (thing)	I=will-tell-I>it

‘All right, it is this is what I shall talk about.’

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### 3.1.4.1 Summary of Verbs

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In Saulteaux as with the other dialects, the particle /mi-/ occurs with all verb types in various inflected forms and modes. Focus is on the action, event or state of being or who/what the participant is focusing on. In the text the particle occurs frequently with verbs in the conjunct form. The form of the particle does not change; the change will occur in the verb itself for example the initial change in verbs in the present tense. The occurrence of the particle /mi-/ with a verb in the independent mode is rare. This is similar in all Ojibwe dialects.

Word order is somewhat ‘freer’ in Saulteaux than in English. Many different ordering of elements in clauses are possible. The analysis indicates that there are often tendencies in word order when certain elements are combined or co-occur and when certain processes are applied. As with the various dialects Saulteaux also has six (6) possible word orders. Cote and Klokeid (1985) state that word orders can be variable and the phrase will still be grammatically correct. Word orders that are possible are as follows, an example of a VOS ordering example (66) is from Cote and Klokeid (1985:31):

- (66) *Okī-nihsān mahkwan nikosihs.*  
           V      O      S  
 ‘My son killed a bear.’

SVO ordering as in the example (3), section 3.1.1.1. repeated here as example (67) from Cote (1985:236-237):

- (67) *Mi-šga okimāhkān okosihsan kā-iši-kakwēcimāt wāpikwanēnsan ci-wītikēmikot.*  
                           S                          V                          O  
 ‘So the chief’s son asked Little Flower would she marry him.’

OVS ordering as in the example (68) from Cote and Klokeid (1985:31):

- (68) *Wīyāhs owī-kīšisan Mary.*  
           O      V      S  
 ‘Mary is going to cook meat.’

VSO ordering as in the example (69) from Cote (1985:130):

- (69) *Okī-mihkānan na kitānihs omahkisinin?*  
           V                  S          O  
 ‘Did your daughter find her shoes?’

SOV ordering as in the example (70) from Cote (1985:129):

(70) *Kēwīnawā wāhkāhikan owāpantānāwā.*  
           S          O          V  
 ‘They too see a house.’

OVS ordering as in the example (71) from Cote (1985:135):

(71) *Animohšan owāpamān pōsīns.*  
           O          V          S  
 ‘The cat sees a dog.’

Some phrases do not need an object/goal to be grammatically correct. The SV ordering can occur as in the example (72) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 8):

(72) *Nimāmā, nimāmā kān nikī-antawēnimikohsī, ta-kanawēnimit.*

ni=māmā    ni=māmā    kān    ni=kī-antawēnim-iko-hsī  
 1sPoss=NAD 1sPoss=NAD PC    1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-neg(3s),indic  
 my=mother    my=mother    not    me=past-to want s.o.-not.(s/he)

ta-kanawēnim-it  
 TNS.fut-VTA-inv.3s>1s,conj  
 will-to keep (me)-s/he>me

‘My mother, my mother she did not want (me) to keep me.’

VS ordering as in the example (18) section 3.1.1.5. repeated here as example (73) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 245):

(73) *Āh, mi-omā kā-tāwinapiwāt ahko inki pinēhsī+(y)ēns-ak.*

āh    **mi**=omā    kā-tāwin+api-wāt    ahko    inki    pinēhsī+(y)ēns-ak  
 PC    PC=PC    TNS.pst-VAI+VAI-3p,conj    PC    PR.dem(A)p    NA+dim-p  
 Ah    **it is**=here    past-to open mouth+to sit-they    those (ones)    bird+little-p

‘Ah, they sat there with open mouths those little birds.’

Occurrence and placement of the particle /mi-/ is similar in Saulteaux as within the other Ojibway dialects. In reference to demonstrative pronouns, word order has an effect on the

meaning of the phrase. A general principle for word order in Saulteaux is based on the concept of topic. Topic is what the sentence/phrase is about whether the subject/actor, object/goal, verb or other particle expression (time or place). In Saulteaux the topic expression begins the sentence.

As seen with the other dialects the particle appears as the head member and other elements follow. The /mi-/ clause occurs in the first position of a clause, phrase or construction making it pre-clausal, verbs and other clauses will follow.

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### 3.2.1 Clause-initial vs. Non-initial Position

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Another similarity of the dialects with Saulteaux is the position of the particle /mi-/ in the sentence. In the phrasal and clausal levels the occurrence is also in the initial position as in the example (74) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 13):

(74) *Mi-iwē ahpī kā-nitāwakiyān, mi-nikī-wīntamāk kā-kī-ōhkōyān.*

<b>mi</b> =iwē	ahpī	kā-nitāwaki-yān
PC=PR.dem(1s)	PC	TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj
<b>it is</b> =that	at the time	past-to be born-I

<b>mi</b> =ni=kī--wīntamaw-ik	kā-kī-ōhkō+wi-yān
PC=1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic	relcl-TNS.pst-NDA+VAI-1s,conj
<b>it is</b> =me=past-to tell-s/he	that-past-grandmother+to be-I

‘**That** was at the time I was born, she had told me the one that was my grandmother.’

The particle /mi-/ does not appear to occur in a non-initial position.

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### 3.3 Conclusion

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The comparative analysis indicates that focus-marking and discourse sequencing is

exhibited by combining elements or constructions in initial-position with the particle */mi-/*. The function of the particle */mi-/* is consistent throughout its use despite the large variety of elements with which it can co-occur. All word classes (with the exception of interrogative pronouns) display similar functions in clause structure when marked by */mi-/* or */mii/* across across the Ojibwe dialect continuum.

The particle */mi-/* does not affect the underlying semantics of the clause in which it occurs, but it does affect the pragmatic interpretation of a particular element within the clause. It can emphasize a change in the setting of the discourse, or introduce new and/or old characters and/or topics. It also serves as a discourse sequencing device in running discourse.

Occurrence of the particle */mi-/* in sentence constructions in Saulteaux are similar to those within the various Ojibwe dialects researched and the differences in occurrences and processes are minimal or non-existent. Other sources cited in this chapter assisted with the comparative analysis of the particle. More research is required in the area of Algonquian syntax, and research completed by and including fluent speakers would be an asset to linguistics. This comparative analysis will assist in linguistic study and research and also sustainability of the Saulteaux language.

Given the extremely common usage of the particle */mi-/* in Saulteaux discourse, an understanding of its use and position in Saulteaux language structure is critical for student comprehension and advanced language use. Despite its importance, there have been no previous attempts to systematically study or teach the use of */mi-/*, and thus an appropriate pedagogical treatment of */mi-/* is required within Saulteaux language instruction. A Saulteaux instructor's approach entails contextual considerations and needs to include Saulteaux Elder/speaker texts to support the Saulteaux language learner. Texts further demonstrate the positioning and use of */mi-/* in natural discourse and demonstrate its function within the Saulteaux language. Saulteaux texts and narratives are filled with examples of the */mi-/* particle and are thus effective in providing samples in unaltered and natural communicative situations.

Pedagogy consists of the principles and methods of teaching children. This is a teacher-directed methodology where the teacher/instructor has full responsibility for what, how and when material is learned and assessing if it has been learned. There are many traditional and non-traditional approaches to language teaching. 'Traditional' ways refer to communicative practice in real-life situations using the language for specific functions. The traditional approach is the method of acquiring the ability to communicate in another language without formal

instruction or introduction of its grammar. Most people have acquired their languages through this traditional approach.

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#### **4.1.1**

#### **Methodologies**

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The traditional direct method refers to traditional ways of learning and is based on the use of language in communicative situations usually without translating or making reference to the first language. These traditional ways of language learning came from diverse sources and are referred to by diverse labels, such as the “natural method”, “psychological method”, “phonetic method”, etc. (cf. Krashen and Terrell 1983).

The natural method consists of an array of monologues by instructor combined with exchanges of questions and answers. The instructor and pupil assume a learning relationship in the target language. Formal grammar instruction holds little or no credence within this approach. The psychological method reflects the instructor’s attempt to create for the learner associations of ideas either with each other or with concrete objects. The phonetic method is based primarily on oral expression. Students are drilled first in discrimination and production of the sounds of the language using idiomatic phrases supplemented by phonetic writing. They progress into dialogues and stories relevant to the language. Grammar is studied inductively where students are to discover rules through a problem-solving and deciphering approach. As with the traditional method, the direct method engages the language learner in oral communication without referencing grammar or one’s native language. The reading method seeks to improve and integrate language methodology. Emphasis is on extensive reading with little or no translation in the target language. The audiolingual method places the emphasis on teaching oral skills (listening and speaking) before literacy (reading and writing) (Krashen and Terrell 1983).

To acquire the ability to communicate in a new target language one must use that language in a communicative situation. Communicative ability is usually acquired rapidly while grammatical accuracy increases slowly and after much experience using the target language. A common mistake is the assumption that a conscious understanding of grammar is a prerequisite to acquiring communicative competency (Krashen and Terrell 1983).

Several methods, Total Physical Response by Asher (1977), Suggestopedia by Lozanov (1978) and Community Language Learning by Curran (1976), were developed based on traditional principles of language acquisition. The central principle of each method was to acquire communicative competency as the key component. This allows students to use the language for real communication where exercises and drills are not required or sufficient for language learning.

These newly developed methodologies, incorporating and building upon older approaches, allow for the diverse techniques of the “natural approach”. Research in first and second language acquisition supports the natural approach’s tenets. The method is adaptable to many teaching contexts and situations for students of all ages and cultural backgrounds. The natural approach is flexible with regards to the types of teaching techniques utilized in the classroom and is able to incorporate any of the techniques of all language teaching approaches where appropriate without building dependency exclusively on one of them solely.

Adult language students have two distinct ways of developing skills and knowledge in a second language. The distinction between ‘acquisition’ and ‘language learning’ is that acquisition is acquiring a language in the sense of ‘picking it up’ and by developing the ability to use a language in natural communicative situations and contexts. Language learning is different from acquisition in that language learning is ‘knowing the rules’ and having conscious

knowledge about the grammar. However, natural conversation involves pragmatic context, including topicality, focus and contrast, which are rarely covered in consciously taught rules of grammar. Normal conversation tends to be rapid and speaker's attention is usually on what is being said rather than how it is being said, which is learned inductively through language experience.

Krashen and Terrell (1983) utilize the natural approach which seeks to integrate diverse and varied methods collectively and as warranted by learners. The natural approach will be used so as to draw upon various language teaching methodologies in the treatment of the Saulteaux particle /*mi-*/ within Saulteaux language instruction.

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## 4.2

## Andragogy

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Andragogy consists of learning approaches focused on adults. This method is self-directed and aims toward the independence of the student, while the teacher encourages and nurtures the development of independence. Andragogy was used in 1833 by a German educator, Alexander Kapp, and was later developed into a theory of adult education by Malcolm Knowles. Andragogy is often interpreted as the process of engaging adult learners with the structure of learning experience.

Knowles' (1984) theory is based on at least four critical assumptions about the characteristics of adult learners that are different from assumptions about child learners in which pedagogy is based, with a fifth assumption added later.

1. Self-concept: Adults need to be responsible for their decisions on education; involvement in the planning and evaluation of their instruction.
2. Foundation: Experience (including error) provides the basis for learning activities.

3. Readiness: Adults are most interested in learning subjects having immediate relevance to their work and/or personal lives.
4. Orientation: Adult learning is problem-centered rather than content-oriented.
5. Motivation: Adults respond better to internal versus external motivation.

This attempt to develop a theory specifically for adult learning accentuates the fact that adults are self-directed and expect to take responsibility for decisions. Adult learning programs must accommodate this fundamental component.

Andragogy means that instruction for adults must focus more on the process of the lesson and content that is being taught. Strategies such as role-playing, simulations and self-evaluations are most useful. Instructors/educators adopt a role of facilitator or resource rather than lecturer or grader.

Knowles' initial position changed on whether andragogy applied only to adults and he came to the conclusion that 'pedagogy - andragogy represents a continuum ranging from teacher-directed to student-directed learning and that both approaches are appropriate with children and adults' depending on the situation (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andragogy>).

Adult learners need to know or need an explanation of why specific things are being taught, for example why the particle */mi-/* is important in Sauteaux discourse and what is the function of the particle. Instruction of the particle should be task-oriented instead of memorization. Learning activities should be in the context of sentence construction and Elder texts.

Instruction of sentence composition or application of the particle */mi-/* should take into consideration the student's previous knowledge of the language. Instruction should allow learners to discover things for themselves, such as when and where to apply the particle */mi-/*,

providing guidance and assistance when errors are made. Andragogy focuses on the best way for people to learn and also focuses on structured education.

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### 4.3

### Lesson Plan

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The natural approach is used as it is needed to create a lesson plan based on communicative goals and the sequencing of grammatical rules will then take care of itself. The lesson plan is designed to be communicative and seeks to integrate the /mi-/ particle into a Saulteaux language program already in progress. The target group for this lesson plan is high school students or adult learners. Introducing the /mi-/ particle the assumption is that there has been pre-teaching of elements such as nominals, pronominals, verbs and particles, through previous drills and activities. The lesson plan template is adapted from the Department of Indigenous Education, First Nations University of Canada for its design in reflecting spirituality, in determining teaching and learning objectives and for including First Nations content. This lesson is easily adaptable as it draws upon Elder discourse and the content crosses various levels and stages of Saulteaux language comprehension. The focus of this lesson is to demonstrate the continuity and references made within Saulteaux narratives (see Lesson Plan in *Appendix B*).

The lesson plan determines four objective domains; mental, emotional, physical and spiritual. The set of the lesson plan presents the particle /mi-/ in context so as to introduce then relate knowledge into Saulteaux discourse as /mi-/ occurs in sentence- and clause-initial positions. The set provides a conceptualization of /mi-/ as a point of reference in a sentence. The set prepares students for sentence formulation and as the lesson progresses students are asked to produce and formulate sentences using the particle /mi-/.

Recognizing the use of the particle */mi-/* in Elder discourse, develops an appreciation for the particle in discourse as a natural communication pattern. Further to Elder discourse the lesson is aimed at recognizing that the particle */mi-/* is used in various other Saulteaux language contexts and to develop an appreciation of how, when and where it is applied.

Breaking students into small groups enables them to discuss the function and use of the particle while reinforcing Saulteaux language learning in Elder and social contexts. To produce sentences using previous knowledge and examples of the particle */mi-/* students work in collaboration so as to express */mi-/* in their language contexts.

Students develop an appreciation of Elders and relationships are formulated to communicative contexts in both formal and informal settings. As relationships emerge students informally develop behavior patterns which are based on the context by which the relationship is formulated. The lesson utilizes this context so as to reflect that behavior into the small group activity.

Materials include Elder discourse of the late Annie Keewatin, which is rich in the usage and application of the particle and is a vital oral and literary resource for classroom use. Keewatin further provides dialogue on values that reflect and convey traditional Saulteaux oral discourse. Discussion on values reinforces the connection to family and communal context personal to each student with the recognition that oral communication is embedded with value-based objectives. As teachers prepare handouts of */mi-/* constructs, these examples should be based on each community and with family kept in mind so as to further extend knowledge of the particle */mi-/* in home context. Keeping in mind that this Elder text reflects communicative patterns it is hoped that students develop and enhance relationships personal to them and with Elders in their community or to foster new relationships. Cote's (2011) resource provides

communicative patterns of the particle /*mi-*/ application and is resourceful when adapting and modifying context for own use.

Assessment is used to achieve professional targets, keeping in mind the Common Essential Learning's (CEL's) when assessing students. Assessment must achieve Common Essential Learning's (CEL's) outcomes. Observation of student participation, rating scales and peer evaluation will assess student achievements in: communication; independent learning; and personal and social values and skills.

Students will be provided with opportunities to: gain first-hand experience; hear/use expressive language; participate; develop and express understanding; and develop conceptual understanding.

Students will meet their own language needs and their ability to access knowledge. They will grow as independent learners within the classroom environment which will promote self-esteem and students will share what they learn.

Students will develop the foundational knowledge, values and skills/abilities required for critical and creative thinking. Assessments are to be determined by the teacher based on student need and the pace of student learning.

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#### **4.4**

#### **Summary**

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The aim of this study of the particle /*mi-*/ is to contribute to our knowledge of Saulteaux grammar and suggest methodologies for imparting this information in Saulteaux language teaching and adult second language acquisition. The main aim has been accomplished through the study of a traditional Saulteaux Elder text, while this brief chapter seeks to encourage the incorporation of this information into the classroom. It is hoped that this research will enhance

and ensure linkages are made between one's own language teaching style and the learning styles of the students. It is necessary that the Saulteaux language instructor's approach include Saulteaux Elder texts to support the language learner.

Pedagogy is based on the needs of child learners. The various methods employ diverse techniques. The natural approach is the most flexible with regards to types of teaching techniques, and emphasises that languages must be used in a communicative setting. Andragogy is based on assumptions about the characteristics of adult learners. Instruction for adults must focus more on process. It explains the application of the theory to content. Andragogy focuses the best way for people to learn through structured education. Again, the natural approach supports interdisciplinary teaching in varied contexts. Adults develop skills and knowledge of a second language in two distinct ways, 'acquisition' and 'language learning'; acquisition by 'picking it up' and language learning by 'knowing the rules' (i.e. grammar knowledge).

Pedagogy and andragogy blend themselves into diverse and generalized learning settings. These approaches are appropriate with both children and adults and are dependent on the situation. The appropriate method is at the discretion and determined by the Saulteaux language educator.

Education is a vital component of Saulteaux language survival. Historically oral tradition was an intimate spiritual value for a community. It was the spoken words of the Wise Ones (Elders) and leaders that maintained the uniqueness of a society. This traditional indigenous form of education formed the process of education from generation to generation before modern written forms were devised and applied to languages, including Saskatchewan Aboriginal languages such as Saulteaux.

In 1988-89 the Saskatchewan Indigenous Language Committee (SILC) and the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Center (SICC) Language Department did a study to investigate the state of Indigenous languages in the Saskatchewan region (SICC 1991). The study included 20 speakers from 19 First Nations which includes Sauteaux, Cree, Nakoda/Lakota/Dakota and Denesuline and one speaker in an urban center. The study indicates that the survival of Indigenous languages is threatened in each community and in some the language is on the verge of extinction. The Sauteaux language at Cote First Nation is in extremely critical condition (1991:33). The present and next generation of caregivers are not equipped with a level of fluency in Sauteaux needed to pass the language on to their own children. It is important to preserve and sustain the Sauteaux language for future generations and therefore appropriate language teaching and learning methodologies are critically needed.



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**APPENDIX A**

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Elder Text

Annie Keewatin, 'Nēnāwēpinēhsīk'

Recorded on Cote First Nation, July 2003

- 1) [Ahām, ahī kinantawēnimin ta-tipācimowan awēnēn  
 ahām ahī ki=nantawēnim-in ta-tipācimo-wan awēnēn  
 PC col 2s=VTA-inv.local.(1s),indic TNS.fut-VAI-2s,conj PR-inter  
 ok what you=to.want-I will-tell about-you who  
*[Okay what I want you to do is to talk about who*

kā-kī-tahkopinihk ahpī kā-nitāwakiyan  
 kā-kī-tahkopiN-ihk ahpī kā-nitāwaki-yan  
 relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-inv.3s>2s,conj PC TNS.pst-VAI-2s,conj  
 that-past-to.deliver/tie.cord-s/he at the time past-be born-you  
*delivered you (tied your cord) when (at the time) you were born*

šikwa ānīn kā-kī-pi-iši-pimācihowēk mēkwā  
 šikwa ānīn kā-kī-pi-iši-pimāciho-wēk mēkwā  
 PC PR-inter relcl-TNS.pst-PV-PV-VAI-2p,conj PC  
 and how/what that-past-to.come-to.live.and.survive-you(all) while  
*and how you (pl) lived and survived while*

ihkwēsēnsiwiyan.] ‘ya eh heh’.  
 ihkwē+sēns+iwi-yan ya eh heh  
 NA+dim+VAI-2s,conj col col  
 woman+little+to be-you ya eh heh  
*you were a little girl.] ya eh heh*

- 2) [Piko ahpī wā- ~ piko ahpī  
 piko ahpī wā- ~ piko ahpī  
 PC PC ASP.prsp PC PC  
 whenever at the time going to whenever at the time  
*[Whenever you’re going to ~ whenever when*

wā-~ nōntē-mācī-kākīkitowan.] ‘eh heh’  
 wā-~ nōntē-mācī-kākīkito-wan eh heh  
 ASP.prsp PV-PV-VAI-2s,conj col  
 going to~ to.want-to.start-to.talk-you eh heh  
*going to ~ you want to start talking.] eh heh*

- 3) [āša ~ āša ‘it’s on’ o.]  
 āša āša it’s on o  
 PC PC Eng PR.dem(Is)  
 already already it’s on this  
*[Already, already ‘it’s on’, this.]*

- 4) Āhaw mi-iwē-hša nika-tipātōtān.  
 āhaw mi=iwē-hša ni=ka-tipātōt+ā-n.  
 PC PC=PR.dem(Is)-PC 1=TNS.fut-VTI+TH-1s(>0s),indic  
 all right it is=this (thing) I=will-tell-I>it  
*All right it is this is what I shall talk about.*

- 5) Kēnīn ānīhš kī-wīntamākōwān  
kē+nīn ānīhš kī-wīntamaw-ikō-wān  
emph+PR.prs(1s) PC TNS.pst-VTA-xact-1s,conj  
me too/also because past-tell to-be-me  
*I too because it was told to me,*
- kī-wīntamawowāt kā-kī-ompikihiwāt.  
kī-wīntamaw-i-wāt kā-kī-ompikih-i-wāt  
TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s-3p,conj relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s-3p,conj  
past-tell to.-me-they that-past-to raise-I-they  
*they had told me they who had raised me.*
- 6) Kihci-anihšināpēk ānīhš nikī-ompikihikōk nōhkō,  
kihci-anihšināpē-k ānīhš ni=kī-ompikih-iko-ik n=ōhkō  
PN-NA-p PC 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic 1sPoss=NAD  
great-Indian-s because me=past-to raise-they my=grandmother  
*Because old people they had raised me, my grandmother,*
- nimihšōmihš nikī-ompikihikōk.  
ni=mihšōmihš ni=kī-ompikih-iko-ik  
1sPoss=NAD 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic  
my=grandfather me=past-to raise-they  
*my grandfather they had raised me.*
- 7) Kā-ankānsīyān nikī-otāhpiniok.  
kā-ankānsī-yān ni=kī-otāhpini-iko-ik  
TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic  
past-to be little/small-I me=past-to take-they  
*When I was little/small they took me.*
- 8) Nimāmā, nimāmā kān nikī-antawēnimikohsī,  
ni=māmā ni=māmā kān ni=kī-antawēnim-iko-hsī  
1sPoss=NAD 1sPoss=NAD PC 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-neg.(3s),indic  
my=mother my=mother not me=past-to want s.o.-not.(s/he)  
*My mother, my mother she did not want (me).*
- ta-kanawēnimit.  
ta-kanawēnim-it  
TNS.fut-VTA-inv.3s>1s,conj  
will-to keep (me)-s/he>me  
*to keep me.*
- 9) Kān kotawīn nikī-šawēnimikohsī, kāwīn tahs.  
kān kotawīn ni=kī-šawēnim-iko-hsī kāwīn tahs  
PC PC 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-neg.(3s),indic PC PC  
not because me=past-to love-not(s/he) no but  
*It was not because she did not love me, but no (not that).*

- 10) k̄a-k̄i-omihšōmēhiyān a nawaciko  
k̄a-k̄i-omihšōmē+hi-yān a nawac+iko  
relcl-TNS.pst-NAD+VAI-1s,conj PR.dem(As) PC+PC  
that-past-uncle+to.be-I that one sort of  
*That one that was my stepfather that one sort of*
- kān nikī-cīhkēnimikohsī.  
kān ni=kī-cīhkēnim-iko-hsī  
PC 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-neg.(3s),indic  
no me=past-to love-not(s/he)  
*did not like (love) me.*
- 11) **Mi**-inkiwē k̄a-k̄i-otāhpiniwāt, nōhkōyipan,  
**mi**=inkiwē k̄a-k̄i-otāhpini-wāt n=ōhkō[y]+ipan  
PC=PR.dem(Ap) relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s-3p,conj 1sPoss=NAD+pret  
**it is**=those (ones) that-past-to take me-they my=grandmother+late  
*Those were the ones that had taken me, my late grandmother,*
- nimihšōmihš, **mi**-ītok ahpī k̄a-nitāwakiyān.  
ni=mihšōmihš **mi**=ītok ahpī k̄a-nitāwaki-yān  
1sPoss=NAD PC=PC PC TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj  
my=grandfather **it is**=(doubt) at the time past-be born-I  
*my grandfather, apparently at that time when I was born.*
- 12) Āša nikī-~ āša tahs wīn, ītok  
āša ni=kī- āša tahs wīn ītok  
PC 1s=TNS.pst PC PC PC PC  
already I=had already but apparently  
*I had already ~ but already, apparently*
- nikī-~ āša nikī-papāmōtē k̄a-otāhpiniwāt  
ni=kī- āša ni=kī-papāmōtē k̄a-otāhpini-wāt  
1s=TNS.pst PC 1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s-3s,conj  
I=had already I=past-to crawl past-to take-me-they  
*I had already I was crawling when they took me*
- nōhkō.  
n=ōhkō  
1sPoss=NAD  
my=grandmother  
*my grandmother.*
- 13) **Mi**-iwē ahpī k̄a-nitāwakiyān,  
**mi**=iwē ahpī k̄a-nitāwaki-yān  
PC=PR.dem(Is) PC TNS.pst-VAI-1s, conj  
**it is**=that at the time past-to be born-I  
*That was at the time I was born,*

**mi**-nikī-wīntamāk kā-kī-ōhkōwiyān.

**mi**=ni=kī-wīntamaw-ik

PC=1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic

**it is**=me=past-to tell-s/he

*she had told me the one that was my grandmother.*

kā-kī-ōhkō+wi-yān

relcl-TNS.pst-NDA+VAI-1s,conj

that-past-grandmother+to.be-I

- 14) **Mi**-īwiti, **mi**-awē ~ **mi**-awē kā-kanawēnimikōhk

**mi**=īwiti

**mi**=awē

**mi**=awē

kā-kanawēnim-iko-ihk

PC=PC

PC=PR.dem(As)

PC=PR.dem(As)

TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3s>2s,conj

**it is**=there

**it is**=that one

**it is**=that one

past-to keep-s/he>you

*It's there, it's that one ~ it's that one she kept you*

**mi**-awē kā-tahkopinihk nikī-inik.

**mi**=awē

kā-tahkopin-ihk

ni=kī-iN-ik

PC=PR.dem(As)

TNS.pst-VTA-inv.3s>2s,conj

1s=past-VTA-inv,conj(3s)

**it is**=that one

past-to deliver-s/he>you

me=past-to tell-s/he

*that was the one that had delivered you, she told me.*

- 15) **Mi**-awē kōhkōnāmpān kī-ihkito,

**mi**=awē

k=ōhkō-nām-pan

kī-ihkito

PC=PR.dem(As)

2Poss=NAD-21-pret

TNS.pst-VAI.(3s)indic

**it is**=that one

our=grandmother-our(incl)-late

past-to say(s/he)

*It's that one our late grandmother she said,*

Maškihkiwāpō kī-inā ānīhš **mi**-a

maškihki+wāpō

kī-iN-ā

ānīhš

**mi**=a

NA+NI

TNS.pst-VTA-xact.(3s),indic

PC

PC=PR.dem(As)

medicine+liquid

past-to call-be-(s/he)

because

**it is**=that one

*Medicine water she was called because it is that one*

kā-kī-ōhkōwiyān.

kā-kī-ōhkō+wi-yān

relcl-TNS.pst-NAD+VAI-1s,conj

that-past-grandmother+have as-I

*that was my grandmother.*

- 16) Kī-pimohsē i ahpī kēyāpi,

kī-pimohsē

i

ahpī

kēyāpi

TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic

PR.dem(Is)

PC

PC

past-to walk (s/he)

that

at the time

still

*She was walking at that time still,*

kī-nihtā-pimohsē, kī-nanakotakonē ānīhš.

kī-nihtā-pimohsē

kī-nanakotakonē

ānīhš

TNS.pst-PV-VAI.(3s),indic

TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic

PC

past-well-to walk (s/he)

past-to be bent over (s/he)

because

*she walked well, because she (was) used to be bent over.*

- 17) **Mi**-ītok iwē kā-kī-iši-kakamiškāt  
**mi**=ītok iwē kā-kī-iši-kakamiškā-t  
PC=PC PR.dem(Is) relcl-TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3s,conj  
**it is**=apparently that that-past-to-to take a short cut-s/he  
*Apparently she had taken a short cut*
- mācīnint.  
mācīn-int  
VTA-xact.3s,conj  
to take-be-s/he  
*(when) they took her.*
- 18) **Mi**-kēyāpi i kī-inanohkī kī-tahkopināwisot.  
**mi**=kēyāpi i kī-inanohkī kī-tahkopināwisot-t  
PC=PC PR.dem(Is) TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj  
**it is**=still that past-sort of work(s/he) past-to tie cords-s/he  
*That was still the kind of work she had done, she tied cords (delivered babies).*
- 19) Kā-ani-mācīnint ītok, **mi**-imā  
kā-ani-mācīn-int ītok **mi**=imā  
TNS.pst-PV-VTA-xact.3s,conj PC PC=PC  
past-to-to take-be-s/he apparently **it is**=there  
*Apparently when they took her it was there,*
- ītok sīpīns iwē ānīhš  
ītok sīpi+īns iwē ānīhš  
PC NI+dim PR.dem(Is) PC  
apparently river+little that because  
*apparently there was a creek there because*
- kī-pimiciwan ahko.  
kī-pimiciwan ahko  
TNS.pst-VII.(0s),indic PC  
past-to flow-it apparently  
*that creek still flowed apparently.*
- 20) Iwē ‘a dam’ šikwa kā-ayāmakahk,  
iwē a dam šikwa kā-ayāmakat-k  
PR.dem(Is) Eng. PC TNS.pst-VII-0s,conj  
that a dam now past-to be there-it  
*That ‘a dam’ is there now,*
- mi**-iwē kī-ani-āšōhkē.  
**mi**=iwē kī-ani-āšōhkē  
PC=PR.dem(Is) TNS.pst-PV-VAI.(3s),indic  
**it is**=that past-toward-to cross-s/he  
*that one she had crossed.*

- 21) Pōsīnsan īnšan otani-pimīnisawikōn  
 pōsīns–an īnšan ot=ani–pimīnisaw–iko–an  
 NA–obv PC 3=PV–VTA–inv–3’s,indic  
 a cat apparently him/her=toward–follow s.o.–s/he  
*Apparently a cat goes following her*
- kā–pahkopīhsēnit īnšan ini pōsīns–an  
 kā–pahkopīhsē–nit īnšan ini pōsīns–an  
 TNS.pst–VAI–3’,conj PC PR.dem(obv) NA–obv  
 had–to fall into the water–s/he apparently that a cat  
*apparently that cat had fallen into the water.*
- 22) āh, **mi**–šikwa kī–ani–takohšin īwiti ītok  
 aah **mi**=šikwa kī–ani–takohšin īwiti ītok  
 col PC=PC TNS.pst–PV–VAI.(3s),indic PC PC  
 so **so**=now past–toward–to arrive(s/he) over there apparently  
*Aah so now she had arrived over there apparently*
- kā–tahkopīsit īwiti kā–takohšink.  
 kā–tahkopīN–it īwiti kā–takohšin–k  
 TNS.pst–VTA–inv.3s>1s,conj PC TNS.pst–VAI–3s,conj  
 past–to deliver s.o.–me–s/he over there past–to arrive–s/he  
*when she delivered me over there when she arrived.*
- 23) Wīpa nikī–nitāwik ītok īwiti kā–takohšink,  
 wīpa ni=kī–nitāwik(i) ītok īwiti kā–takohšin–k  
 PC 1s=TNS.pst–VAI,indic PC PC TNS.pst–VAI–3s,conj  
 soon I=past–to be born apparently over there past–to arrive–s/he  
*Apparently, I was born soon when she arrived over there,*
- nikī–tahkopīnik i ahpī.  
 ni=kī–tahkopīN–ik i ahpī  
 1s=TNS.pst–VTA–inv.3s,indic PR.dem(Is) PC  
 me=past–to deliver–s/he that at the time  
*she delivered me at that time.*
- 24) āh, **mi**–i ~ āh **mi**–iwē i, **mi**–iwē  
 ah **mi**=i aah **mi**=iwē i **mi**=iwē  
 col PC=PR.dem(Is) col PC=PR.dem(Is) PR.dem(Is) PC=PR.dem(Is)  
 ah **it is**=that ah **it is**=that that **it is**=that  
*aah, that’s it ~ aah that’s it that, that’s*
- nihtam kā–inācimotākōwān, kā–inācimotawit  
 nihtam kā–inācimotaw–ikō–wān kā–inācimotaw–it  
 PC TNS.pst–VTA–xact–1s,conj TNS.pst–VTA–inv.3s>1s,conj  
 first past–to tell–be–I past–to tell–s/he>me  
*the first (time) I was told, that was what she had told me*

nōhkōyipan.  
 n=ōhkō+[y]ipan  
 1sPoss=NAD+pret  
 my=grandmother+late  
*my late grandmother.*

- 25) **Mi**-awē kā-tahkopinihk nikī-inik,  
**mi**=awē                      kā-tahkopiN-ihk                      ni=kī-iN-ik  
 PC=PR.dem(As) TNS.pst-VTA-inv.3s>2s,indic      1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
**it is**=that one                      past-to deliver-s/he>you                      me=past-tell-s/he  
*That was the one that delivered you she had told me,*

kōhkō, kitānkōpicikan nikī-inik.  
 k=ōhkō                      ki=tānkōpicikan                      ni=kī-iN-ik  
 2sPoss=NAD                      2sPoss=NAD                      1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
 your=grandmother      your=great-grandmother      me=past-to tell-s/he  
*your grandmother, your great-grandmother she told me.*

- 26) Nihšinē nikī-wīšōkawāk kihci-anihšināpēk.  
 nihšinē                      ni=kī-wīšōkaw-ā-k                      kihci-anihšināpē-k  
 PC                      1s=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3p,indic                      PN-NA-p  
 always                      I=past-be associated with s.o.-them      great-Indian-s  
*Always I had been associated (around) with (them) old people.*

- 27) Oncitako **mi**-nihšinē kā-pi-iši-ayāyān.  
 onci+tako                      **mi**=nihšinē                      kā-pi-iši-ayā-yān  
 PC+PC                      PC=PC                      TNS.pst-PV-PV-VAI-1s,conj  
 from+apparently      **it is**=always                      past-come-thus-to be-I  
*That's how I was always.*

- 28) Nikī-pi-wīšōkawāk kihci-anihšināpēk, 'right through',  
 ni=kī-pi-wīšōkaw-ā-k                      kihci-anihšināpē-k      *right through*  
 1s=TNS.pst-PV-VTA-dir-3p,indic                      PN-NA-p                      Eng.  
 I=past-come- be associated with s.o.-them      great-Indian-s                      *right through*  
*I had been associated with (around) (them) old people 'right through',*

ihkwēsēnsiwiyān, oškinīhkwēsēnsiwiyān.  
 ihkwē+sēns+iwi-yān                      oškin(īk)+īhkwē+sēns+iwi-yān  
 NA+dim+VAI-1s, conj                      PV+NA+dim+VAI-1s, conj  
 woman+little+to be-I                      new+woman+little+to be-I  
*as a I was a little girl, a young girl.*

- 29) Āša nikī-oškinīhkwēns ōwiti  
 āša                      ni=kī-oškin(īk)+ihkwē+ns+(i)                      ōwiti  
 PC                      1s=TNS.pst+PV+NA+dim+VAI,indic                      PC  
 already      I=past+new+girl                      over there  
*I was already a young girl (adolescent) over there*

kā-kī-papāmikošiyānk kī-papāpimihakwā  
 kā-kī-papāmikoši-yānk kī-papā-pimih-ak-wā  
 relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-1p,conj TNS.pst-PV-VTA-dir.1s>3-3p,conj  
 that-past-to move around-we(excl) past-around-to serve-I-them  
*where we had moved around I would go around serving them*

kihci-anihšināpēk.  
 kihci-anihšināpē-k  
 PN-NA-p  
 great-Indian-s  
*the old people.*

- 30) Āhpihci ānīhš nikī-minwētān ~  
 āhpihci ānīhš ni=kī-minwēt+ā-n  
 PC PC 1=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-0s,indic  
 very because I=past-to like-it  
*Because very much so I had like to ~*

nikī-minwētān akōtōwān.  
 ni=kī-minwēt+ā-n akōtō-wān  
 1=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-0s,indic VAI-1s,conj  
 I=past-to like-it to set snares-I  
*I had liked to set snares.*

- 31) **Mi**-šikwa ahko akōtōwān koci-kipihcīyānk.  
 mi=šikwa ahko akōtō-wān koci-kipihcī-yānk  
 PC=PC PC VAI-1s,conj PV-VAI-1p,conj  
 so=now would to set snares-I somewhere-to stop-we(excl)  
*So now I would set snares when we stopped somewhere.*

- 32) Wīnkē ahko nōhkō nikī-naniškihā.  
 wīnkē ahko n=ōhkō ni=kī-na-niških-ā  
 PC PC 1sPoss=NAD 1s=TNS.pst-rdpl-VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
 very (would) my=grandmother I=past-(continuous)-anger-him/her  
*Very much so I would get my grandmother mad.*

- 33) Taka pina pōnim ahko kā-išimat,  
 taka pina pōnim-Ø ahko kā-išim-at  
 PC PC VTA-2s>3s,imp PC relcl-VTA-dir.2s>3s,conj  
 please just leave alone-you>him/her (when) that-to nag-you>her  
*please just leave her alone when you nag her,*

okī-inān, ahko kā-kī-omihšōmihšiyān.  
 o=kī-iN-ā-(a)n ahko kā-kī-omihšōmihš+i-yān  
 3=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3',indic PC relcl-TNS.pst-NAD+VAI-1s,conj  
 s/he=past-tell-him/her would that-past-grandfather+have as-I  
*he would tell her, that had been my grandfather.*

- 34) Mānō pinanta, wīn kohša inēntākōwišit  
 mānō pinanta wīn kohša inēnt+ākō+wiši-t  
 PC PC PR.prs(3s) PC VAI+inv+VAI-3s,conj  
 leave it him/her too to think+s/he+to be given-s/he  
*Leave it alone let it be, apparently her too it is thought to be spiritual given to her*

īnšan ta-tōtank nikī-inik.  
 īnšan ta-tōta-nk ni=kī-iN-ik  
 PC TNS.fut-VAI-3s,conj 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
 apparently will-to do-s/he me=past-say to-s/he  
*(apparently) to do that he said to me.*

- 35) Āh, **mi**-šikwa wīpa nikī-cīpahkwē, nīn iko  
 aah **mi**=šikwa wīpa ni=kī-cīpahkwē nīn iko  
 col PC=PC PC 1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic PR.prs(1s) PC  
 ahh **it is**=now soon I=past-to cook me  
*Ahh so now I cooked early, me by myself*

kayē kī-cīpahkwēyān, wīpa nikī-nihtā-ošēhkwē.  
 kayē kī-cīpahkwē-yān wīpa ni=kī-nihtā-ošēhkwē  
 PC TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj PC 1s=TNS.pst-PV-VAI,indic  
 also past-to cook on a fire-I early/soon I=past-well-to cook  
*too I use to cook on a fire, soon I was a good cook.*

- 36) **Mi**-šikwa cīpāhkwēyān, **mi**-šikwa napōpīhkēyān  
**mi**=šikwa cīpāhkwē-yān **mi**=šikwa napōp+īhkē-yān  
 PC=PC VAI-1s,conj PC=PC NI+derv sf(VAI)-1s,conj  
**so**=now to cook-I **it is**=now soup+to make-I  
*So now I cook, so now I made soup*

kihci-ahkihkōnk, **mi**-šikwa kihci-anihšināpēk papā-ahsamakwā,  
 kihci-ahkihk-ōnk **mi**=šikwa kihci-anihšināpē-k papā-ahsam-ak-wā  
 PN-NA-loc PC=PC PN-NA-p rdpl-VTA-dir.1s>3-3p,conj  
 big-pail-in **so**=now great-Indian-s go around-feed s.o.-I>them  
*in a big pail, so now I go around feeding the old people.*

- 37) Otōnākaniwān nānāškamawāk ta-akwāmawakwā  
 ot=ōnākan-iwā-n (ni=)nā-nāškamaw-ā-ik ta-akwāmaw-ak-wā  
 3Poss=NI-3p-0'p (1s=)rdpl-VTA-dir-3p,indic TNS.fut-VTA-dir.1s>3-3p,conj  
 his/her=dish-their (I=)go around-fetch for-them will-to serve-I>them  
*I go fetch their dishes for them to serve them*

napōp.  
 napōp  
 NI-s  
 soup  
 soup.

- 38) *Wooh, mi-šikwa mīnawā kōhsēyēnsinān ahsamikowank,*  
*wooh mi=šikwa mīnawā k=ōhsē+yēns-inān ahsam-iko-wank*  
 col PC=PC PC 2Poss=NAD+dim-21 VTA-inv.(3s)-21  
*wooh so=now again our=grandchild+little-(incl) feed-s/he>us(incl)*  
*Wooh, so now again our grandchild is feeding us,*
- wī-ahsaminank, ’nikī-ikōk ahko,*  
*wī-ahsam-iN-ank ni=kī-(iN)-iko-ik ahko*  
 ASP.prsp-VTA-xact-21,conj 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic PC  
*going to-to feed s.o.-be-we(incl) me=past-tell s.o.-they would*  
*we are going to be fed, they would tell me,*
- nikī-ahsamāk ahko.*  
*ni=kī-ahsam-ā-k ahko*  
 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3p,indic PC  
 I=past-feed s.o.-them would  
*I would feed them.*
- 39) *Nikī-kākīkitōtamākōk ahko.*  
*ni=kī-kākīkitō+tamaw-iko-ak ahko*  
 1s=TNS.pst-VAI+ben-inv-3p,indic PC  
*me=past-to speak+for him/her-they would*  
*They would pray (talk) for me.*
- 40) *‘Āh, owē o, owē o kā-tōtaman,*  
*aah owē o owē o o kā-tōtam-an*  
 col PR.dem(Is) PR.dem(Is) PR.dem(Is) PR.dem(Is) TNS.pst-VAI-2s, conj  
*āh this (thing) this (thing) this (thing) this past-to do so-you*  
*Ahh this thing, this thing, this that you do,*
- kā-tōtawiyānk, ’nikī-ikōk ahko.*  
*kā-tōtaw-i-yānk ni=kī-(iN)-iko-ik ahko*  
 relcl-VTA-dir.local-1p,conj 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic PC  
*that-to do so for-you>us(excl) me=past-tell s.o.-they would*  
*what you do for us, they would tell me.*
- 41) **Mi-owē ~ mi-owē** *kē-išinākwahk tāpita*  
**mi=owē mi=owē kē-išinākwat-k tāpita**  
 PC=PR.dem(Is) PC=PR.dem(Is) TNS.fut-VII-0s,conj PC  
**it is=this ~ it is=this will-to look like-it all the time**  
*This is ~ this is how it will look all the time*
- kitatōpowināhk nikī-inikōk ahko, šikwa*  
*kit=atōpowināhk ni=kī-iN-iko-ik ahko šikwa*  
 2sPoss=NI 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic PC PC  
*your=table me=past-to tell-they would and*  
*your table, they would tell me, and*

owē kā-iši-kanawāpamiyānk.  
owē                    kā-iši-kanawāpam-i-yānk  
PR.dem(Is)    relcl-PV-VTA-dir.local-1p,conj  
this                    that-thus-look after-you>us(excl)  
*this the way you look after us.*

- 42) Wīnkē wīn kitēpinawēhimin āna  
wīnkē wīn                    ki=tēpinawēh-i-min                    āna  
PC    PR.prs(3s)    2=VTA-dir.local-1p,indic                    PC  
really you                    you=to please-us(excl)                    although  
*Although you really please us well*

kāwīn tahs, pahkān iši a awiya  
kāwīn tahs    pahkān                    iši                    a                    awiya  
PC    PC    PC                    PC                    PR.dem(As)    PC  
no    but    different                    (to come)                    that one                    someone  
*but no, there is someone else*

omā awēnēn kēnawāpaminank.  
omā                    awēnēn                    IC-kanawāpam-iN-ank  
PC                    PR.inter                    IC-VTA-xact-21,conj  
here                    who                    to look after-be-us(incl)  
*here who looks after us.*

- 43) **Mi-awē, mi-awē** kē-tipahamāhk  
**mi=awē**                    **mi=awē**                    kē-tipahamaw-ihk  
PC=PR.dem(As)    PC=PR.dem(As)                    TNS.fut-VTA-inv.3>2,conj  
**it.is=that.one**                    **it.is=that.one**                    will-pay-s/he>you  
*That one, that one will pay you*

nikī-inik, nikī-ikōk ahko.  
ni=kī-iN-ik                    ni=kī-(iN)-iko-ik                    ahko  
1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic    1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic    PC  
me=past-say to-s/he                    me=past-to.tell-they                    would  
*they said to me, they would tell me.*

- 44) Wēkotākwēn i, nikī-inēntam ahko  
wēkotā+kwēn    i                    ni=kī-inēntam                    ahko  
PR.dem+dub    PR.dem(Is)                    1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic                    PC  
wonder                    that                    I=past-to think so                    would  
*Wonder who/what it is, I would think,*

kān nikī-kihkēntansīn. [ 'ēh hēh '].  
kān    ni=kī-kihkēnt+a-nsī-n                    eh heh  
PC    1s=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-neg-1s,indic    col  
no    I=past-to know it-not-I                    yeah  
*(not) I didn't know it. [yeah]*

- 45) Amanc i ta-iši-tipahamawiwāt?  
 amanc i ta-iši-tipahamaw-i-wāt  
 PC PR.dem(Is) TNS.fut-PV-VTA-inv.(1s)-3p,conj  
 {doubt} that will-thus-pay-they>me  
*How will they pay me?*
- 46) Nikī-papīhtōn ahko awiya ta-tipahamawit awiya (laughs).  
 ni=kī-pa-pīht+ō-n ahko awiya ta-tipahamaw-it awiya  
 1s=TNS.pst-rdpl-VTI+TH-1s,indic PC PC TNS.fut-VTA-inv.3s>1s,conj PC  
 I=past-continuous-to wait s.o. would someone will-pay-s/he>me (someone)  
*I would wait for someone to pay me (someone) (laughs).*
- 47) [Mi-ītok kiniwēns wēnci-pimātišiyān.]  
 mi=ītok kiniwēns IC-onci-pimātiši-yan  
 PC=PC PC IC-PV-VAI-2s,conj  
 It is=probably a long time how come-to live-you  
 [That is probably why you are living long.]
- 48) ‘Yeah, mi-iwē, na mi-iwē  
 yeah mi=iwē na mi=iwē  
 col PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC=PR.dem(Is)  
 yeah it is=that see it is=that  
*Yeah, that’s it, see that’s it*
- mi-kā-išiwāt ahko.  
 mi=kā-iN-i-wāt ahko  
 PC=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s-3p,conj PC  
 it is=past-tell it to me-they would  
*what they would tell me.*
- 49) Mi-kayē kē-ahpītišiyān kīšpin wī-otitaman  
 mi=kayē kē-ahpītiši-yan kīšpin wī-otitam-an  
 PC=PC TNS.fut-VAI-2s,conj PC ASP.prsp-VAI-2s,conj  
 it is=also will-to be an age-you if going to-to reach there-you  
*This age also you will be if you are going to reach it (get there)*
- wī-kihci-anihšināpēwiyān nikī-ikōk,  
 wī-kihci-anihšināpē+wi-yan ni=kī-(iN)-iko-ik  
 ASP.prsp-PV-NA+VAI-2s,conj 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic  
 going to-great-Indian+to be-you me=past-tell-they  
*to be an old person they told me,*
- mi-ahko kā-išiwāt.  
 mi=ahko kā-iš-i-wāt  
 PC=PC relcl-VTA-inv.(1s)-3p,conj  
 it is=would that-tell-they>me  
*that’s what they would tell me.*

- 50) Nihšinē **mi**-kā-iši-kakanōšiwāt onko  
 nihšinē **mi**=kā-iši-kakanōN-i-wāt onko  
 PC PC=TNS.pst-PV-VTA-inv.1s-3p,conj PR.dem(Ap)  
 always **it is**=past-thus-speak to s.o.-they>me those ones  
*Always that's how they always spoke to me those (ones)*

kihci-anihšināpēpanīk.  
 kihci-anihšināpē+pan-īk  
 PN-NA+pret-p  
 great-Indian+late-s  
*old people (late).*

- 51) Nikī-minwētān pamihakwā kihci-anihšināpēk.  
 ni=kī-minwētā-n pamih-ak-wā kihci-anihšināpē-k  
 1=TNS.pst-TVI-1s,indic VTA-dir.1s>3s-3p,conj PN-NA-p  
 I=past-to like s.t.-I serve s.o.-I-them great-Indian-s  
*I used to like (enjoy it) serving (looking after) them old people.*

- 52) Na, **mi**-iwē i, tānika ahko  
 na **mi**=iwē i tānika ahko  
 PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PR.dem(Is) PC PC  
 see it **it is**=this this thing wishing (would)  
*See, it's this thing, wishing*

ēšinākwahk nōnkom nitinēntam  
 IC-išinākwat-k nōnkom nit=inēntam  
 IC-VII-0s,conj PC 1s=VAI,indic  
 to look-it today I=to think about  
*how it looks today I think about*

oškātisīk, kā-iši-ayāwāt, tōtamowāt.  
 oškātisī-k kā-iši-ayā-wāt tōtamo-wāt  
 NA-p relcl-PV-VAI-3p,conj VAI-3s,conj  
 be a young person-s that-thus-to be-they to do so-they  
*the youth, the way they are, what they do.*

- 53) kēwīnawā nitinēntam ahko  
 kē+wīnawā nit=inēntam ahko  
 PC+PR.prs(3p) 1s=VAI,indic PC  
 also+them I=think about (would)  
*Them too I think about how*

ta-kaškihtamāšowak kēkō, mino-ayāwin,  
 ta-kaškiht+amaw+išo-wak kēkō mino-ayā+win  
 TNS.fut-VTI+ben+refl-3p,indic PC PV-VAI+NI  
 will-to do s.t.+for+self-them something good-to be+NI  
*they could earn something for themselves, wellness (Health)*

mino-pimātišiwīn, kāwīn tahs.  
 mino-pimātiši+win            kāwīn            tahs  
 PV-VAI+NI                      PC                      PC  
 good-life/living+NI            no/not            but  
*a good life/living, but no.*

54) Ānīhš onšām onšāminat mōniyāwininīwin mōniyāwi-pimātišiwīn.  
 ānīhš onšām onšām+inat            mōniyāw+ininī+win            mōniyāwi-pimātiši+win  
 PC    PC            PC+VII.(0s),indic            NA+NA+NI            PN-VAI+NI  
 why    because    because-of it            white+man+NI            white person-to live+NI  
*(Why) because there is too much of whiteman ways whiteman way of life.*

55) **Mi**-iwē ānīhš wīnkē kā-pīkonikēmakahk.  
**mi**=iwē                      ānīhš                      wīnkē                      kā-pīkonikē+makat-k  
 PC=dem(Is)                      PC                      PC                      relcl-VAI+VII-0p,conj  
**it is**=that (thing)            because                      really                      that had-to break+VII-it/them  
*That's the thing that really ruins/destroys things.*

56) Na, **mi**-iwē ahko kā-tōtamān,  
 na            **mi**=iwē                      ahko                      kā-tōtam-ān  
 PC            PC=PR.dem(Is)                      PC                      TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj  
 see            **it is**=that                      would                      past-to do-I  
*See, that's the thing I would do,*

Pišāniko kāwīn kēkō kāwīn nikī-manēwišihī.  
 pišāniko            kāwīn            kēkō            kāwīn            ni=kī-manēwiši-hsī  
 PC                      PC                      PC                      PC                      1s=TNS.pst-VAI-neg,indic  
 surely                      no/not                      don't            no/not            I=past-to be short of s.t.-not  
*there was not a thing I was ever out of (lacked).*

57) Kān kēko ~ kān kēko šōniyā i ahpī.  
 kān    kēko                      kān    kēko                      šōniyā                      i                      ahpī  
 PC    PC                      PC    PC                      NA                      PR.dem(Is)                      PC  
 no    something                      no    something                      money                      that                      at the time  
*Nothing ~ there was no such thing as money at that time.*

58) Pišāniko kī-ākamēnimō nimihšōmihš kī-pamihit  
 pišāniko            kī-ākamēnimō                      ni=mihšōmihš                      kī-pamih-it  
 PC                      TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic                      1sPoss=NAD                      TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s>3s,conj  
 just                      past-to try hard (s/he)                      my=grandfather                      past-look after-s/he>me  
*He had just tried hard my grandfather to look after me*

kā-kī-omihšōmihšiyān, nōhkō kī-nānākancihiwāt.  
 kā-kī-omihšōmihšiyān,                      n=ōhkō                      kī-nānākancih-i-wāt  
 relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj                      1sPoss=NAD                      TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s-3p,conj  
 that-past-to be a grandfather-my                      my=grandmother                      past-to look after-they>me  
*the one that was my grandfather, my grandmother that looked after me.*

- 59) Pīnihš nikī-ani-oškinīhkwēnsiw.  
 pīnihš ni=kī-ani-oškin+īhkwē+ns+iw(i)  
 PC 1s=TNS.pst-PV-PN+NA+dim+VAI,indic  
 eventually I=past-toward-new/young+woman+little+to be  
*Eventually I became a young woman.*
- 60) Pīnihš nikī-kīši ~ nikī-kīši ~  
 pīnihš ni=kī-kīši ni=kī-kīši  
 PC 1s=TNS.pst-PV(indic) 1s=TNS.pst-PV(indic)  
 eventually I=past-to finish I=past-to finish  
*Eventually I finished ~ I finished ~*
- nikī-kīši-oškinīhkwēw.  
 ni=kī-kīši-oškin+īhkwē+w(i)  
 1s=TNS.pst-PV-PN+NA+VAI,indic  
 I=past-to finish-new/young+woman+to be  
*I finished becoming a young woman.*
- 61) Kān wīhkā kayē omā nikī-ayāhsī iškonikanink.  
 kān wīhkā kayē omā ni=kī-ayā-hsī iškonikan-ink  
 PC PC PC PC 1s=TNS.pst-VAI-neg,indic NI-loc  
 not ever also here I=past-to be there-not the reserve-on  
*I also never lived/stayed here on the reserve.*
- 62) ōwiti nihšinē pēkwaci-ahī kā-ayāyānk,  
 ōwiti nihšinē pēkwaci-ahī kā-ayā-yānk  
 PC PC PV/PC-col TNS.pst-VAI-1p,conj  
 over there always the wilderness-place past-be there-we (excl)  
*we always lived/stayed over there in the wilderness,*
- nōhkōyipan īwiti kī-wawīcīwak ahko.  
 n=ōhkō[y]+ipan īwiti kī-wa-wīcīw-ak ahko  
 1sPoss=NAD+pret PC TNS.pst-rdpl-VTA-dir.1s>3s,conj PC  
 my=grandmother+late over there past-always-accompany s.o.-I>him/her would  
*I would always accompany/stay with my late grandmother over there.*
- 63) Mācāwāt nimihšōmihšipan šikwa  
 mācā-wāt ni=mihšōmihš+ipan šikwa  
 VAI-3p,conj 1sPoss=NAD+pret PC  
 to leave-they my=grandfather+late and  
*They would leave my late grandfather and*
- kā-kī-osihsēhiyān, *name withheld* kā-kī-ininit.  
 kā-kī-osihsēhi-yān, name kā-kī-inini-t  
 relcl-pst-NAD-1s,conj name relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj  
 that-past-uncle-my name that-past-to be called-s/he  
*the one that was my uncle, name withheld he was called.*

- 64) Mācāwak, antawēncikēwak,  
 mācā–wak                      antawēncikē–wak  
 VAI–3p,indic                    VAI–3p,indic  
 to leave–they                    to hunt small game–they  
*They leave to hunt small game,*
- anta-wānīhikēwak wīnawā.  
 anta–wānīhikē–wak                      wīnawā  
 PV–VAI–3p,indic                          PR.prs(3p)  
 go and–to trap–they                      them  
*they go trapping them.*
- 65) Šikwa nīnawint naniškēwapiyānk, nānakotinonk  
 šikwa nīnawint                    na–niškēw+api–yānk                      nāna+kotino–nk  
 PC    PR.prs(1p)                    rdpl–VAI+VAI–1p,conj                      PC+PC–loc  
 and    us (excl)                    continuous+to be alone+to sit–we (excl) five+something–in  
*And us being home alone, sometimes for one week*
- nikī-niškēwapimin nōhkōhipan  
 ni=kī–niškēw+api–min                      n=ōhkō[h]+ipan  
 1=TNS.pst–VAI+VAI–1p,indic                      1sPoss=NAD+late  
 I=past–to be alone+to sit–we (excl)                      my=grandmother+late  
*we would be home alone my late grandmother*
- nīnawint ēhta mihci-nanīšiyānk ōwiti kohci.  
 nīnawint                    ēhta                    mihci–na–nīši–yānk                      ōwiti                    kohci  
 PR.prs(1p)                    PC                    PV–rdpl–VAI–1p,conj                      PC                    PC  
 us(excl)                    only                    just–two–us/we (excl)                      over there                    sometimes  
*only us just (us) the two of us out there sometimes.*
- 66) Kān wīhkā kēkō nikī-makoškācihikohsīmin.  
 kān                    wīhkā                    kēkō                    ni=kī–makoškācih–iko–hsī–min.  
 PC                    PC                    PC                    1=TNS.pst–VTA–inv–neg–(3s>)1p,indic  
 no/not                    ever                    something                    I=past–bother–not–they>us(excl)  
*Nothing would ever bother us.*
- 67) Animohšihšak nikī-wīcīwānānik (laughs), šikwa ~  
 animohš+ihš–ak                    ni=kī–wīcīw–ā–nān–ik                      šikwa  
 NA+pej–p                    1=TNS.pst–VTA–dir–1p–3p,indic                      PC  
 dog+darn–s                    I=past–accompany s.o.–we(excl)–them                      and  
*Darn dogs accompanied (stayed) with us (laughs), and ~*
- šikwa                    pōsīns                    ahko                    nikī-ayāwā.  
 šikwa                    pōsīns                    ahko                    ni=kī–ayāw–ā  
 PC                    NAs                    PC                    1s=TNS.pst–VTA–inv.(3s),indic  
 and                    a cat                    would                    I=past–to have–(him/her)  
*and a cat also that I had.*

- 68) **Mi**-ahko ‘every morning’ nātakwēyānk.  
**mi**=ahko every morning nātakwē–yānk  
PC=PC Eng VAI–1p,conj  
**so**=would every morning to check snare–we (excl)  
*And so ‘every morning’ we would check our snares.*
- 69) nōhkōyipan kī-akōtō,  
n=ōhkō[y]+ipan kī-akōtō  
1sPoss=NAD+pret TNS.pst–VAI.(3s),indic  
my=grandmother+late past–to set snares(s/he)  
*My late grandmother (she) had set snares,*  
  
ani-nīkānīyan nīkāni-nātakwēyān.  
ani-nīkānī–yān nīkāni–nātakwē–yān  
PV–VAI–1s,conj PV–VAI–1s,conj  
toward–to be first–I first/ahead–to check snares–I  
*I would go on ahead to check snares.*
- 70) Āh, nōhkō, nakwāšo.  
ahh n=ōhkō nakwāšo  
Col. 1sPoss=NAD VAI.(3s),indic  
ah my=grandmother to catch/snare(s/he/it)  
*Ah, my grandmother, it was caught.*
- 71) Āh na! **mi**-iwē, kāwīn kēkō **mi**-ēhta  
ah na **mi**=iwē kāwīn kēkō **mi**=ēhta  
col PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC PC=PC  
Oh see **it is**=that (thing) no/not something **it is**=only  
*See! That’s it, nothing that’s the only*  
  
kā-inācihoiyānk kā-iši- ~, kā-iši-ompikihikōwān.  
kā-ināciho–yānk kā-iši kā-iši-ompikih–ikō–wān  
TNS.pst–VAI–1p,conj TNS.pst–PV TNS.pst–PV–VTA–xact–1s,conj  
past–to survive–we(excl) past–thus past–thus–to raise–be–I  
*way we survived that is, that’s how I was raised.*
- 72) **Mi**-iwē payēkwaci, payēkwaci-wīhsiniwin  
**mi**=iwē payēkwaci payēkwaci–wīhsini+win  
PC=PR.dem(Is) PV/PC PV–VAI+NI  
**it is**=that (thing) wilderness wilderness–food  
*That’s it wilderness, wilderness food*  
  
kī-mīciyān nihšinē.  
kī-mīci–yān nihšinē  
TNS.pst–VTI–1s, conj PC  
past–to eat s.t.–I always  
*I ate it all the time.*

- 73) kān wīhkā kēkō owē mōniyāwancikēwin,  
 kān wīhkā kēkō owē mōniyā–wancikē+win  
 PC PC PC PR.dem(Is) NA–VAI+NI  
 no/not ever something this white man–to eat+NI  
*There was never (something/any) this white (eating) food,*
- sīsipāhkwat ēhta nikī–ayāmin ahko, **mi**–i.  
 sīsipāhkwat ēhta nikī=kī–ayā–min ahko **mi**=i  
 NI PC 1=TNS.pst–VAI–1p,indic PC PC=PR.dem(Is)  
 sugar only I=past–to have–we(excl) (then) **it is**=that  
*sugar only we had, (then) that’s it.*
- 74) Kān wīhkā kēkō nikī–mōniyāwancikēhsīmin.  
 kān wīhkā kēkō nikī=kī–mōniyā–wancikē–hsī–min.  
 PC PC PC 1=TNS.pst–NA–VAI–neg–1p,indic  
 no/not ever something I=past–whiteman–to eat–not–we(excl)  
*We never had/ate whiteman food.*
- 75) [Wīhkā na kihkinahomātīwikamikōnk kikī–išā?]  
 wīhkā na kihkinahomātī+wikamikōnk kikī=kī–išā  
 PC PC VAI+NI–loc 2s=TNS.pst–VAI,indic  
 ever “?” to learn+building–to you=past–go there  
*[Did you ever go to school?]*
- 76) Kāwīn, kāwīn, nikī–āhkos ānīhš.  
 kāwīn kāwīn nikī=kī–āhkos(i) ānīhš  
 PC PC 1s=TNS.pst–VAI,indic PC  
 no no I=past–to be sick because.  
*No, no because I was sick.*
- 77) Nikī–wī–išā kāwīn tahs nikī–pakitinikōhsī.  
 nikī=kī–wī–išā kāwīn tahs nikī=kī–pakitin–ikō–hsī  
 1s=TNS.pst–ASP.prsp–VAI,indic PC PC 1s=TNS.pst–VTA–xact–neg,indic  
 I=past–going to–go there no but I=past–to be allowed–not  
*I was going to go but (no) I was not allowed to.*
- 78) Na, **mi**–iwē mīnwā pēšikwayak āhpihci  
 na **mi**=iwē mīnwā pēšikwayak āhpihci  
 PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC PC  
 see **it is**=that again one thing very  
*See, it is that again is another one thing that’s very*
- šīnkēntākwat nikī–āhkos ānīhš  
 šīnkēntākwat nikī=kī–āhkos(i) ānīhš  
 VII.(0s),indic 1s=TNS.pst–VAI,indic PC  
 to be hateful–it I=past–to be sick because  
*hateful because I was sick.*

omā owē kā-kī-iši-ayāyān.  
omā owē kā-kī-iši-ayā-yān  
PC PR.dem(Is) relcl-TNS.pst-PV-VAI-1s,conj  
here this that-past-thus-to be-I  
*this here that is the way I was.*

- 79) Āhpihci nikī-šīnkēntān i  
āhpihci ni=kī-šīnkēnt+ā-n i  
PC 1=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-1s,indic PR.dem(Is)  
very I=past-to dislike it-I that  
*I really didn't like it (this) that*

kī-iši-ayāyān kī-āhkosi-yān.  
kī-iši-ayā-yān kī-āhkosi-yān  
TNS.pst-PV-VAI-1s,conj TNS.pst-VAI-1s, conj  
past-thus-to be-I past-to be sick-I  
*the way I was the sickness I had.*

- 80) Ānti a, pēšik 'a man' nikī-āšōhik,  
ānti a pēšik a man ni=kī-āšōh-ik  
PR.inter PR.dem(As) PC Eng. 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv(3s),indic  
where that (one) one a man me=past-to pass on to-s/he  
*Where is that one 'a man' passed his illness on to me,*

īwiti ahko nikī-wīhsōkawānānik.  
īwiti ahko ni=kī-wīhsōkaw-ā-nān-ik  
PC PC 1=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-1p-3p,indic  
over there would I=past-to live by s.o.-we(excl)>them  
*over there where we stayed near them.*

- 81) **Mi**-hšako awē 'Bullīns' kā-išīnihkāsot.  
**mi**=hša+ko awē 'Bull+īns' kā-išīnihkāsot-t  
PC=PC+dub PR.dem(As) Eng+Dim relcl-VAI-3s,conj  
**it is**=so+dub that one bull+little that-to be called-s/he  
*That was the one Little Bull was his name.*

- 82) 'You know?' Kikihkēnimā? 'Bullīns' kā-ināwāt  
You know ki=kihkēnim-ā Bullīns kā-iN-ā-wāt  
Eng 2s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic Eng+dim relcl-VTA-dir-3p,conj  
you know you=to know s.o.(s/he) bull+little that-to call s.o.-they  
*'You know?' Do you know him? Little bull they called him,*

ahko, **mi**-awē. [ 'eh heh' ]  
ahko **mi**=awē. eh heh  
PC PC=PR.dem(As) col  
so **it is**=that (one) eh heh  
*that one. [eh heh]*

- 83) **Mi-awē**, kēwīn mi-kā-ināpinēt.  
**mi=awē** kē+wīn mi=kā-ināpinē-t,  
PC=PR.dem(As) emph+PR.prs(3s) PC=TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj  
**it is**=that one also+him it is=past-to have sickness-s/he  
*That one, he too had that sickness.*
- 84) **Mi-awē** kā-kī-āšōhit kā-kī-iši-ayāt.  
**mi=awē** kā-kī-āšōh-it kā-kī-iši-ayā-t  
PC=PR.dem(As) relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-inv.3s>1s,conj relcl-past-PV-VAI-3s,conj  
**it is**=that one that-past-pass on to-s/he>me that-past-thus-to be-s/he  
*that's the one that gave me the sickness he (too) was like that.*
- 85) Na **mi-i**, nikī-wī-išā,  
na **mi=i**, ni=kī-wī-išā  
PC PC=PR.dem(Is) 1s=TNS.pst-ASP.prsp-VAI,indic  
see **it is**=that I=past-going to-go there  
*See that's it, I was going to go,*
- nitā-kī-išā ahko **mi-omā** 'Fort Qu'Appelle',  
ni=tā-kī-išā ahko **mi=omā** Fort Qu'Appelle  
1s=TNS.fut-TNS.pst-VAI,indic PC PC=PC Place name  
I=will-past-go there would **it is**=there Fort Qu'Appelle  
*I would have went there (that place) 'Fort Qu'Appelle',*
- 86) kī-ontohsē a, a ~ kī-ontohsē  
kī-ontohsē a a kī-ontohsē  
TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic PR.dem(As) PR.dem(As) TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic  
past-to come from(s/he) that one that past-to come from(s/he)  
*she came from there that one, that ~ she came from there*
- a, a kihci-maškihkwē.  
a a kihci-maškihkwē+ihkwē  
PR.dem(As) PR.dem(As) PN-NA+NAs  
that one that big-medicine+woman  
*that one that big nurse.*
- 87) Nikī-kihkēnimā a kihci-maškihkwē.  
ni=kī-kihkēnim-ā a kihci-maškihkwē+ihkwē  
1s=TNS.pst-VTA-dir.(3s),indic PR.dem(As) PN-NA+NAs  
I=past-to know s.o.(s/he) that one big-medicine+woman  
*I knew (her) that big nurse.*
- 88) Omā kī-pi-išā ahko iškonikanink.  
omā kī-pi-išā ahko iškonikan-ink  
PC TNS.pst-PV-VAI.(3s),indic PC NI-loc  
here past-come-go there(s/he) would the reserve-to  
*(Here) She would come here to the reserve.*

- 89) **Mi-awē** nikī-wī-otāhpīnik,  
**mi=awē** ni=kī-wī-otāhpīn-ik  
 PC=PR.dem(As) 1s=TNS.pst-ASP.prsp-VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
**It is=this one** me=past-going to-take-s/he  
*That's the one she was going to take me,*
- ta-kanawēnimit, ta-nanāntawihit  
 ta-kanawēnim-it ta-nanāntawih-it  
 TNS.fut-VTA-inv.3s>1s,conj TNS.fut-VTA-inv.3s>1s,conj  
 will-to keep-s/he>me will-to cure-s/he>me  
*to keep me, to cure/treat me.*
- 90) Šikwa pēhkiš nika-kihkinahamawā  
 šikwa pēhkiš ni=ka-kihkinahamaw-ā  
 PC PC 1=TNS.fut-VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
 and same time I=will-to teach-him/her  
*And at the same time I will teach her*
- nikī-inik ahko  
 ni=kī-iN-ik ahko  
 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic PC  
 me=past-say to-s/he would  
*she would say to me.*
- 91) Nīta-kī-wanīkihik šako itok  
 ni=ta-kī-wanīkih-ik šako itok  
 1s=TNS.fut-TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic PC PC  
 I=will-past-to raise-s/he differently apparently  
*I would have been raised differently apparently*
- kīšpin otāhpīnipan.  
 kīšpin otāhpīn-i-pan  
 PC VTA-inv.3s>1s-pret  
 if take me- s/he>me-had  
*if she had taken me.*
- 92) Yah, kān kī-inēntansīwak, nōhkō,  
 yah kān kī-inēnta-nsī-wak n=ōhkō  
 col PC TNS.pst-VAI-neg-3p,indic 1sPoss=NA  
 Ya not past-to think so-not-they my=grandmother  
*Ya, they did not think so, my grandmother,*
- nikī-sākīhikōk.  
 ni=kī-sākīh-iko-ik  
 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic  
 me=past-stingy of-they  
*they were stingy of me.*

- 93) [Kita-kī-mōniyāhkwēw]  
ki=ta-kī-mōniyā+hkwē+w(i)  
2s=TNS.fut-TNS.pst-NA+NA+VAI,indic  
you=will-past-whiteman+woman+to.be  
*[You would have been a whitewoman.]*
- 94) ‘Ya’, kān nitā-kī- ~ (laughs) nita-kī-~ nimōniyāhkwēw.  
ya kān ni=tā-kī- ni=ta-kī- ~ ni=mōniyā+hkwē+w(i)  
col PC 1s=TNS.fut-TNS.pst 1s=TNS.fut-TNS.pst 1s=NA+NA+VAI,indic  
ya not I=will-past I=will-past- I=whiteman+woman+to.be  
*Ya, I would not have (laughs) I would have been a whitewoman.*
- 95) Kān nikī-pakitinikohsīk.  
kān ni=kī-pakitin-iko-hsī-k  
PC 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-neg-3p,indic  
not me=past-to allow-not-they  
*They did not allow me.*
- 96) Na, **mi**-iwē ~ na **mi**-iwē omā  
na **mi**=iwē na **mi**=iwē omā  
PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC  
see **it is**=that see **it is**=that here  
*See, that’s it~ see that’s the thing here*
- nikī-tašintamawā i, wīnkē niškātišiyān.  
ni=kī-tašin+tamaw-ā i wīnkē niškātiši-yān  
1s=TNS.pst-VTI+ben-dir.(3s),indic PR.dem(Is) PC VAI-1s,conj  
I=past-to speak about it+to her that very to be angry-I  
*I spoke to her about that, how very angry I was.*
- 97) Wīnkē niwawānēntam ahko nāna ~ nānakotinonk.  
wīnkē ni=wawānēntam ahko nā+na nā+na-kotinonk  
PC 1s=VAI,indic PC rdpl+PC rdpl+PV-PC  
very I=think.over.and.over would any-sometime  
*very much so I wonder (mixed thinking) sometimes.*
- 98) Tānaka kaškihtōwān kēnīn ta-šākanāhšīmowān.  
tānaka kaškiht+ō-wān kē+nīn ta-šākanāhšīmo-wān  
PC VTI+TH-1s,conj emph+PR.prs(1s) TNS.fut-VAI-1s,conj  
to wish to be able to-I too+I will-to speak English-I  
*Wish me too I was able also to speak English.*
- 99) ānīhšwīn ītok ēkā wēnci-kī-kihkēntansīwān  
ānīhšwīn ītok ēkā wēnci-kī-kihkēnt+a-nsī-wān  
PR-inter PC PC IC.PV-TNS.pst-VTI+TH-neg-1s,conj  
why wonder not from-past-to know it-not-I  
*Why (wonder)I wonder why (I don’t know it)*

ta-iši-šākanāhšīmowān, āhpihci ahko  
 ta-iši-šākanāhšīmo-wān                      āhpihci    ahko  
 TNS.fut-PV-VAI-1s,conj                      PC            PC  
 will-thus-to speak English-I            very        so  
*I'm unable to speak English, very much so*

niniškātiš nitinā nikohsihs.  
 ni=niškātiš(i)                      nit=iN-ā                      ni=kohsihs  
 1s=VAI,indic                      1s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic                      1sPoss=NA  
 I=to be angry                      I=say to s.o.(him/her)                      my=son  
*I am mad I say to my son.*

- 100) 'Kēko ihkitohkēn, mom,' nitik,  
 kēko    ihkito-hkē-n                      mom                      nit=(iN)-ik  
 PC      VAI-neg.imp-2s                      Eng                      1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
 don't    to say so-not-you                      mom                      me=say to-s/he  
*'Don't say that, mom,' he says to me,*

kēko ihkitohkēn kā-ihkitowan.  
 kēko    ihkito-hkē-n                      kā-ihkito-wan  
 PC      VAI-neg-2s,imp                      relcl-VAI-2s,conj  
 don't    to say so-not-you                      that-to say so-you  
*don't say that what you are saying.*

- 101) Nawac kohša iwē ~ nawac kohša iwē  
 nawac    kohša      iwē                      nawac    kohša      iwē  
 PC        PC            PR.dem(Is)                      PC        PC            PR.dem(Is)  
 more      so            that                      more      so            that  
*More so that ~ more so that*

kikihci-āpacihtōn iwē kā-inwēyan,  
 ki=kihci-āpaciht+ō-n                      iwē                      kā-inwē-yan  
 2s=PV-VTI+TH-2s,indic                      PR.dem(Is)                      relcl-VAI-2s,conj  
 you=big-to use s.t.-you                      that                      that-to speak-you  
*it serves you well the way that you speak,*

nitik, kā-nahkawēyan nitik.  
 nit=(iN)-ik                      kā-nahkawē-yan                      nit=(iN)-ik  
 1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic                      relcl-VAI-2s, conj                      1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
 me=say to-s/he                      that-speak Saulteaux-you                      me=say to-s/he  
*he says to me, when you speak Saulteaux he says to me.*

- 102) Kiminwāpacihtōn **mi**-iwē, apīhc  
 ki=minw+āpaciht+ō-n                      **mi**=iwē                      apīhc  
 2s=PV+VTI+TH-2s,indic                      PC=PR.dem(Is)                      PC  
 you=well+to use it-you                      **It is**=that                      rather  
*You use that very well that, rather*

wīn ta-kī-šākanāhšīmowan nitik.  
wīn ta-kī-šākanāhšīmo-wan nit=(iN)-ik  
PR.prs(3s) TNS.fut-TNS.pst-VAI-2s,conj 1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
you will-past-to speak English-you I=say to-s/he  
*than you would have spoke English he says to me.*

- 103) Nīnawint nānakotinonk ...  
nīnawint nā+na-kotinonk  
PR.prs(1p) rdpl+PV-PC  
we/us (excl) any-sometime  
*Us sometimes...*

- 104) [Kahkina awiya ānīhš šikwa  
kahkina awiya ānīhš šikwa  
PC PC PC PC  
all/everyone someone because now  
*[Because everyone is now*

owanihtōn nahkawēwin]  
o=waniht+ō-n nahkawē+win  
3=VTI+TH-0',indic VAI+NI  
s/he=to lose it-s/he to speak Saulteaux+NI  
*losing (it) the Saulteaux language]*

- 105) 'Yeah', nānakotinonk awiya owawānēntamīhikon  
yeah nā+na-kotinonk awiya o=wawānēntamīh-iko-n  
col rdpl+PV-PC PC 3=(rdpl)VTA-inact-0',indic  
ya any-sometime someone s/he=continuous+to have difficulty-it  
*yeah, sometimes someone has difficulty,*

awiya ānīn ta-ihkitot awiya  
awiya ānīn ta-ihkito-t awiya  
PC PR-inter TNS.fut-VAI-3s,conj PC  
someone how/what will-to speak-you someone  
*(someone) how/what to say someone*

kā-šākanāhšīmot pišīšik ihkito.  
kā-šākanāhšīmo-t pišīšik ihkito  
relcl-VAI-3s,conj PC VAI.(3s),indic  
that-to speak English-s/he all the time to say(s/he)  
*that speaks English all the time he says.*

- 106) Na i, kēnīn nānakotinonk  
na i kē+nīn nā+na-kotinonk  
PC PR.dem(1s) emph+PR.prs(1s) rdpl+PV-PC  
see that, also+I any-sometime  
*See that, me too sometimes*

- mi-ēši-ayāyān** ihkito.  
**mi=IC-iši-ayā-yān** ihkito  
PC=IC-PV-VAI-1s, conj VAI.(3s),indic  
**It is=thus-to be-I** to say(s/he)  
*that happens to me he says.*
- 107) Niwawānēntamihikon ahko ānīn  
ni=wawānēntamih-iko-n ahko ānīn  
1s=VTA-inact-1s,indic PC PR-inter  
I=it to be difficult-I so how/what  
*I have difficulty on how*
- ta-iši-nahkawēyān nānakotink.  
ta-iši-nahkawē-yān nā+na-kotink  
TNS.fut-PV-VAI-1s,conj rdpl+PV-PC  
will-to go-to speak Sauteaux-I any-sometime  
*to speak Sauteaux some times.*
- 108) Nihtā-nahkawē wīn, nānakotinonk  
nihtā-nahkawē wīn nā+na-kotinonk  
PV-VAI.(3s),indic PR.prs(3s) rdpl+PV-PC  
able to do well-speak Sauteaux(s/he) him/he any-sometime  
*Him he speaks Sauteaux well, but sometimes*
- tahs niwawānēntam ānīn ta-ihkitowān  
tahs ni=wawānēntam ānīn ta-ihkito-wān  
PC 1s=rdpl+VAI,indic PR-inter TNS.fut-VAI-1s,conj  
but I=to wonder how/what will-to say-I  
*(but) I wonder how to say*
- kēkō ihkito, na hī.  
kēkō ihkito na hī  
PC VAI.(3s),indic PC PC  
something to say(s/he) see that's it.  
*something, he says, that's it.*
- 109) [kēnīn ānīhš kayē **mi-ēšiwēpišiyān**]  
kē+nīn ānīhš kayē mi=IC-išiwēpišiyān  
emph+PR.prs(1s) PC PC PC=IC-VAI-1s,conj  
also+I because also it is=to occur-I  
*[Well me too that also happens to me.]*
- 110) 'yeah', **mi-iwē**.  
yeah mi=iwē  
col PC=dem(1s)  
yeah **it is=that**  
*Yeah that's it.*

- 111) [ānint kēkō kān nikaškihtōnsīn i.]  
 ānint kēkō kān ni=kaškiht+ō-nsī-n i  
 PC PC PC 1s=VTI+TH-neg-1s,indic PR.dem(Is)  
 some something not I=able to do it-not-I that  
*[Some things (not) I'm unable to say (that).]*
- 112) 'yeah' mi-iwē, kīn wīn kahkina kēkō  
 yeah mi=iwē, kīn wīn kahkina kēkō  
 col PC=PR.dem(Is) PR.prs(2s) PC PC PC  
 yeah it it=that you emp all/everyone something  
*Yeah that's it, you (everything)*
- kikihkētān nahkawēwin.  
 ki=kihkēt+ā-n nahkawē+win  
 2s=VTI+TH-2s,indic VAI+NI  
 you=to know s.t.-you to speak Saulteaux+language  
*know everything about Saulteaux.*
- 113) Wēwēni kipahkihki-nahkawē  
 wēwēni ki=pahkihki-nahkawē  
 PC 2s=PV-VAI,indic  
 carefully you=to sound clear-to speak Saulteaux(s/he)  
*You speak clear Saulteaux*
- nitik.  
 nit=(iN)-ik  
 1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
 I=to tell-s/he  
*he says to me.*
- 114) Kēko ihkitohkēn kā-iši-kākīkitowan nitinik.  
 kēko ihkito-hkē-n kā-iši-kākīkito-wan nit=iN-ik  
 PC VAI-neg-2s,imp relcl-PV-VAI-2s,conj 1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
 don't to say-not-you that-thus-to talk-you me=tell-s/he  
*Don't say that, the way you are talking he says to me.*
- 115) Kimaci- ~ kimaci- ~ kimaci-tōtam  
 ki=maci- ki=maci- ki=maci-tōtam  
 2s=PV 2s=PV 2s=PV-VAI,indic  
 you=bad you=bad you=bad-do so  
*You bad~ you bad~ that's a bad thing you do*
- i kā-tōtaman, nitik.  
 i kā-tōtam-an nit=(iN)-ik  
 PR.dem(Is) relcl-VAI-2s,conj 1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
 that that-to do so-you me=to tell-s/he  
*that you do, he says to me.*

- 116) Ah, **mi**-i nikī-nanāhēntam  
 ah                    **mi**=i                    ni=kī-nanāhēntam  
 Col                    PC=dem(Is)                    1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic  
 ah                    **it is**=that                    I=past-to think better  
*And so, I thought (felt) better*
- i iṣit 'you know' ?  
 i                    iN-it                    you know  
 PR.dem(Is)    VTA-inv.3s>1s,conj                    Eng  
 that                    to say it-s/he>me                    you know  
*about it him saying that to me. 'You know?'*
- 117) [Imā kā-anohkīyān wīnkē ahko kēnīn  
 imā    kā-anohkī-yān                    wīnkē                    ahko    kē+nīn  
 PC    relcl-VAI-1s,conj    PC                    PC    emph+PR.prs(1s)  
 there    that-to work-I                    really                    so    also+me  
*[There where I work, very much so, me too*
- nitāntawikōk onko oṣkihayāk]  
 nit=āntaw-iko-ik                    onko                    oṣkihayā-k  
 1s=VTA-inv-3p,indic                    PR.dem(Ap)                    NA-pl  
 me=give s.o. a hard time-they                    those (ones)                    young person-s  
*they give me a rough time those young people.]*
- 118) eh hah [Nīpawa kēkō onōntē-kihikēntānāwā.]  
 eh hah nīpawa                    kēkō                    o=nōntē-kihikēnt+ā-nā-wā  
 col    PC                    PC                    3=PV-VTI+TH-0's-3p,indic  
 eh heh a lot                    something                    s/he=to want-to know it-they  
*eh heh [They want to know many things.]*
- 119) [ṣikwa āh] eh heh [we don't have that much time] eh heh  
 ṣikwa    āh    eh heh *we don't have that much time*                    eh heh  
 PC    PC    col    Eng                    col  
 and    ah    eh heh *we don't have that much time*                    eh heh  
*And ah] eh heh [we don't have that much time] eh heh*
- [ta-kihkinahamawakwā] eh heh [ṣanakat ānīhš  
 ta-kihkinahamaw-ak-wā                    eh heh                    ṣanakat                    ānīhš  
 TNS.fut-VTA-dir.1s-3p,conj                    col                    VII.(0s),indic    PC  
 will-to teach s.o.-me-they                    eh heh                    it's difficult                    because  
*[to teach them] eh heh [because it's difficult*
- kayē 'in the classroom' kā-kihkinahomākēnk]  
 kayē    *in the classroom*                    kā-kihkinahomākē-nk  
 PC    Eng                    relcl-VAI-xact  
 also    *in the classroom*                    that-to teach-in there  
*too 'in the classroom' to teach in there (a classroom)].*

- 120) eh heh 'I know' **mi**-ītok iwē ānīhš  
 eh heh I know **mi**=ītok iwē ānīhš  
 col Eng PC=PC PR.dem(Is) PC  
 eh heh I know **it is**=apparently that because  
 eh heh 'I know' because that's why
- [an hour, an hour three times a week ahko  
 an hour, an hour three times a week ahko  
 Eng PC  
 an hour, an hour three times a week would  
 [an hour, an hour three times a week
- ēhtako niwāpamāk 'for four months'.]  
 ēhta+ko ni=wāpam-ā-k for four months  
 PC+PC 1s=VTA-dir-3p,indic Eng  
 only I=see s.o.-them 'for four months'  
 I would only see them 'for four months]
- 121) 'yeah' eh heh [Wīnkē ahko nikitimākēnimāk 'these young people']  
 yeah eh heh wīnkē ahko ni=kitimākēnim-ā-k these young people  
 col col PC PC 1s=VTA-dir-3p,indic Eng.  
 ya eh heh really so I=to pity s.o.-them these young people  
 Yeah eh heh [I really feel sorry for (them) 'these young people]
- 122) eh heh, nōntē-kihkēntamowāt kēkō.  
 eh heh nōntē-kihkēnt+amo-wāt kēkō  
 col PV-VTI+TH-3p,conj PC  
 eh heh want-to know it-they something  
 eh heh they want to know things.
- 123) [ēniwēk tahs ahko nīpawa ahko nikihihamawāk.]  
 ēniwēk tahs ahko nīpawa ahko ni=kihihamaw-ā-k  
 PC PC PC PC PC 1s=VTA-dir-3p,indic  
 to manage but so a lot so I=teach s.o.-them  
 [But I manage to teach them a lot.]
- 124) eh heh ēši-minik kaškihtōwan.  
 eh heh IC-iši-minik kaškihtō-wan.  
 col IC-PV-PC VAI-2s,conj  
 eh heh thus-much to be able to-you  
 eh heh as much as you are able to.
- 125) ['We don't have that much time' ānīhš ahko kayē  
 We don't have that much time ānīhš ahko kayē  
 Eng PC PC PC  
 We don't have that much time because so also  
 ['We don't have that much time' also

ta-kihkinahomākēyān.] eh hah  
 ta-kihkinahomākē-yān eh hah  
 TNS.fut-VAI-1s,conj col  
 will-to teach-1 eh heh  
*to teach (them).] eh heh*

- 126) **mi-iwē** kayē ~ **mi-iwē** kayē, kēko,  
**mi**=iwē kayē **mi**=iwē kayē kēko  
 PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC  
**it is**=that also **it is**=that also don't  
*That's another thing ~ that's another thing, don't*

kēko mihci-kimōtihkēn kēkō  
 kēko mihci-kimōti-hkē-n kēkō  
 PC PV-VAI-neg-2s,imp PC  
 don't just-to steal-not-you something  
*don't just steal something*

kākīkitowan, nikī-ikō 'you know'.  
 kākīkito-wan ni=kī-(iN)-ikō you know  
 VAI-2s,conj 1s=TNS.pst-VAI-xact,indic Eng  
 To speak-you I=past-is told you know  
*when you speak, I was told 'you know.*

- 127) “Antotawihšin ānīn kēkō  
 antotaw-ihši-n ānīn kēkō  
 VTA-2>1-2s,imp PR-inter PC  
 listen to s.o.-you>me how something  
*listen to me how things*

iši-tipācimotōnān,” nikī-ikō ahko,  
 iši-tipācimot+ōn-ān ni=kī-(iN)-ikō ahko  
 PV-VTI+TH-1s,conj 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-xact,indic PC  
 thus-tell about s.t.-us me=past-tell s.o.-be so  
*I am telling about, I was told,*

- 128) **Mi-iwē** kika-ani-ācim, **mi-iwē**  
**mi**=iwē ki=ka-ani-ācim(o) **mi**=iwē  
 PC=dem(Is) 2s=TNS.fut-PV-VAI,indic PC=PR.dem(Is)  
**it is**=that you=will-towards-to tell **it is**=that  
*That's the thing what you will tell, that's*

kika-ani-ānahkōtōn ōhsiyēk,  
 ki=ka-ani-ānahkōt+ō-n ōhsi-yēk  
 2=TNS.fut-PV-VTI+TH-2s,indic VAI-2p,conj  
 you=will-towards-pass on s.t. orally-you to be a grandparent-you all  
*what you will pass on by word of mouth when you are grandparents.*

- 129) Kitānikōpicikanak **mi**-iwē oka-ani-pimiwitōnāwā  
 ki=tānikōpicikan-ak **mi**=iwē o=ka-ani-pimiwit+ō-nā-wā  
 2sPoss=NA-p PC=PR-dem(Is) 3=TNS.pst-PV-VTI+TH-0's-3p,indic  
 your=g-grandchild-ren **it is**=that s/he=past-towards-carry it-they  
*Your great-grandchildren that's what they will carry on*

kihkinahamawintwā, **mi**-kā-ikōwān.  
 kihkinahamaw-int-wā **mi**=kā-(iN)-ikō-wān  
 VTA-xact-3p,conj PC=relcl-(VTA)-xact-1s,conj  
 to teach-be-they **it is**=that-to tell-be-I  
*what they are taught, that's what I was told.*

- 130) Na **mi**-iwē ahko ēši-nākantawēntamān kēkō.  
 na **mi**=iwē ahko IC-iši-nākantawēnt+am-ān kēkō  
 PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC IC-PV-VTI+TH-1s,conj PC  
 see **it is**=that so thus-think about s.t.-I (something)  
*See that's the thing (something) that I think about.*

- 131) Kēko mihci-kimōtihkēn kēkō kohci-nōntaman  
 kēko mihci-kimōti-hkē-n kēkō kohci-nōnt+am-an  
 PC PV-VAI-neg-2s,imp PC PV-VTI+TH-2s,conj  
 don't just-to steal-not-you something somewhere-to hear it-you  
*Don't just steal something when you hear it somewhere*

kēkō, ta-otāhpīnaman kīkitowin,  
 kēkō ta-otāhpīn+am-an kīkito+win  
 PC TNS.fut-VTI+TH-2s,conj VAI+NI  
 something will-take s.t.-you to speak+NI  
*something to take (it) the talk (words),*

kān kika-āpahcihikohsīn, kān imā ta-anohkīmakahsinōn,  
 kān ki=ka-āpahcih-iko-hsī-n kān imā ta-anohkī+maka(t)-hsinōn  
 PC 2s=VTA-inact-neg-2s,indic PC PC TNS.fut-VAI+II(0s)-neg,indic  
 not you=will-to use it-not-you not there will-to work+it-not  
*it will not help you, it will not work there,*

imā kā-kākīkitowan.  
 imā kā-kākīkito-wan  
 PC relcl-VAI-2s, conj  
 there that-to speak-you  
*there where you are speaking.*

- 132) Kān oka-otāhpīnansīn a awēnēn,  
 kān o=ka-otāhpīn+a-nsī-n a awēnēn  
 PC 3=TNS.fut-VTI+TH-neg-3s,indic PR.dem(As) PR-inter  
 not s/he=will-take s.t.-not- that one who  
*He will not take it that one who,*

awēnēn kēnawāpaminank, **mi**-awē  
awēnēn IC-kanawāpam-iN-ank **mi**=awē  
PR-inter IC-VTA-inv(1s)-21,conj PC=PR.dem(As)  
who to watch over-s/he-us(incl) **it is**=that one  
*who oversees everything, he is the one*

ānīhš ēntahkōnank tahswākīšik.  
ānīhš IC-intahkōn+am-k tahswā+kīšik  
PC IC-VTI+TH-3,conj NI+NA  
because carry(s/he)-to directions+sky  
*who carries the directions of the sky.*

- 133) Na omā o kā-kākīkitowank  
na omā o kā-kākīkito-wank  
PC PC PR.dem(Is) relcl-VAI-21,conj  
see here this thing that-to speak-we(incl)  
*Like here (this thing) what we are talking about (saying),*

kinantotākonān ānīn ēntahso-ihkitowank.  
ki=nantotaw-iko-nān ānīn ēn-tahso-ihkito-wank  
2=VTA-inv.(3s)-21,indic PR.inter PV-PV-VAI-21,conj  
us=listen to-s/he-us(incl) what (how much)-to say-we(incl)  
*he is listening to us what we are saying.*

- 134) [Na **mi**-iwē i, **mi**-iwē ahko  
na **mi**=iwē i **mi**=iwē ahko  
PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PR.dem(Is) PC=PR.dem(Is) PC  
see **it is**=that one **it is**=that also  
*See that's it, that's what also,*

kēwīn nipāpāhipan nikī-kakīhkimik.]  
kē+wīn ni=pāpā[h]+ipan ni=kī-kakīhkim-ik  
emph+PR-Prn(3s) 1sPoss=NA+pret 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
also/too+him my=father+late I=past-advise-s/he  
*he too my late dad had advised me.*

- 135) [Yeah, kīšpin kēkō kihkēntaman tipācimon,  
yeah kīšpin kēkō kihkēnt+am-an tipācimo-n  
col PC PC VTI+TH-2s,conj VAI-2s,imp  
yeah if something know s.t.-you tell news-you  
*Yeah, if (something) you know something, tell it,*

kēko kakwē-kihkēntamōhkāšohkēn kēkō.]  
kēko kakwē-kihkēnt+amō+hkāšo-hkē-n kēkō  
PC PV-VTI+TH+preten-neg,imp-2s,imp PC  
don't to try-know s.t.+pretend to-not-you something  
*don't try to pretend to know something.*

- 136) Yeah, **mi**-iwē, kīn iko ta-mihci-ošihtōwan  
 yeah, **mi**=iwē, kīn iko ta-mihci-ošiht+ō-wan  
 col PC=PR.dem(Is) PR.prs(1s) PC TNS.fut-PV-VTI+TH-2s,conj  
 yeah **it is**=that you will-just-make s.t. up-you  
*Yeah that's it, for you to just make up*
- kēkō, yeah, **mi**-iwē iši,  
 kēkō yeah **mi**=iwē iši  
 PC col PC=PR.dem(Is) PC  
 something yeah **it is**=that thus  
*something, yeah that's the way,*
- 137) Yeah, **mi**-iwē iši kēkēt, nōntaman kēkō,  
 yeah **mi**=iwē iši kēkēt nōnt+am-an kēkō  
 col PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC VTI+TH-2s,conj PC  
 yeah **it is**=that thus truly hear s.t.-you something  
*Yeah, that is so true, when you hear something,*
- kī-wīntamākōwan kēkō, **mi**-iwē tašintan,  
 kī-wīntamaw-ikō-wan kēkō **mi**=iwē tašint+a-n  
 TNS.pst-VTA-xact-2s,conj PC PC=PR.dem(Is) VTI+TH-2s,imp  
 past-tell s.o.-be-you something **it is**=that talk about s.t.-you  
*when you were told something, that's what you talk about,*
- mi**-kā-ikōwān ahko.  
**mi**=kā-(iN)-ikō-wān ahko  
 PC=TNS.pst-VTA-xact-1s,conj PC  
**it is**=past-tell-be-I also  
*that's what I was told.*
- 138) Yeah, na **mi**-iwē ahko nikakwē-tōtam ahko.  
 yeah na **mi**=iwē ahko ni=kakwē-tōtam ahko  
 col PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC 1s=PV-VAI,indic PC  
 yeah see **it is**=that also I=to try-do also  
*Yeah that's it that's what I try to do.*
- 139) Kān wīn wīhkā nikakwē-mihci-ošihtōhsīn  
 kān wīn wīhkā ni=kakwē-mihci-ošiht+ō-hsī-n  
 PC PR.prs(3s) PC 1s=PV-PV-VTI+TH-neg-1s,indic  
 no him/her ever I=to try-just-make s.o.-not-I  
*I never ever try to make up*
- kēkō, **mi**-iwē ta-mihci-kihkinōtamān kēkō.  
 kēkō **mi**=iwē ta-mihci-kihkinōt+am-ān kēkō  
 PC PC=dem(Is) TNS.fut-PV-VTI+TH-1s,conj PC  
 something **it is**=that will-just-to copy/imitate-I something  
*anything, that to just copy/imitate something.*

- 140) Kāwīn, na **mi**-iwē kī-iši-wīntamākōwān  
 kāwīn na **mi**=iwē kī-iši-wīntamaw-ikō-wān  
 PC PC PC=PR.dem(Is) TNS.pst-PV-VTA-xact-1s,conj  
 no see **it is**=that past-thus-tell-be-I  
*No, that was what I was told*
- i 'you know' ta-tōtamān.  
 i you know ta-tōtam-ān  
 PR.dem(Is) English TNS.fut-VAI-1s,conj  
 that you know will-to do s.t.-I  
*(that) 'you know' for me to do.*
- 141) Yeah, **mi**-iwē ahko wēnci-tōtamān ahko 'you know.'  
 yeah **mi**=iwē ahko IC-onci-tōtam-ān ahko you know  
 col PC=PR.dem(Is) PC IC-PV-VAI-1s,conj PC English  
 yeah **it is**=that why for-to do s.t.-I would you know  
*Yeah that's why I do what I do 'you know.'*
- 142) [Kinantawēnimin šikwa ta-tipācimowan iwē  
 ki=nantawēnim-in šikwa ta-tipācimo-wan iwē  
 2s=VTA-inv.1s,indic PC TNS.fut-VAI-2s,conj PR.dem(Is)  
 you=to want-I now will-tell s.t.-2s that  
*[I now want you to tell about (it)*
- kā-kī-tašintaman ahpī kā-nīpēpink,  
 kā-kī-tašint+am-an ahpī kā-nīpēpi-nk  
 relcl-TNS.pst-VTI+TH-2s,conj PC relcl-NI-xact  
 that-past-talk about s.t.-you when that-wake-at  
*that which you talked about when there was a wake*
- ahpī a pēpīns kā-kī-ayāhsik.]  
 ahpī a pēpīns kā-kī-ayā-hsi-k  
 PC PR.dem(As) NAs relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-neg-3s,conj  
 at the time that one baby that-past-be there-not-s/he  
*for that baby that had died.]*
- 143) Kā-kī-ayāhsik na a pēpīns?  
 kā-kī-ayā-hsi-k na a pēpī+ns  
 relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-neg-3s,conj PC PR.dem(As) NAD+dim  
 That-past-be there-not-s/he “?” that one baby+small  
*That baby that had passed away?*
- 144) [Yeah kēkēt ānīhš, ēkā ta-tahkopinint.]  
 yeah kēkēt ānīhš. ēkā ta-tahkopin-int  
 col PC PC PC TNS.fut-VTA-xact.3s,conj  
 ya really because not will-tie up-be-s/he  
*[ Yeah, really though, not to be wrapped/tied up.]*

- 145) Mīnankē, kān ta-tahkopinint.  
 mīnankē kān ta-tahkopin-int  
 PC PC TNS.fut-VTA-xact.3s,conj  
 yes not will-tie up-be-s/he  
*Yes, not to be wrapped/tied up.*
- 146) **Mi**-iwē okī-kihkētān ītok pēšik  
**mi**=iwē o=kī-kihkēt+ā-n ītok pēšik  
 PC=PR.dem(Is) 3=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-3s,indic PC PC  
**it is**=that s/he=past-know s.t.-s/he apparently one  
*That was what he had (apparently) known this one*
- kihci-anihšināpē i **mi**-iwē ītok  
 kihci-anihšināpē i **mi**=iwē ītok  
 PN-NA PR.dem(Is) PC=PR.dem(Is) PC  
 great-Indian that **it is**=that apparently  
*old person (elder) that was apparently*
- kī-tōtamowāt i.  
 kī-tōtamo-wāt i  
 TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj PR.dem(Is)  
 past-to do-they that  
*what they had done.*
- 147) Okī-tahkopināwān ini pēpīnsan  
 o=kī-tahkopin-ā-wā-n ini pēpī+ns-an  
 3=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3p-3',indic PR.dem(A) obv NAD+dim-obv  
 s/he=past-wrap s.o.-they-it this one baby  
*They had wrapped/tied this baby*
- kī-panātišinit, wāpicīpišonink okī-ahsāwān.  
 kī-panātiši-nit wāpicīpišon-ink o=kī-ahs-ā-wā-n  
 TNS.pst-VAI-3's,conj NI-loc 3=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3p-3',indic  
 past-to pass on-s/he moss bag-in s/he=past-put s.o.-they-it  
*that had passed away, in a moss bag they put him/her.*
- 148) Na **mi**-šikwa ītok awiya okī-kihkētān  
 na **mi**=šikwa ītok awiya o=kī-kihkēt+ā-n  
 PC PC=PC PC PC 3=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-0's,indic  
 so **so**=now apparently someone s/he=past-know s.t.-it  
*And so now apparently someone knew about (it)*
- i kī-panātišit ōwiti kī-nōmakē  
 i kī-panātiši-t ōwiti kī-nōmakē  
 PR.dem(Is) TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj PC TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic  
 that past-to pass away-s/he over there past-s/he goes half way  
*that had passed away over there he went part way*

išā īwiti kā-išānk ahko.

išā	īwiti	kā-išā-nk	ahko
VAI.(3s),indic	PC	relcl-VAI-xact	PC
s/he goes (there)	there	that-go	apparently

*there where one goes.*

- 149) **Mi**-ini okī-wāpamān, ini pēpīnsan  
**mi**=ini o=kī-wāpam-ā-n ini pēpī+ns-an  
 PC=PR.dem(obv) 3=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3',indic PR.dem(obv) NAD+dim-obv  
**it is**=that one s/he=past-to see s.o.-s/he that baby+small-obv  
*That's the one he saw, that baby*

pišāniko	ani-mihci-tatītipī-t	a	pēpī+ns
PC	PV-PV-VAI-3s,conj	PR.dem(As)	NAD+dim
just	towards-just-to tumble about-s/he	that	baby+small

*was just tumbling around that baby*

mihsa	kakwātakitō-t	ihkito	īnšan
PC	VAI-3s,conj	VAI.(3s),indic	PC
just	to suffer-s/he	says(s/he)	apparently

*was just suffering apparently, he had said.*

- 150) Pišāniko tatītipī ānīn ēšinākosit  
 pišāniko tatītipī-t ānīn ēšinākosi-t  
 PC VAI-3s,conj PR-inter VAI-3s,conj  
 just to tumble about-s/he how look as-s/he  
*Just tumbling around, the way s/he looked*

wīnkē	miskosiwinākosi pwānawitōt	pwānawitō-t
PC	VAI+VAI.(3s),indic	VTI+TH-3s,conj
really	to be red+s/he looks	unable to-s/he

*very reddish being unable*

i	ta-pimiwinitiso-t	pišāniko	kaškēntam+apiso-t
PR.dem(Is)	TNS.fut-VAI-3s,conj	PC	VAI+VAI-3s,conj
that	will-to carry oneself-s/he	just	be tired+be wrapped tight-s/he

*to carry himself he was just wearily wrapped up tightly.*

- 151) **Mi**-awē kī-oncihiwē a  
**mi**=awē kī-oncihiwē a  
 PC=PR.dem(As) TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic PR.dem(As)  
**it is**=that (one) past-to forbid that  
*That was the one that forbid that*

ēkā kīhtwām i ta-tōtamink.

ēkā	kīhtwām	i	ta-tōt+am-ink
PC	PC	PR.dem(Is)	TNS.fut-VTI+TH-xact,conj
not	again	that	will-to do-(in general)

*never again that be done.*

152) Ēkā ta-tahkopinint itinōhihkānink.

ēkā	ta-tahkopin-int	itinōhihkān-ink
PC	TNS.fut-VTA-xact.3s,conj	PC-loc
not	will-wrap/tie up-be-s/he	that kind of thing-in

*Never for one to be wrapped/tied up in that kind of thing.*

153) Āmpē omā pāhkwānk awē name withheld

āmpē	omā	pāhkwā-nk	awē	name
PC	PC	NI-loc	PR.dem(As)	name
(come)	here	the Key-at	that one	name

*And yet here at the Key (Key Reserve) that one name withheld.*

wīnkē kī-pīkwēntam, kī-nōmakē-kīwē

wīnkē	kī-pīkwēntam	kī-nōmakē-kīwē
PC	TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic	TNS.pst-PV-VAI.(3s),indic
very	past-s/he is disturbed	past-s/he goes half way-s/he goes home

*very much so he was disturbed, he went home part ways*

i ahpī, āna ītok kī-oncihiwēt.

i	ahpī	āna	ītok	kī-oncihiwē-t
PR.dem(Is)	PC	PC	PC	TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj
that	at the time	even though	apparently	past-be forbidden-s/he

*that time, even though apparently he is disallowed it (advised not to).*

154) Pišāniko kī-mawi, **mi**-awē name withheld

pišāniko	kī-mawi	<b>mi</b> =awē	name
PC	TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic	PC=PR.dem(As)	name
just	past-s/he is crying	<b>it is</b> =that one	name

*He was just crying, that one name withheld.*

ohsēyēnsan kān kī-ayāhsīwan,

o=hsēyēns-an	kān	kī-ayā-hsī-wan
3Poss=NAD-3's	PC	TNS.pst-VAI-neg-3's,indic
s/he=grandchild	no/not	past-to be-not-his/her___

*her grandchild did not live,*

otānikōpicikanan kī-panātišīwan.

o=tānikōpicikan-an	kī-panātišī-wan
3Poss=NA-3's	TNS.pst-VAI-3's,indic
s/he=great-grandchild	past-to pass away-his/her___

*her great-grandchild had died.*

- 155) Kān kī-pimātišihswan ōwiti anāmink  
kān kī-pimātiši-hsī-wan ōwiti anāmink  
PC TNS.pst-VAI-neg,-3's,indic PC PC  
not past-to live/survive-not-his/her\_\_\_ over there underneath  
*s/he did not live (over) there underneath (inside)*
- omāmāyan ini kī-panātišiwān.  
o=māmā-[y]an ini kī-panātiši-wan  
3Poss=NAD-3's PR.dem(obv) TNS.pst-VAI-3's,indic  
s/he=mother-s that one past-to pass away-his/her\_\_\_  
*his/her mother that one she died.*
- 156) ['Stillborn' kā-inint.]  
*stillborn* kā-iN-int  
Eng relcl-VTA-xact.3s,conj  
*stillborn* that-to call-be-s/he  
*[The one that's called 'stillborn'.]*
- 157) Mīnankē **mi**-kā-iši-anōhkīwāt iko wīnawā  
mīnankē **mi**=kā-iši-anōhkī-wāt iko wīnawā  
PC PC=TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3p,conj PC PR.prs(3p)  
yes **so**=past-thus-work-they apparently them  
*Yes they had asked (ordered) themselves*
- onko Pākwānk ta-pakocīnimint ini  
onko Pākwā-nk ta-pakocīn-imint ini  
PR.dem(Ap) NI-loc TNS.fut-VTA-xact.3's,conj PR.dem(obv)  
those ones the Key-at will-to operate-be-it that one  
*those ones from Keys to be operated on that one*
- ohsēyan, name withheld **mi**-imā kī-wīcihiwē.  
o=hsē-[y]an name **mi**=imā kī-wīcihiwē  
3Poss=NAD-3's name PC=PC TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic  
his/her=grandchild name **it is**-there past-s/he is helping  
*her grandchild, name withheld was there involved.*
- 158) Okī-otāhpīnāwān ini apinōcīyan, apinōcīyan.  
o=kī-otāhpīn-ā-wā-n ini apinōcī-[y]an apinōcī-[y]an  
3=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3p-3's,indic PR.dem(obv) NA-obv NA-obv  
s/he=past-to take s.o.-they-it that child-obv child-obv  
*They took out that child, that child.*
- 159) [eh heh] Wīn iko name withheld kā-kī-inācimotawit  
eh heh wīn iko name kā-kī-inācimo+taw-it  
col PR.prs(3s) PC name relcl-TNS.pst-VAI+ben-inv.3s>1s,conj  
agreement him apparently name that-past-to tell+to-s/he>me  
*[eh heh] It was name withheld himself that told me that*

- okī-otāhpināwān ini apinōcīyan.  
o=kī-otāhpin-ā-wān ini apinōcī-[y]an  
3=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3p-3's,indic PR.dem(obv) NA-obv  
s/he=past-take s.o.-they-it that child-obv  
*they had taken out that child.*
- 160) **Mi**-kā-iši-ošihtōwāt **mi**-itinawa wāpicīpišonēns  
**mi**=kā-iši-ošiht+ō-wāt **mi**=itinawa wāpicīpišon+ēns  
PC=TNS.pst-PV-VTI+TH-3p,conj PC=PC NIs+dim  
**it is**=past-thus-to make s.t.-they **it is**=kind moss bag+little  
*Then they made that kind a little moss bag*
- mi**-imā kā-tahkopināwāt na hī! [ēh heh]  
**mi**=imā kā-tahkopin-ā-wāt na hī eh heh  
PC=PC TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3p,conj PC PC col  
**it is**=there past-wrap/tie him/her up-they see eh heh  
*that's where they wrapped/tied it (the baby) up, see! [eh heh]*
- 161) āpihci kī-šēkisi name withheld, wāhowa wīnkē  
āpihci kī-šēkisi name wāhowa wīnkē  
PC TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic name PC PC  
very past-s/he is afraid name boy really/very  
name withheld was very scared, boy (very)
- nīšēkis kā-tōtamowāt kī-ihkito.  
ni=šēkis(i) kā-tōtamo-wāt kī-ihkito  
1s=VAI,indic TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic  
I=to be scared past-to do-they past-s/he says  
*am I ever scared what they did he said.*
- 162) **Mi**-o kahkina kēkō  
**mi**=o kahkina kēkō  
PC=PR.dem(1s) PC PC  
**it is**=this all/everything something  
*That's the reason why everything*
- wēnci-nokēwanakāhk kī-ihkito *you know*  
IC-onci-nokēwanakā-hk kī-ihkito *you know*  
IC-PV-VII-0s,conj TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic English  
for-not as strong-it past-s/he says *you know*  
*is not as strong he said 'you know'.*
- 163) Tawā niwī-kīwē kī-ihkito okī- ~  
tawā ni=wī-kīwē kī-ihkito o=kī-  
PC 1s=TNS.fut-VAI,indic TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic 3s=TNS.pst-  
so I=going to-to go home past-s/he says s/he=past-  
*So I am going to go home he said he had*

okī-niškihān ini mintimōwēyan kā-wīcīwāt  
o=kī-niških-ā-n ini mintimōwē-yan kā-wīcīw-ā-t  
3=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3',indic PR.dem(obv) NI-obv relcl-VTA-dir-3s,conj  
s/he=past-to get s.o. angry-s that woman-obv that-accompany s.o.-s/he  
*he got her mad (angry) that woman he is with*

āna wāwīntamawāt kēkō.  
āna wā-wīntamaw-ā-t kēkō  
PC rdp1-VTA-dir-3s,conj PC  
although always-tell s.o.-s/he something  
*although he tells her things.*

- 164) [eh heh] Ini kayē ošikohsan na hī,  
eh heh ini kayē o=šikohs-an na hī  
col PR.dem(obv) PC 3pPoss=NAD-3's PC PC  
eh heh that one also his/her=mother-in-law see  
*[eh heh] Also his mother-in-law you see,*

kān wīhkā nikaškihtōhsīn name withheld ta-kakanōnak  
kān wīhkā ni=kaškiht+ō-hsī-n ta-kakanōn-ak  
PC PC 1=VTI+TH-neg-1s,indic TNS.fut-VTA-dir.1s>3s,conj  
not ever I=able to-not-I will-talk to-I>him/her  
*I am never able to talk to her name withheld*

nitā-wīntamawā i kī-wani-tōtank  
ni=tā-wīntamaw-ā i kī-wani-tōtam-k  
1s=TNS.fut-VTA-dir.(3s),indic PR.dem(Is) TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3s,conj  
I=will-tell-him/her that past-wrong-to do-s/he  
*I would tell her that she had done wrong*

imā kēwīn .  
imā kē+wīn  
PC emph+PR.prs(3s)  
there also+him/her  
*there her too.*

- 165) Kān oka-wanihikohsīn ihī “kotink ihi  
kān o=ka-wanih-iko-hsī-n ihī kotink ihi  
PC 3=TNS.pst-VTA-inact-neg-0's,indic PC PC PC  
not s/he-past-lose s.t.-not-him/her someday  
*That thing will never lose her “someday it*

kika-oncinē” niwī-inā ahpī.  
ki=ka-oncinē ni=wī-iN-ā ahpī  
2s=TNS.fut-VAI,indic 1s=TNS.fut-VTA-dir.(3s),indic PC  
you=will-curse oneself I=going to-tell s.o. at the time  
*will fall back on you” I am going to tell her (at the time).*

- 166) Kēkēt ānīhš, kām wīn šēmāk ‘you know’  
 kēkēt ānīhš kām wīn šēmāk you know  
 PC PC PC PC PC Eng  
 really because not (not) right away you know  
*Really though, not right away ‘you know’*
- mākišā kotinkiko oka-kwāškonotākon i.  
 mākišā kotinkiko o=ka-kwāškonotaw-iko-n i  
 PC PC 3=TNS.fut-VTA-inact-0’s,indic PR.dem(Is)  
 maybe sometime s/he=will-jump back-it-him/her that  
*maybe sometime that thing (she had done) will jump back at her.*
- 167) Oka-kwāškonotākonāwā ‘you know’ ta-oncinēwak.  
 o=ka-kwāškonotaw-iko-nā-wā you know ta-oncinē-wak  
 3=TNS.fut-VTA-inact-0’s-3p,indic Eng TNS.fut-VAI-3p,indic  
 s/he=will-jump back-it-him/her you know will-to curse oneself-they  
*It will jump back at all of them ‘you know’, it will fall back (come around).*
- 168) Kām kohsa i tinawa ta-otaminwākēnk.  
 kām kohsa i tinawa ta-otaminwākē-nk  
 PC PC PR.dem(Is) PC TNS.fut-VAI-xact,conj  
 not that sort of thing will-to play with things-(generally)  
*It’s not to be played with that sort of thing.*
- 169) Kayē opimātišihšī, na mi-iwē,  
 kayē {o=}pimātišī-hšī na mi=iwē  
 PC {3s=}VAI-neg.(3s),indic PC PC=PR.dem(Is)  
 also {s/he=}to live-not see it is=that  
*Also the deceased, see that’s it,*
- wēnci-ihkitonk kayē ēkā awiya kā- ~  
 IC-onci-ihkito-nk kayē ēkā awiya kā-  
 IC-PV-VAI-xact,conj PC PC PC TNS.pst-  
 --for-to say-it also someone has  
*that is why it is also said when someone has ~*
- kā-nōntēnitāwakit, awiya kā-nōntēnitāwakit, awiya  
 kā-nōntēnitāwaki-t awiya kā-nōntēnitāwaki-t awiya  
 TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj PC TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj PC  
 past-is stillborn-s/he someone past-is stillborn-s/he someone  
*has a stillbirth, someone is stillborn, someone*
- apinōcī, šikwa kā-ani-pimātišihšik,  
 apinōcī šikwa kā-ani-pimātišī-hsi-k  
 NAs PC TNS.pst-PV-VAI-neg-3s,conj  
 a child and past-towards-to live-not-s/he  
*a child, and it does not live (or it dies)*

kān	ta-apītamink	kān	ta-nīpēpītamink		
kān	ta-apīt+am-ink	kān	ta-nīpēpīt+am-ink		
PC	TNS.fut-VTI+TH-xact,conj	PC	TNS.fut-VTI+TH-xact,conj		
not	will-sit with it	not	will-sit through the night with it		

*not to sit with it, not to have a wake for it.*

- 170) kān kotinō *one hour* ta-apītaman imā  

kān	kotinō	<i>one hour</i>	ta-apīt+am-an	imā
PC	PC	Eng	TNS.fut-VTI+TH-2s,conj	PC
not	something	one hour	will-sit.with-you	there

*It's alright for one hour to sit with it*

cipwā	nahatōwan	<i>'you know'</i>	[ēh heh]	
cipwā	nahat+ō-wan	<i>you know</i>	eh heh	
PC	VTI+TH-2s,conj	Eng	col	
before	bury s.t.-you	you know	eh heh	

*before you bury it 'you know'. [eh heh]*

- 171) **Mi-iwē** kayē pēšik mīnawā oncihitiwin.  

<b>mi=iwē</b>	kayē	pēšik	mīnawā	oncih+iti+win
PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC	PC	PC	VAI+recip+NI
<b>it is</b> =that	also	one	again	to forbid+with+NI

*That is also one of the other/another thing again that's advised against.*

- 172) **Mi-iwē** mīnawā pēšik ēkā awiya ta-tōtank,  

<b>mi=iwē</b>	mīnawā	pēšik	ēkā	awiya	ta-tōt+am-k
PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC	PC	PC	PC	TNS.fut-VTI+TH-3s,conj
<b>it is</b> =that	again	one	not	someone	will-to do

*That again that one must not do,*

<b>mi-iwē</b>	ta-kanawāpantaman	kēkīn	<b>mi-iwē</b>	<i>'you know'</i>
<b>mi=iwē</b>	ta-kanawāpant+am-an	kē+kīn	<b>mi=iwē</b>	<i>you know</i>
PC=PR.dem(Is)	TNS.fut-VTI+TH-2s,conj	emph+PR.prs(2s)	PC=PR.dem(Is)	Eng
<b>it is</b> =that	will-watch for s.t.-you	also+you	<b>it is</b> =that	<i>you know</i>

*that's what you have to watch for you too 'you know'.*

- 173) Ta-kanōnat awiya kīšpin ani-kihci-anihšināpēwiyan  

ta-kanōn-at	awiya	kīšpin	ani-kihci-anihšināpē+wi-yan
TNS.fut-VTA-dir.2s>3s,conj	PC	PC	PV-PN-NA+VAI-2s,conj
will-speak to s.o.-you>him/her	someone	if	become-great-Indian+to be-you

*To speak to someone if (when) you're becoming an old person*

ta-oncihat	ēkā	i	ta-tōt+am-k
ta+oncih-at	ēkā	i	ta-tōt+am-k
TNS.fut+VTA-dir.2s>3s,conj	PC	PR.dem(Is)	TNS.fut-VTI+TH-3s,conj
will+forbid s.o.-you>him/her	not	that	will-to do-s/he

*you to forbid them from not doing that.*

- 174) **Mi-iwē** nikī-iši-wīntamāk, **mi-awē**  
**mi**=iwē                      ni=kī-iši-wīntamaw-ik                      **mi**=awē  
PC=PR.dem(Is)              1s=TNS.pst-PV-VTA-inv.(3s),indic              PC=PR.dem(As)  
**it is**=that                      I=past-thus-tell s.o.-they                      **it is**=that (one)  
*that's the way she told me, that's the one*
- kika-ihkit inēntam.  
ki=ka-ihkit(o)                      inēntam  
2s=TNS.fut-VAI,indic              VAI.(3s),indic  
you=will-say                      s/he thinks  
*you will say, she thinks.*
- 175) [Ahcina tahs na pēpīns kā-pimātišit?]  
ahcina              tahs              na              pēpī+ns              kā-pimātiši-t  
PC                      PC                      PC              NAD+dim              relcl-VAI-3s, conj  
little while              but                      “?”              baby+small              that-to live-s/he  
*[ How about when a baby lives for a little while?]*
- 176) ēh? [Ahcina kī-pimātišit pēpīns?]  
eh                      ahcina              kī-pimātiši-t                      pēpī+ns  
col                      PC                      TNS.pst-VAI-3s, conj              NAD+dim  
eh                      a little while              past-to live-s/he                      a baby+small  
*Eh? [A baby lived for a while?]*
- 177) Mīnankē. [Kān na kotinō wīn i?]  
mīnankē              kān              na              kotinō              wīn              i  
PC                      PC              PC              PC              PC              PR.dem(Is)  
Yes                      not                      “?”              anything                      that  
*Yes. [There's nothing wrong with that?]*
- 178) Kān wīn i kotinō, yeah mīnankē.  
kān              wīn              i                      kotinō              yeah              mīnankē  
PC              PC              PR.dem(Is)              PC              col              PC  
not                      that                      anything              yeah              yes  
*There's nothing wrong with that, yeah yes.*
- 179) Kān wīn i kotinō, owē tahs  
kān              wīn              i                      kotinō              owē              tahs  
PC              PC              PR.dem(Is)              PC              PR.dem(Is)              PC  
not              no              that                      anything              that              but  
*There's nothing wrong with that, but this*
- kā-nōntēnitāwakit awiya.  
kā-nōntē-nitāwaki-t                      awiya  
relcl-PV-VAI-3s,conj              PC  
that-to want-to live-s/he              someone  
*when so it's stillborn someone.*

- 180) Na **mi**-i kā-tōtamowāt omā  
na **mi**=i kā-tōt+amo-wāt omā  
PC PC=PR.dem(Is) TNS.pst-VTI+TH-3p,conj PC  
see **it is**=that past-to do-they here  
*See that's what they did here*
- wāhsī-iškonikan āpitink.  
wāhsī-iškonikan āpitink  
PN-NIs PC  
far-reserve one time  
*at the next reserve one time.*
- 181) kān nikī-kihkēntansīn i, wīhkā  
kān ni=kī-kihkēnt+a-nsī-n i wīhkā  
PC 1=TNS-past-VTI+TH-neg-1s,indic PR.dem(Is) PC  
not I=past-to know s.t.-not-I that ever (later)  
*I did not know that, it was way after (later)*
- ahko omā kā-wīntamākōwān.  
ahko omā kā-wīntamaw-ikō-wān  
PC PC TNS.pst-VTA-xact-1s,conj  
apparently here past-tell s.o.-be-I  
*that I was told about it.*
- 182) Kā-apītamowāt **mi**-awēns  
kā-apīt+amo-wāt **mi**=awē+ns  
TNS.pst-VTI+TH-3p,conj PC=PR.dem(As)+dim  
past-sit+with-they **it is**=that one+little  
*They sat up with that little being*
- pānimā 'next day' kā-nōntamān  
pānimā next day kā-nōnt+am-ān  
PC Eng TNS.pst-VTI+TH-1s,conj  
later next day past-to hear s.t.-I  
*later 'the next day' I heard about it.*
- 183) Kī-nōntēnitāwakī kohsa i ihkīto,  
kī-nōntē-nitāwakī-t kohsa i ihkīto  
TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3s, conj PC PR.dem(Is) VAI.(3s),conj  
past-to want-to live-s/he apparently that s/he says  
*Apparently it was stillborn (apparently) he said,*
- kān kī-pimātišihsi yeah hī!  
kān kī-pimātišihsi yeah hī  
PC TNS.pst-VAI-neg-(3s),indic col PC  
not past-to live-not yeah see  
*s/he did not live ya see!*

- 184) Okī-apītānāwā kān inki  
o=kī-apīt+ā-nā-wā kān inki  
3=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-0's-3p,indic PC PR.dem(Ap)  
s/he=past-sit with s.t.-they no/not those (ones)  
*They sat with it, those ones (people)*
- kī-minohsēhsīwak hī!  
kī-mino+hsē-hsī-wak hī  
TNS.pst-PV+VII-neg-3p,indic PC  
past-good/well+it is-not-they  
*things did not go right for them See!*
- 185) Na mi-iwē, nihšinē kēkō  
na mi=iwē nihšinē kēkō  
PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC  
see it is=that always something  
*See that's it, always something*
- nanīšānat ahpihci kēkō.  
na-nīšānat ahpihci kēkō  
rdpl-VII,(0s),indic PC PC  
always-it is dangerous very something  
*is dangerous always something.*
- 186) [Wīnkē ānīhš] kān ānīhš šikwa ahko  
wīnkē ānīhš kān ānīhš šikwa ahko  
PC PC PC PC PC PC  
very because not because and apparently  
*[Very much so] But they now apparently*
- antotansīwak onko kān kēkō  
antota-nsī-wak onko kān kēkō  
VAI-neg-3p,indic PR.dem(Ap) PC PC  
to listen-not-they those ones not something  
*no longer listen these ones, they don't*
- otēpwētansīnāwā.  
o=tēpwēt+a-nsī-nā-wā  
3=VTI+TH-neg-0's-3p,indic  
s/he=to believe s.t-not-they  
*believe anything.*
- 187) Otēpwēkētansīnāwā kēkō, ānawētamōk  
o=tēpwēkēt+a-nsī-nā-wā kēkō ānawētamo-ik  
3=VTI+TH-neg-0's-3p,indic PC VAI-3p,indic  
s/he=take consideration-not-they something to disbelieve/deny-they  
*They don't consider (take into consideration) anything, they disbelieve (or deny)*

kēkō	kotinō	iN-int-wā	ānīhš
PC	PC	VTA-xact.3s-3p,conj	PC
something	anything	tell s.t. to s.o.-they	because

*something when something is told to them,*

yeah, kān kēkō.  
 yeah kān kēkō  
 col PC PC  
 yeah no/not something  
*yah nothing.*

188) [kēkō ahko wīntamawintwā.]  
 kēkō ahko wīntamaw-int-wā  
 PC PC VTA-xact.3s-3p,conj  
 something when tell s.t.-be-they  
*[When they are told something.]*

189) Yeah 'Ah quit getting worse' ahko ihkitowak.  
 yeah ah quit getting worse ahko ihkito-wak  
 col Eng PC VAI-3s,indic  
 yeah ah quit getting worse (apparently) to say-they  
*Yeah 'ah quit getting worse' is what they say.*

190) 'Getting worse' mi-ēhkitowāt, kakētin ānīhš!  
 getting worse mi=IC-ihkito-wāt kakētin ānīhš  
 Eng PC=IC-VAI-3s, conj PC PC  
 'getting worse' it is=to.say-they really because  
*'Getting worse' that's what they say, really though!*

191) [Yeah 'I know!'] Yeah awahšimē wīn a  
 yeah I know yeah awahšimē wīn a  
 Eng col PC PR.prs(3s) PR.dem(As)  
 yeah I know yeah getting worse him/her that (one)  
*[yeah 'I know'] Yeah. That one is getting worse*

ayēhkito ihkitowak kēmā, 'you know'.  
 ayēhkito ihkito-wak kēmā you know  
 VAI(3s),indic VAI-3p,indic PC Eng  
 s/he says to say-they or you know  
*s/he says or they say 'you know'.*

192) Mi-iwē ahko, mi-ko~ mi-ahko nānakotinonk  
 mi=iwē ahko mi=ko mi=ahko nā+na-kotinonk  
 PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC=PC PC=PC rdpl+PV-PC  
 it is=that apparently it is= it is=apparently always-sometimes  
*That's the thing, that's it sometimes*

wēnci-sākwēnimowān kēkō ta-ayēhkitowān na owē.

IC-onci-sākwēnimo-wān	kēkō	ta-ayēhkito-wān	na	owē
IC-PV-VAI-1s,conj	PC	TNS.fut-VAI-1s,conj	PC	PR.dem(Is)
for-to be leary-I	something	will-to say-I		this

*why I am leary about saying something like this.*

- 193) Kān tahs wīn kēkō, kān ahko nimanāci-tipācimohsī  

kān	tahs	wīn	kēkō	kān	ahko	ni=manāci-tipācimo-hsī
PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	1s=PV-VAI-neg,indic
not	but		something	not		I=to be afraid-to talk about-not

*But there is not a thing I am not afraid to talk about*

kēkō, minik kēkō kā-kihkēntamān kēkō ‘you know’.

kēkō	minik	kēkō	kā-kihkēnt+am-ān	kēkō	you know
PC	PC	PC	TNS.pst-VTI+TH-1s,conj	PC	Eng
something	much	something	past-know s.t.-I	something	you know

*something, as much as I know about something ‘you know’.*

- 194) Pišāniko nitipācim ahko ‘you know’,  

pišāniko	ni=tipācim(o)	ahko	you know
PC	1s=VAI,indic	PC	Eng
just	I=talk about	would	you know

*I just go ahead and talk (tell) about it ‘you know’,*

ānīn ēši-kihkēntamān kēkō.

ānīn	IC-iši-kihkēnt+am-ān	kēkō
PR-inter	IC-PV-VTI+TH-1s,conj	PC
how	thus-know s.t.=I	something

*how I know things to be.*

- 195) ānīn o owē ēši-panitōtam awiya,  

ānīn	o	owē	IC-iši-panitōtam-k	awiya
PR-inter	PR.dem(Is)	PR.dem(Is)	IC-PV-VAI-3s,conj	PC
how	this	this	thus-do wrong-s/he	someone

*This is how someone does things wrong,*

**mi-iwē** ninānākacihātōn.

<b>mi=iwē</b>	ni=nānākacihāt+ō-n
PC=PR.dem(Is)	1=VTI+TH-1s,indic
<b>it is=that</b>	I=watch for s.t.-I

*that’s what I watch out for.*

- 196) Ni-pi-nānākacihātōn ōwiti iši-~ ‘right through’,  

ni=pi-nānākacihāt+ō-n	ōwiti	iši-	right through
1=PV-VTI+TH-1s,indic	PC	PC	Eng
I=come-watch s.t.-I	over there	(to)	right through

*I’ve come to watch from the past ‘right through’,*

kā-pi-ontātišiyān ānīn pi-iši-pimohsēmakahk  
 kā-pi-ontātiši-yān ānīn pi-iši-pimohsē+makat-k  
 TNS.pst-PV-VAI-1s,conj PR.inter PV-PV-VAI+VII-0p,conj  
 past-come-to survive-I how come-toward-to walk+it-they  
*from the way I survived how things go (operate),*

kēkō ēši-pimātišink 'you know' [ēh heh]  
 kēkō IC-ēši-pimātiši-nk you know eh heh  
 PC IC-PV-VAI-xact,conj Eng col  
 something thus-to live-(generally) you know eh heh  
*how to live 'you know'. [eh heh]*

- 197) Nīpawa kēkō ni-pi-wāpantān kēkō,  
 nīpawa kēkō ni=pi-wāpant+ā-n kēkō  
 PC PC 1=PV-VTI+TH-1s,indic PC  
 lots something I=come-to see s.t.-I something  
*I come to see a lot of things,*

ānīn ta-onowē kayē išicikēwinan  
 ānīn ta-onowē kayē išicikē+win-an  
 PR-inter TNS.fut-PR.dem(Ip) PC VAI+NI-p  
 how will-these also to do things+NI-s  
*how things go these too the ceremonies*

ono kayē 'you know'.  
 ono kayē you know  
 PR.dem(Ip) PC Eng  
 Those also you know  
*those too 'you know'.*

- 198) Nīpawa māmāšīkotātišo anihšināpē,  
 nīpawa māmāšīkotātišo anihšināpē  
 PC VAI.(3s),indic NA  
 lots s/he does things any old way Indian  
*They do a lot of things any old way the Indian people for themselves,*

kān kwayak kēkō otōtāpinānsīnāwā.  
 kān kwayak kēkō ot=ōtāpin+a-nsī-nā-wā  
 PC PC PC 3=VTI+TH-neg-0's-3p,indic  
 not right something s/he=take s.t.-not-they  
*they don't take things the right way.*

- 199) Āhpihci kwayak okī-otāpinānāwā kihci-ānihsināpēk  
 āhpihci kwayak o=kī-otāpin+ā-nā-wā kihci-ānihsināpē-k  
 PC PC 3=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-0's-3p,indic PN-NA-p  
 really right s/he=past-take it-they great-Indian-s  
*The old people really did (took) things right*

mēwinšā otišicikēwiniwān nikī-ayā  
 mēwinšā ot=išicikē+win-iwān ni=kī-ayā  
 PC 3Poss=VAI+NI-3p 1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic  
 long ago s/he=to do things+NI-their I=past-to be/live  
*a long time ago, their ceremonies (because) I was there,*

ānīhš imā, nikī-ayā imā nihšinē.  
 ānīhš imā, ni=kī-ayā imā nihšinē  
 PC PC 1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic PC PC  
 because there I=past-to be/live there always  
*because there, I was always there.*

- 200) Ee awiya āša mīnawā pakamipišo  
 ee awiya āša mīnawā pakamipišo  
 col PC PC PC VAI.(3s),indic  
 ee someone already again s/he is driving up  
*Ee someone is pulling up again,*

nahatōn ihī.  
 nahat+ō-n ihī  
 VTI+TH-2s,imp PC  
 put it away-you that  
*put that away. [recorder is shut off for a while, then resumes]*

- 201) **Mi**-kayē ahko ānīhš nihšinē, nihšinē  
 mi=kayē ahko ānīhš nihšinē nihšinē  
 PC=PC PC PC PC PC  
 it is=also apparently because always always  
*And also I always, (always)*

nikī-wanīhikē ahko omā sīpīnk kī-ayāyānk.  
 ni=kī-wanīhikē ahko omā sīpīnk kī-ayā-yānk  
 1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic PC PC NI-loc TNS.pst-VAI-1p,indic  
 I=past-to set snares there river-by past-to be/live-we  
*I used to always set snares when we lived there near/by the river.*

- 202) Nikī-wanīhamawāk ayahāk wašaškwak,  
 ni=kī-wanīhamaw-ā-k ayahā-k wašašk-wak  
 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-3p,indic PC-p NA-p  
 I=past-to trap s.o.-them that kind-s muskrat-s  
*I used to trap those kind/ones muskrats,*

pāmātakayān ahko sākahikanīnsink  
 pāmātaka-yān ahko sākahikan+iñs-ink  
 VAI-1s,conj PC NI+dim-loc  
 to swim-I used to lake+little-at  
*I used to swim around the little lake*

nāci-wanīhikēyān.  
 nāci-wanīhikē-yān  
 PV-VAI-1s,conj  
 to check-to trap-I  
*checking my traps.*

- 203) Āh kotink šikwa nāci-wanīhikēyān kikišēp  
 āh kotink šikwa nāci-wanīhikē-yān kikišēp  
 PC PC PC PV-VAI-1s,conj PC  
 ah one time now to check-to trap-I this morning  
*Ah one time when I was checking my traps in the morning*

kā-nīpawit **mi**-i itinawa mōškahōhsi,  
 kā-nīpawit-**mi**=i itinawa mōškahōhsi  
 TNS.pst-VAI-3s, conj PC=PR.dem(Is) PC(A) NAs  
 past-to stand-s/he **it is**=that that kind a stork  
*there he stood that kind of stork*

kī-onšāmīniwak wīn ānīhš  
 kī-onšāmīni-wak wīn ānīhš  
 TNS.pst-VAI-3p,indic PC PC  
 past-to be a lot-they because  
*because there used to be lots of them*

i itinawa ēh.  
 i itinawa eh  
 PR.dem(Is) PC(A) PC  
 that that kind eh  
*that kind eh.*

- 204) Kā-nīpawit omā mōškahōhsi wāhowa,  
 kā-nīpawit- omā mōškahōhsi wāhowa  
 TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj PC NAs PC  
 past-to stand-s/he there a stork oh my  
*He was standing there that stork oh my,*

ītok kā-tahšōsot niwanīhikanēnsink.  
 ītok kā-tahšōso-t ni=wanīhikan+ēns-ink  
 PC TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj 1sPoss=NI+dim-loc  
 apparently past-to be caught-s/he my=trap+little-in  
*apparently he was caught in my little trap.*

- 205) Mihtikōns ēši-nātiyān wīnkē nikihci-papahšinsēhwā.  
 mihtik+ōns IC-iši-nāti-yān wīnkē ni=kihci-papahšinsēhw-ā  
 NI+dim IC-PV-VTI-1s,conj PC 1s=Pv-VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
 a stick+little thus-to fetch s.t.-I really I=great-to whip-him/her/it  
*I go for a little stick (really) and I give him a great whipping.*

206) Kā-ompikwāškonit ahko kotinō inwēhkāso  
 kā-ompikwāškonit-ahko kotinō inwēhkāso  
 TNS.pst-VAI-3s,conj PC PC VAI.(3s),indic  
 past-to jump up-s/he apparently something s/he makes a noise  
*he would jump up making a noise*

ahko tāpiškō ahko šākowēt.  
 ahko tāpiškō ahko šākowē-t  
 PC PC PC VAI-3s,conj  
 apparently just like apparently to yell-s/he  
*(apparently) just like he was yelling.*

207) “Wēkonēn omā kā-pi-nātiyan omā  
 wēkonēn omā kā-pi-nāti-yan omā  
 PR-inter PC TNS.pst-PV-VTI-2s,conj PC  
 what here past-come-to fetch s.t.-you here  
*“What (here) did you come and get here*

pi-tahšōsowan,” nitinā.  
 pi-tahšōso-wan nit=iN-ā  
 PV-VAI-2s,conj 1s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
 come-to be caught-you I=say to s.o.  
*coming to be caught,” I says to him.*

208) “Kān omā kikī-antawēnimihsinōn kīn  
 kān omā ki=kī-antawēnim-i-hsi-nōn kīn  
 PC PC 2=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(1s)-neg-1s,indic PR.prs.2s  
 no here you=past-want-did not-I you  
*“I did not want you here, you*

ta-ontamiškaman niwanīhikan,” nitinā.  
 ta-ontamišk+am-an ni=wanīhikan nit=iN-ā  
 TNS.fut-VTI+TH-2s,conj 1sPoss=NI 1s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
 will-to occupy s.t.-you my=trap I=say to s.o.  
*you to be occupying my trap,” I say to him.*

209) “Kiwī-nīwinahon tahs, kān nihsawā  
 ki=wī-nīwinahw-in tahs kān nihsawā  
 2s=TNS.fut-VTA-inv.1s,indic PC PC VTA, indic  
 you=going to-to beat-I but no to kill s.o.  
*“But I’m going to beat you (no) to death*

wīnkē kipīkopinitiš,” nitinā.  
 wīnkē ki=piīkopini+tiš(o) nit=iN-ā  
 PC 2s=VAI+refl,indic 1s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
 really you=to damage+oneself I=say to s.o.-him/her  
*cause you really damaged/tore up yourself,” I says to him.*

- 210) “Kān kinōntē-pakitinihsinōn,” nitinā.  
 kān ki=nōntē-pakitin-i-hsi-nōn nit=iN-ā  
 PC 2s=PV-VTA-inv.1s-neg-1s,indic 1s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
 no you=to want-let go-I I=say to him/her/it  
*“I don’t want to let you go,” I says to him.*
- 211) “Nika-oncinē,” nitinā.  
 ni=ka-oncinē nit=iN-ā  
 1s=TNS.fut-VAI,indic 1s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
 I=will-to bring s.t. to s.o. I=say to him/her/it  
*“I’ll bring it back on myself,” I says to him.*
- 212) **Mi**-šikwa mi-ēši-nātiyān mihtik, šikwa wīnkē kayē~  
**mi**=šikwa **mi**=IC-iši-nāti-yān mihtik šikwa wīnkē kayē  
 PC=PC PC=IC-PV-VTI-1s,conj NIs PC PC PC  
**it.is**=now **it.is**=thus-to fetch s.t.-I a stick and very also  
*And so now I go for a stick, and very also ~*
- wīnkē kayē āhkwātiši, wīnkē pišāniko  
 wīnkē kayē āhkwātiši, wīnkē pišāniko  
 PC PC VAI.(3s),indic PC PC  
 very also s/he is fierce/wicked very much so  
*(very also) he was also very fierce/wicked, very much so*
- (unaudible) wīnkē ānīhš kinwāni *sharp*’ (laughs)  
 wīnkē ānīhš kinwā-ni sharp  
 PC PC VII-0’s,indic Eng  
 very because s/he has a long, sharp beak sharp  
*because it was very long and sharp his beak. (laughs)*
- 213) Wīnkē nihtā-wīšakištahot kīšpin pacīštahot.  
 wīnkē nihtā-wīšakištahw-i-t kīšpin pacīštahw-i-t  
 PC PV-VTA-inv.1s-3s,conj PC VTA-inv.1s-3s,conj  
 really able to-harm-me-s/he if to poke+me-s/he  
*He would have really hurt me if he had poked me.*
- 214) Āh **mi**-ēši-nātiyān mihtik **mi**-ēši-nīwinahwak.  
 āh **mi**=IC-iši-nāti-yān mihtik **mi**=IC-iši-nīwinahw-ak  
 PC PC=IC-PV-VTI-1s,conj NIs PC=IC-PV-VTA-dir.1s>3s,conj  
 ahh **it is**=thus-to fetch it-I a stick **it is**=thus-beat s.o. to death-I>him/her  
*Ah and so I go for a stick and I beat him to death.*
- 215) **Mi**-i kwayahk kī-tōtaman  
**mi**=i kwayahk kī-tōtam-an  
 PC=PR.dem(1s) PC TNS.pst-VAI-2s,conj  
**it is**=that right past-to do-you  
*You did the right thing*

nitik k̄a-k̄i-ōhkōyān.

nit=(iN)-ik                      k̄a-k̄i-ōhkō-yān  
1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic          relCI-TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj  
I=tell-s/he                      that-past-have as grandmother-I  
*she say to/told me the one who was my grandmother.*

- 216) kwayahk kitōtam k̄a-nīwinahwat  
kwayahk      ki=tōtam                      k̄a-nīwinahw-at  
PC              2s=VAI,indic                      TNS.pst-VTA-dir.2s>3s,conj  
right              you=to do                      past-to beat to death-you>him/her  
*You do right by beating him to death*

nitik.

nit=(iN)-ik  
1s=VTA- inv.(3s),indic  
me=says.to-s/he  
*she says to me.*

- 217) Kitā-k̄i-oncini i pakitinatipan  
ki=tā-k̄i-oncini                      i                      pakitin-at-ipan  
2s=TNS.fut-TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic      PR.dem(Is)      VTA-dir.2s>3s,conj-pret  
you=will-past-curse onself              that              to let s.o. go-you-had  
*You would have brought it back on yourself had you let him go*

wīnkē ānīhš āša kīskipinitiso, 'you know',  
wīnkē      ānīhš      āša      kīskipini+tiso                      you know  
PC      PC      PC      VTA+refl.(3s),indic                      Eng  
really      because      already      s/he tears up+himself                      you know  
*because he had already torn up/damaged himself, 'you know',*

mihci-nīwēmonini i ohkātēns, 'you know'.  
mihci-nīwēmon-ini                      i                      o=hkāt+ēns                      you know  
PV-VII-0's,indic                      PR.dem(Is)                      3sPoss=NID+dim                      Eng  
just-it is dangling                      that                      his/her=leg+little                      you know  
*it was just dangling, his little leg, you know.*

- 218) [ēh hah] āh **mi**-k̄a-iši-tōtamān, **mi**-iwē.  
eh hah              āh              **mi**=k̄a-iši-tōtam-ān                      **mi**=iwē  
col              col              PC=TNS.pst-PV-VAI-1s,conj                      PC=PR.dem(Is)  
eh hah              aah              **it is**=past-thus-to do-I                      **It is**=that  
*[ēh hah] Ah that's what I used to do, that's it.*

- 219) **Mi**-iwē ahko kwayak kitōtam,  
**mi**=iwē                      ahko                      kwayak                      ki=tōtam  
PC=PR.dem(Is)                      PC                      PC                      2s=VAI,indic  
it is=that                      apparently                      right                      you=to do  
*That's it you do the right thing,*



wēntanihkāšowan pinēhsi kitōntanihkāš,  
 IC=ont+anihkāšo-wan pinēhsi kit=ont+anihkāš(o)  
 IC-PV+VAI-2s,conj NAs 2s=PV+VAI,indic  
 from+to be called-you a thunderbird you=from+to be called  
*that's who you are named after the thunderbird you are named after/from,*

nikī-ikōk.  
 ni=kī-(iN)-iko-ik  
 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic  
 I=past-tell-they  
*I was told.*

- 223) Kēko otaminwākēhkēn itinawa kika-šēkimikōk  
 kēko otaminwākē-hkē-n itinawa ki=ka-šēkim-iko-ik  
 PC VTA-neg-2s,imp PC(A) 2s=TNS.fut-VTA-inv-3p,indic  
 don't to play with s.o.-not-you those kind you=will-scare-they  
*Don't play with those kind they will scare you*

onko kā-nōntākošiwāt, nikī-ikōk.  
 onko kā-nōntākoši-wāt ni=kī-(iN)-iko-ik  
 PR.dem(Ap) TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic  
 those ones past-to make thunder sound-they I=past-to tell-they  
*those ones when they make their thunder sound I was told.*

- 224) Na hī! Na **mi**-iwē ahko kēkēt  
 na hī na **mi**=iwē ahko kēkēt  
 PC PC PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC  
 see it see **it is**=that apparently really  
*See! That's the thing really*

nikī-tōtam ahko **mi**-iwē, kān wīhkā  
 ni=kī-tōtam ahko **mi**=iwē kān wīhkā  
 1s=TNS.pst-VAI,indic PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC  
 I=past-to do would **it is**=that not ever  
*I would do that thing, (not ever)*

nikī-ānwēhtansī.  
 ni=kī-ānwēhta-nsī  
 1s=TNS.pst-VAI-neg,indic  
 I=past-to disbelieve-not  
*I never ever disbelieved.*

- 225) Kān wāncihš nikī-tōtansī kēkō wancīhikōwān,  
 kān wāncihš ni=kī-tōta-nsī kēkō wancīh-ikō-wān  
 PC PC 1s=TNS.pst-VAI-neg,indic PC VTA-xact-1s,conj  
 no only I=past-to do-not something tell s.o.-be-I  
*I didn't go and do things when told not to.*

- 226) Kān tāpiškō nōnkom apinōcī kēkō āna  
kān tāpiškō nōnkom apinōcī kēkō āna  
PC PC PC NAs PC PC  
not just like today a child something even though  
*Not like today, even when a child is (something)*
- wancīhint kā-antotansīk kēkō. (ēm eh)  
wancīh-int kā-antota-nsī-k kēkō em eh  
VTA-xact.3s,conj TNS.pst-VAI-neg-3s,conj PC col  
to tell s.o.-be.s/he past-to listen-not-they something em eh  
*told not to do something s/he doesn't listen (em eh)*
- 227) Āpitink mīnawā 'Pee Paw Plains' nitišāmin.  
āpitink mīnawā 'Pee Paw Plains' nit=išā-min  
PC PC place name 1=VAI-1p,indic  
one time again 'Pee Paw Plains' I=to go (there)-we (excl)  
*One time again to Pee Paw Plains we went.*
- 228) name withheld nikī-wīcīwā šikwa name withheld šikwa  
name ni=kī-wīcīw-ā šikwa name šikwa  
name 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-dir.(3s),indic PC name PC  
name I=past-to accompany s.o.-him/her and name and  
*I went with name withheld and the late little name withheld and*
- a nōhsēyēns a Cwātī kā-inint.  
a n=ōhsē+(y)ēns a Cwātī kā-iN-int  
PR.dem(As) 1sPoss=NAD+dim PR.dem(As) name relcl-VAI-xact.3s,conj  
that (one) my=grandchild+little that (one) Chotty that-to be called-s/he  
*my grandchild (that one) the one called Chotty.*
- 229) Mācīnankit ta-kīyohsēt.  
mācīn-ankit ta-kīyohsē-t.  
VTA-dir.1p>3s,conj TNS.fut-VAI-3s,conj  
to take along s.o.-we(excl)>him/her will-to hunt big game-s/he  
*We took him along for him to hunt big game.*
- 230) Šikwa kapē-nīpin 'Pee Paw Plains' nitihkitomin.  
šikwa kapē+nīpin 'Pee Paw Plains' nit=ihkito-min  
PC PN+NI place name 1=VAI-1p,indic  
now all+summer 'Pee Paw Plains' I=to say-we(excl)  
*Now all summer Pee Paw Plains we were saying.*
- 231) Ahāw name withheld niwīcīwā āh mi-šikwa ~  
ahāw name withheld ni=wīcīw-ā āh mi=šikwa  
PC name withheld 1s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic PC PC=PC  
so name withheld I=accompany-him/her ahh it is=now  
*So name withheld I go with ah so now ~,*

**mi**-šikwa ahko imā wāhkāhikanēns kī-ahtēmakan,  
**mi**=šikwa ahko imā wāhkāhikan+ēns kī-ahtēmakan  
 PC=PC PC PC NIs+dim TNS.pst-VII.(0s),indic  
**it is**=now apparently there a house+little past-it sits there  
*so now there was a little house there*

apihtawahī ahko kī-ani-ahtē wāhkāhikanēns.  
 apihtawahī ahko kī-ani-ahtē wāhkāhikan+ēns  
 PC PC TNS.pst-PV-VII.(0s),indic NIs+dim  
 half way apparently past-towards-it sits a house+little  
*half way there (apparently) was a little house.*

232) **Mi**-imā šikwa nitani-išāmin.  
**mi**=imā šikwa nit=ani-išā-min.  
 PC=PC PC 1=PV-VAI-1p,indic  
**it is**=there now I=towards-to go there-we(excl)  
*So now we go there.*

233) Āh **mi**-imā konakē na kika-kapēhsimin  
 aah **mi**=imā konakē na ki=ka-kapēhsi-min  
 PC PC=PC PC PC 2=TNS.fut-VAI-21,indic  
 aah **it is**=here perhaps see you=will-to camp-we(incl)  
*Aah perhaps here we will camp there*

nitihkitomin. Ahāw!  
 nitihkitomin ahāw  
 1=VAI-1p,indic PC  
 I=to say-we(excl) ok  
*we said. Okay!*

234) Taka **mi**-ēši-pīntikē-ināpiyān i wāhkāhikanēns.  
 taka **mi**=IC-iši-pīntikē-ināpi-yān i wāhkāhikan+ēns  
 PC PC=IC-PV-VAI-VAI-1s,conj PR.dem(Is) NIs+dim  
 please **it is**=thus-to enter-to look in-I that a house+little  
*(please) I look inside that little house.*

235) Pinēhsīyēnsak imā kā-āpiwāt mišaškamik.  
 pinēhsī+(y)ēns-ak imā kā-āpi-wāt mišaš+kamik  
 NA+dim-p PC TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj NI+NI  
 bird+little-s there past-to sit-they nest+(beside) the wall  
*Little birds (there) were sitting there in a nest on the wall.*

236) Wīnkē awahišinākosiwak. Wāhowa!  
 wīnkē awahišinākosi-wak wāhowa  
 PC VAI-3p,indic PC  
 very to look cute-they oh my  
*They looked very cute. Oh my!*

- 237) Kēkā nitātēpipinikonānik **mi**-inki  
kēkā ni=tātēpipin-iko-nān-ik **mi**=inki  
PC 1=VTA-inv-1p-3p,indic PC=PR.dem(Ap)  
almost I=to catch-us-they **it is**=those (ones)  
*They just about caught us those are*
- ahko kā-macātišiwāt.  
ahko kā-macātiši-wāt  
PC TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj  
apparently past-to be bad-they  
*the ones that are bad.*
- 238) Wāhowa awahš ānciškātā kān omā  
wāhowa awahš ānciškā-tā kān omā  
PC PC VAI-21,imp PC PC  
oh my go away to move-let us no/not here  
*Oh my lets move from here*
- takī-ayāyank, nitinā.  
ta-kī-ayā-yank nit=iN-ā  
ASP.prsp-TNS.pst-VAI-21,conj 1s=VTA-dir.(3s),indic  
will-past-to be-we(incl) I=to tell-him/her  
*we should not be here, I tell her.*
- 239) **Mi**-šikwa kān kotinō nitihkitohsī.  
**mi**=šikwa kān kotinō nit=ihkito-hsī  
PC=PC PC PC 1=VAI-neg,indic  
**it is**=now not something I=to say-not  
*So now I don't say anything*
- wīnkē kakiwincīyan.  
wīnkē kakiwincī-yan  
PC VAI-2s,conj  
really to forbade-you  
*that what is forbidden.*
- 240) Āh **mi**-omā kā-tāwinapiwāt ahko inki pinēhsī(y)ēns-ak.  
aah **mi**=omā kā-tāwin+api-wāt ahko inki pinēhsī+(y)ēns-ak  
PC PC=PC TNS.pst-VAI+VAI-3p,conj PC PR.dem(Ap) NA+dim-p  
aah **it is**=here past-to open mouth+to sit-they those (ones) bird+little-s  
*Aah they sat there with open mouths those little birds.*
- 241) Wīnkē ahko awayišinākosiwak, nitōcīmwēhkānāk.  
wīnkē ahko awayišinākosi-wak nit=ōcīmwēhkān-ā-k  
PC PC VAI-3p,indic 1=VTA-dir-3p,indic  
very apparently to look cute-they I=to baby talk to-them  
*They always look very cute, I baby talk to them.*

- 242) Ahāmpē kika-āciškāmin ihkitowak.  
ahā+(a)mpē ki=ka-āciškā-min ihkito-wak  
PC+PC 2=TNS.fut-VAI-21,indic VAI-3p,indic  
ok+come we=will-to move-we(incl) to say-they  
*Okay come we will move they say.*
- 243) **Mi**-kēkēt ēši-ānciškāyānk, **mi**-īwiti šikwa ~  
**mi**=kēkēt IC-iši-ānciškā-yank **mi**=īwiti šikwa  
PC=PC IC-PV-VAI-21,conj PC=PC PC  
**it is**=really thus-to move-we(incl) **it is**=over there now  
*So we really move on, over there now ~*
- mi**-īwiti šikwa ~ **mi**-īwiti šikwa nitišāmin ahīnk.  
**mi**=īwiti šikwa **mi**=īwiti šikwa nit=išā-min ahīnk  
PC=PC PC PC=PC PC 1=VAI-1p,indic PC  
**it is**=over there now **it is**=over there now I=go there-we(excl)  
*over there now ~ over there now we go there.*
- 244) Kā-kī-ahko-kihkētānātok kā-kī-ahko-  
kā-kī-ahko-kihkēt+ā-n-ātok kā-kī-ahko-  
relcl-TNS.pst-PC-VTI+TH-2s-dub,conj relcl-TNS.pst-PC  
that-past-(when)-to know it-you-probably that-past-would  
*You probably know where*
- 'Sports' kā-kī-taši-ayāwāt.  
sports kā-kī-taši-ayā-wāt  
Eng relcl-TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3p,conj  
sports that-past-to have-to be-they  
*they used to have a Sports.*
- 245) Yeah **mi**-imā, **mi**-imā šikwa nikipicīmin  
yeah **mi**=imā **mi**=imā šikwa ni=kipicī-min  
col PC=PC PC=PC PC 1=VAI-1p,indic  
yeah **it is**=there **it is**=there now I=to stop-we(excl)  
*Yeah that's where, that's where now we stop*
- mi**-imā šikwa nikapēhsimin.  
**mi**=imā šikwa ni=kapēhsi-min  
PC=PC PC 1=VAI-1p,indic  
**it is**=there now I=to camp-we(excl)  
*that's where we camp now.*
- 246) Nitōšikēmin ošikēwak kota.  
nit=ōšikē-min ošikē-wak kota  
1=VAI-1p,indic VAI-3p,indic PC  
I=to set up camp-we(excl) to set up camp-they probably  
*We set up camp they set up camp I mean.*

247) Āh kika-anta-akōtōmin onāhkoḥsik nitihkitomin.  
 ah ki=ka-anta-akōtō-min onāhkoḥsi-k nit=ihkito-min  
 PC 2=TNS.pst-PV-VAI-21,indic VII-0s,conj 1=VAI-1p,indic  
 ok you=past-go-set snares-we(incl) be evening-it I=to say-we(excl)  
*Okay we will go set snares this evening we say.*

248) Āh nika-kiyohsē kēnīn ihkito  
 āh ni=ka-kiyohsē kēnīn ihkito  
 PC 1s=TNS.fut-VAI,indic emph+PR.prs(1s) VAI.(3s),indic  
 ahh I=will-to go hunt big game also+me s/he says  
*Ahh me too I will go hunt big game says*

Cwātī, mākišā onāhkoḥsik.  
 Cwātī mākišā onāhkoḥsi-k.  
 name PC VII-0s,conj  
 Chotty perhaps is evening-as it  
*Chotty, probably this evening.*

249) Ahāw kā-wī- ~ kā-wī- ~ kā-wī- ~  
 ahāw kā-wī- kā-wī- kā-wī-  
 PC TNS.pst-ASP.prsp TNS.pst-ASP.prsp TNS.pst-ASP.prsp  
 okay past-going to past-going to past-going to  
*Okay we were ~ we were ~ we were ~*

niwī-wīhsinīmināpan kota.  
 ni=wī-wīhsinī-min-āpan kota  
 1=ASP.prsp-VAI-1p-pret,indic PC  
 I=going to-to eat-we(excl)-had probably  
*we had been going to eat I mean.*

250) Nicīpākwēmin, nīn nicīpākwē,  
 ni=cīpākwē-min nīn ni=cīpākwē  
 1=VAI-1p,indic PR.prs(1s) 1s=VAI,indic  
 I=to cook-we(excl) me I=cook  
*We cook, me I cook,*

wīnawā ošikēwak.  
 wīnawā ošikē-wak  
 PR.prs(3p) VAI-3p,indic  
 them to set up camp-they  
*they set up camp.*

251) Wāhowa ānīn pi-išinākwahk omā,  
 wāhowa ānīn pi-išinākwat-k omā  
 PC PR-inter PV-VII-0s,conj PC  
 oh my how come-to look-it here  
*Oh my how it was looking here,*

pišāniko kā-kaškītipihkānakwahk.  
 pišāniko kā-kaškī+tipihk+ānakwat-k  
 PC relcl-VII+VII+NA-0s,conj  
 just that-to be black+to be night+cloud-it  
*it was/there was just dark (black as night) clouds.*

- 252) Wīnkē kotako, pi-wāwāškonēhsē **mi**-omā šikwa tipiškō.  
 wīnkē kotako pi-wāwāškonēhsē **mi**=omā šikwa tipiškō  
 PC PC PV-VII.(0s),indic PC=PC PC PC  
 very apparently come-it is lightning **it is**=here now above  
*Very much so, there was lightning now here right above.*

- 253) Wāhowa wīnkēhsa kihci-nānōntākosiwak  
 wāhowa wīnkē+hsa kihci-nānōntākosi-wak  
 PC PC+PC PV-VAI-3p,indic  
 oh my very+so great-to make sounds(thunder)-they  
*Oh my very much so there was thundering*

pišāniko **mi**-omā kihci-wēwitamōk pišāniko ahko  
 pišāniko **mi**=omā kihci-wēwitamō-ik pišāniko ahko  
 PC PC=PC PV-VAI-3p,indic PC PC  
 just **it is**=here big-to make noise-they just apparently  
*right here many of them (they were)*

kā-kihci-pāškamowāt wīnkē ahko.  
 kā-kihci-pāškamō-wāt wīnkē ahko  
 TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3p,conj PC PC  
 past-big-to clasp (thunder)-they very so  
*there was clasps of thunder very much so.*

- 254) “Ānīn ta o?” nitik name withheld.  
 ānīn ta o nit=(iN)-ik name  
 PR-inter PC PR.dem(Is) 1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic name  
 what this I=s/he tells-s/he name  
*“What is this?” name withheld (she) says to me.*

- 255) “Taka mānō taka kākīkiton  
 taka mānō taka kākīkito-n  
 PC PC PC VAI-2s,imp  
 please leave it please talk in prayer-you  
*“Please talk in prayer*

kotinō ihkiton,” nitik.  
 kotinō ihkito-n nit=(iN)-ik  
 PC VAI-2s, imp 1s=VTA-inv.(3s),indic  
 something to say-you I=tell-s/he  
*say something,” she tells me.*

- 256) “Wīnkē kohsa nīn, niwī-šēkimikōk,” ihkito.  
wīnkē kohsa nīn ni=wī-šēkim-iko-ik ihkito  
PC PC PR.prs(1s) 1s=ASP.prsp-VTA-inv-3p,indic VAI.(3s),indic  
really me I=going to-scare-they s/he says  
*(Really me, )they are really scaring me,” she says.*
- 257) “Wēkonēn i onci?” ihkito.  
wēkonēn i onci ihkito  
PR-inter PR.dem(Is) PC VAI.(3s),indic  
what that for s/he says  
*“What is that for?” she says.*
- 258) **Mi**-ēši-mihkawihšyān i ‘you know’ **mi**-iwē.  
**mi**=IC-iši-mihkawihšē-yān I you know **mi**=iwē  
PC=IC-PV-VAI-1s,conj PR.dem(Is) Eng PC=PR.dem(Is)  
**it is**=thus-to remember/recall-I that you know **it is**=that  
*Then I remembered/recalled that ‘you know’ that’s why.*
- 259) Āh **mi**-ēši-kā-kanōnakwā nikākīšomāk  
ah **mi**=IC-iši-kā-kanōn-ak-wā ni=kākīšom-ā-k  
PC PC=IC-PV-TNS.pst-VTA-dir.1s-3p,conj 1s=VTA-dir-3p,indic  
aah **it is**=thus-past-to speak to-I-them I=to apologize to-them  
*Aah and so I speak to them I apologize to them*
- kihci-anihšināhkānk, āh kā-ani-mācīwēwitamowāt.  
kihci-anihšinā+hk-ānk āh kā-ani-mācīwēwitamo-wāt  
PN-NA+NA-loc PC TNS.pst-PV-VAI-3p,conj  
great-(spirit) Indian+place-in ah past-towards-to leave (audibly)-they  
*there in the spirit place, and so they go/leave {audibly}.*
- 260) Āh **mi**-kēkēt nikī-wīntamākōmin tēkohšinānk  
ah **mi**=kēkēt ni=kī-wīntamaw-ikō-min tēkohšin-ānk  
PC PC=PC 1=TNS.pst-VTA-xact-1p,indic IC.VAI-1p,indic  
ah **it is**=really I=past-to tell-be-we(excl) to arrive-we(excl)  
*Ah really we were told when we arrived home*
- (laughs) **mi**-inkiwē.  
**mi**=inkiwē  
PC=PR.dem(Ap)  
**it is**=those (ones)  
*(laughs) those were the ones.*
- 261) Ampē kān āna nikī-papāmēnimāhsiwānānik  
ampē kān āna ni=kī-papāmēnim-ā-hsiwā-nān-ik  
PC PC PC 1=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-neg-1p-3p,indic  
come no even though I=past-to disturb-not-we(excl)-them  
*and yet we really did not bother/disturb them*

'you know', kēhcīk kā-kī-šēkīhankitwā inki.  
 you know kēhcīk kā-kī-šēkīh-ankit-wā inki  
 Eng PC relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-dir.1p>3-3p,conj PR.dem(Ap)  
 you know still that-past-to scare (s.o.)-we(excl)-them those ones  
 'you know', but still we had (not) scared those ones.

- 262) [ēh heh] Yeah **mi**-ēšī-šanakahk **mi**-iwē i,  
 ēh heh yeah **mi**=IC-išī-šanakat-k **mi**=iwē i  
 col col PC=IC-PV-VII-0s,conj PC=dem(Is) PR.dem(Is)  
 eh heh yeah **it is**=thus-to be difficult-it **it is**=that that  
 [eh heh] yeah that's how hard/difficult it is that thing,

kēkō kā-ocinēnk.  
 kēkō kā-ocinē-nk  
 PC TNS.pst-VAI-xact  
 something past-to curse oneself-(generally)  
 when one brings something on.

- 263) Mēwinšā kotawīn **mi**-tahs wīn nōnkom, kān ānīhš  
 mēwinšā kotawīn **mi**=tahs wīn nōnkom kān ānīhš  
 PC PC PC=PC PC PC PC PC  
 long ago probably **it is**=but today no because  
 Long ago anyway but now today,

wīhkā kēkō kīnawint kēkō kimikoškācitōhsīmin.  
 wīhkā kēkō kīnawint kēkō ki=mikoškācit+ō-hsī-min  
 PC PC PR.prs(2p) PC 2=VTI+TH-neg-21,indic  
 ever something us something you=to disturb-not-we(incl)  
 but we never bother anything or disturb anything.

- 263) Apinōcīyak tahs ahko wīnkē **mi**-i  
 Apinōcī-yak tahs ahko wīnkē **mi**=i  
 NA-p PC PC PC PC=PR.dem(Is)  
 child-ren but would really **it is**=that  
 But children (would) that is

tinawa omikoškācihāwān 'you know' (laughs).  
 tinawa o=mikoškācih-ā-wā-n you know  
 PC 3=VTA-dir-3p-3',indic Eng  
 that kind s/he=to disturb s.o.-they-other you know  
 what they bother/disturb 'you know' (laughs).

- 264) Koci-kotinō kā-inahkamikahk 'you know'  
 koci-kotinō kā-inahkamikat-k you know  
 PC-PC relcl-VII-0s,conj Eng  
 anywhere-something that-to occur-it you know  
 When something goes on somewhere 'you know'

kakwē-otaminwākēwāt ahko āna kanōnintwā,  
 kakwē-otaminwākē-wāt ahko āna kanōn-int-wā  
 PV-VAI-3p,conj PC PC VTA-xact,conj-3p  
 to try-to play with (s.o.)-they would even though to tell not-be-they  
*they try to play with them even though they are told not to.*

- 265) Ampē itok ānint ahko inki  
 ampē itok ānint ahko inki  
 PC PC PC PC PR.dem(Ap)  
 come probably some apparently those (ones)  
*And yet probably some of them*

wīntihkāšowak apinōcīyak ‘you know’ .  
 wīnt+ihkāšo-wak apinōcī-yak you know  
 VAI+VAI-3p, indic NA-p Eng  
 have spirit+to be called-they child-ren ‘you know’  
*have spirit names those children ‘you know’.*

- 266) [Kān kišisa awiya okihkētansīn wēkonēn  
 kān kišisa awiya o=kihkēt+a-nsī-n wēkonēn  
 PC PC PC 3=VTI+TH-neg-3s,indic PR-inter  
 not hardly someone s/he=to know s.t.-not-s/he what  
*[ Hardly anyone knows that now what*

i oncinēwin.]  
 i oncinē+win]  
 PR.dem(Is) VAI+NI  
 that to curse oneself+N  
*it means to bring something on themselves.]*

- 267) Yeah kāwīn ānīhš kān okihkētansīnāwā.  
 yeah kāwīn ānīhš kān o=kihkēt+a-nsī-nā-wā  
 col PC PC PC 3=VTI+TH-neg-0’s-3p,indic  
 yeah no because not s/he=to know s.t.-not-they  
*Yeah not at all they do not know it.*

- 268) [Wīntamawintwā ‘in English’ kān tēpwētansīwak.]  
 wīntamaw-int-wā in English kān tēpwēta-nsī-wak  
 VTA-xact,conj-3p Eng PC VAI-neg-3p,indic  
 to tell (s.o.)-be-they in English not to believe-not-they  
*[When they are told ‘in ‘in English’ they do not believe.]*

- 269) Kān tēpwētansīwak ‘that’s a bear’, kēmā  
 kān tēpwēta-nsī-wak ‘that’s a bear’ kēmā  
 PC VAI-neg-3p,indic Eng PC  
 no to believe s.t.-not-they ‘that’s a bear’ or  
*They don’t believe or else they say ‘that’s a bear’ [statement indicating a lie]*

ihkitowak ‘you know’ kotinō inintwā.  
 ihkito–wak ‘you know’ kotinō iN–int–wā  
 VAI–3p,indic English PC VTA–xact–3p,conj  
 to say–they ‘you know’ something to tell s.t.–be–they  
 ‘you know’ when they are told something.

- 270) [Ahī taka tipācimōn inkiwē  
 ahī taka tipācimo–n inkiwē  
 PC PC VAI–2s,imp PR.dem(Ap)  
 please to talk about–you those ones  
 [Please talk about those ones

kā–kī–tipācimōwan omā ‘at the camp’.  
 kā–kī–tipācimo–wan omā at the camp  
 relcl–TNS.pst–VAI–2s,conj PC Eng  
 that–past–to talk about–you here at the camp  
 the story you told here ‘at the camp’.

- 271) Kā–kī–pwānawitōwāt kēmā kā–kī–kihkētansikwā  
 kā–kī–pwānawit+ō–wāt kēmā kā–kī–kihkēt+a–nsi–kwā  
 relcl–TNS.pst–VTI+TH–3p,conj PC relcl–TNS.pst–VTI+TH–neg–3p,conj  
 that–past–to be unable–they or that–past–to know s.t.–not–they  
 those ones that were unable to or that did not know

ānīn ta–iši–kišīpīhkišakinikēwāt.]  
 ānīn ta–iši–kišīpīhkišakinikē–wāt  
 PR-inter TNS.fut–PV–VAI–3p,conj  
 how will–thus–wash/scrub the floor–they  
 how to wash/scrub the floor.]

- 272) Āh **mi** na iwē!  
 āh **mi** na iwē  
 PC PC PC PR.dem(Is)  
 Ahh **it is** that (one)  
 Ah that one!

- 273) Ahāw **mi**–iwē āhpihci kohsa nikī–kihci–pāhp kēnīn.  
 ahāw **mi**=iwē āhpihci kohsa ni=kī–kihci–pāhp(i) kē+nīn  
 PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC 1s=TNS.pst–PV–VAI,indic emph+PR.prs(1s)  
 okay **it is**=that really also I=past–big–to laugh also+me  
 Okay that on I really laughed hard me too.

- 274) Nikī–owahitētām nōntāmān i,  
 ni=kī–owahitētām nōnt+am–ān i,  
 1s=TNS.pst–VAI,indic VTI+TH–1s,conj PR.dem(Is)  
 I=past–to find funny to hear s.t.–I that  
 I found it funny when I heard it,



278) “Ānīhšwīn? Awīnkē ānīhš ahko ani-wīnihšakahk,  
 ānīhšwīn awīnkē ānīhš ahko ani-wīnihšakat-k  
 PR-inter PC PC PC PV-VII-0s,conj  
 why really because apparently towards-to be dirty-it  
 “Why? Because whenever it (the floor) gets dirty,

wīnkē ahko kiškītipihkišakahk **mi**-ahko  
 wīnkē ahko kiškītipihkišakat-k **mi**=ahko  
 PC PC VII-0s,conj PC=PC  
 really (apparently) to be black as night-it **it is**=so  
 whenever it gets black as night, and so

ēši-pēhkānikin ‘boards’ nitahtōmin,”  
 IC-iši-pēhkān-ikin boards nit=aht+ō-min  
 IC-PV-PC-VII-0’p,indic Eng 1=VTI+TH-1p,indic  
 thus-different-they boards I=to put it-we(excl)  
 different boards we put there,”

ihkitowak īnšan. (laughs)  
 ihkito-wak īnšan.  
 VAI-3p,indic PC  
 to say-they apparently  
 they say to him. (laughs)

279) **Mi**-šikwa kā-wīntamākowāt, **mi**-šikwa  
**mi**=šikwa kā-wīntamaw-iko-wāt **mi**=šikwa  
 PC=PC TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,conj PC=PC  
**it is**=now past+to tell-s/he-them **it is**=so  
 So now he tells them, so now

kē-tōtamēk otikowān.  
 kē-tōtam-ēk ot=(iN)-iko-wā-n  
 TNS.fut-VAI-2p,conj 3=VTA-inv-3p-3’,indic  
 will-to do-you (all) s/he=to tell them-s/he>them  
 what you will do (this), he tells them.

280) Īnšan kišīpīkišakinikēk, ahkihk āpacihih  
 īnšan kišīpīkišakinikē-k ahkihk āpacihih-ik  
 PC VAI-2p,imp NA VTA-2s>3p,imp  
 apparently to wash/scrub floor-you (all) a pail use s.o.-you>it  
 Apparently you scrub/wash the floor, you use a pail

piko kēkō kēmā pinkwi kitā-onšām.  
 piko kēkō kēmā pinkwi ki=tā-onš+ā-m  
 PC PC PC NI-m 2=PV-VTI+TH-2p,indic  
 anything something or ashes you=would-boil it-you(all)  
 or anything or you then boil some ashes.

- 281) **Mi**-iwē kēmā pinkwi **mi**-iko iwē  
**mi**=iwē kēmā pinkwi **mi**=iko iwē  
PC=PR.dem(Is) PC NI PC=PC PR.dem(Is)  
**it is**=that or ashes **it is**= that  
*That's it or ashes that's what*

kitā-āpacihtōm kišīpīkisakinikēyēk.  
ki=tā-āpaciht+ō-m kišīpīkisakinikē-yēk  
2=TNS.fut-VTI+TH-2p,indic VAI-2p,conj  
you=will-to use s.t.-you (all) to wash/scrub the floor-you (all)  
*you use to wash the floors.*

- 282) Kišīpīkahikan, wēwīpan wīn, kišīpīkahikan ayāwēk,  
kišīpīkahikan wēwīpan wīn kišīpīkahikan ayā-wēk  
NIs PC PC NIs VAI-2p,conj  
soap especially that soap to have-you(all)  
*Soap, especially that, soap if you had it,*

maškošiwān kitā-āpacihtōm 'brush' itok 'you know'. (ēh heh)  
maškošiwān ki=tā-āpaciht+ō-m brush itok you know eh heh  
NI 2=TNS.fut-VTI+TH-2p,indic Eng PC Eng col  
straw you=will-to use s.t.-you (all) brush apparently you know eh heh  
*straw you could use a brush apparently 'you know'. (eh heh)*

- 283) Ta-ināpacihtōwāt, **mi**-i itinawa.  
ta-ināpaciht+ō-wāt **mi**=i itinawa  
TNS.fut-VTI+TH-3p,conj PC=PR.dem(Is) PC  
will-to use s.t.-they **it is**=that that kind  
*They use it for that kind.*

- 284) **Mi**-kēkēt kā-tōtamowāt **mi**-iwē  
**mi**=kēkēt kā-tōtamo-wāt **mi**=iwē  
PC=PC TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj PC=PR.dem(Is)  
**it is**=truly past-to do-they **it is**=that  
*That's what they really did, that's it*

okī-kihkēntānāwā **mi**-imā onci  
o=kī-kihkēnt+ā-nā-wā **mi**=imā onci  
3=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-0's-3p,indic PC=PC PC  
s/he=past-to know it-they **it is**=there from  
*they knew from then on from*

iwē kī-tōtamowāt, kī-kišīpīkišakinikēwāt.  
iwē kī-tōtamo-wāt kī-kišīpīkišakinikē-wāt  
PR.dem(Is) TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj  
that past-to do-they past-wash/scrub the floor-they  
*that they did it, they washed the floors.*

- 285) **Mi**-šikwa mīnawā (laughs), kā-kī- ~ **mi**-šikwa mīnawā  
**mi**=šikwa mīnawā kā-kī- **mi**=šikwa mīnawā  
PC=PC PC relcl-TNS.pst PC=PC PC  
**it is**=now again that-past **it is**=now again  
*And then again (laughs) when they ~ and then again*

kā-kī-pīkopicikēwāt **mi**-ītok wī-kihtikēwāt ītok.  
kā-kī-pīkopicikē-wāt **mi**=ītok wī-kihtikē-wāt ītok  
relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj PC=PC TNS.fut-VAI-3p,indic PC  
that-past-to break ground-they **it.is**=apparently going to-to seed-they **itok**  
*when they plowed/broke the ground apparently they were going to seed.*

- 286) Wāhowa nīyōpišowak inki ītok  
wāhowa nīyō+pišo-wak inki ītok  
PC PC+VAI-3p,indic PR.dem(Ap) PC  
oh my four+to be-they those ones apparently  
*Oh my there were four of them*

mištaticimōk ānīhš nīwin onīyōpināwān.  
mištaticim-ōk ānīhš nīwin o=nīyō+piN-ā-wā-n  
NA-p PC PC 3=PC+VTA-dir-3p-3',indic  
horse-s because four s/he=four+to tie-they>him/her  
*horses tied together those four, they had tied four of them.*

- 287) Kā-pi-kihci-ohkokōšiwāt īnšan ahkiwēnsīyak **mi**-omā  
kā-pi-kihci-ohkokōši-wāt īnšan ahkiwēnsī-yak **mi**=omā  
TNS.pst-PV-PV-VAI-3p,conj PC NA-p PC=PC  
past-come-big-to ride-they apparently old man-s **it is**=there  
*There was a bunch of them riding on it apparently old men there*

pīkopicikanink kakwē-kontāwiškamowāt o pīkopicikan.  
pīkopicikan-ink kakwē-kontāwišk+amo-wāt o pīkopicikan  
NIs-loc PV-VTI+TH-3p,conj PR.dem(Is) NIs  
plow-on to try-to lower s.t.-they this plow  
*on that plow trying to lower it to the ground this plow.*

- 288) Kān ānīhš okihkēntansīnāwā ānīn  
kān ānīhš o=kihkēnt+a-nsī-nā-wā ānīn  
PC PC 3=VTI+TH-neg-0's-3p,indic PR-inter  
not because s/he=to know s.t.-not-they how  
*Because they did not know how*

kē-iši-nānsinamowāt 'you know'  
kē-iši-nānsin+amo-wāt you know  
TNS.fut-PV-VTI+TH-3p,conj Eng  
will-thus-to lower s.t.-they you know  
*to lower it 'you know'.*

- 289) Na **mi**-iwē mīnawā kī-kihkinahamawāwak, ānīn  
na **mi**=iwē mīnawā kī-kihkinahamaw-ā-wak ānīn  
PC PC=PR.dem(Is) PC TNS.pst-VTA-xact-3p,indic PR-inter  
see **it is**=that again past-to teach-be-they how  
*See that was another thing they were taught, how*
- kē-iši- ~ (laughs) anohkītōwāt. (laughs)  
kē-iši anohkīt+ō-wāt  
TNS.fut-PV VTI+TH-3p,conj  
will-thus to work on s.t.-they  
*to ~ (laughs) work it. (laughs)*
- 290) Wīnkē **mi**-imā kī-kipociwiwak. (laughs)  
wīnkē **mi**=imā kī-kipociwi-wak  
PC PC=PC TNS.pst-VAI-3p,indic  
very **it is**=there past-to be simple-they  
*They were very simple/dumb/ignorant at that. (laughs)*
- 291) **Mi**-mīnawā imā sīpīnk nitayāmin.  
**mi**=mīnawā imā sīpī-ink nit=ayā-min  
PC=PC PC NI-loc 1=VAI-1p,indic  
**it is**=again there river-by I=to be/live there-we(excl)  
*There again by the river we stayed.*
- 292) Nikī-tāmin āpihci ānīhš ako kī-ayā  
ni=kī-tā-min āpihci ānīhš ako kī-ayā  
1=TNS.pst-VAI-1p,indic PC PC PC TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic  
I=past-to reside-we (excl) very because also past-s/he is/lives (there)  
*We lived there because he too he lived there*
- ahā, ahā ahko nikī-wīcīwānān.  
ahā ahā ahko ni=kī-wīcīw-ā-nān  
PC PC PC 1=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s)-1p,indic  
aha aha would we=past-s/he stays with-s/he-us(excl)  
*too, he would stay with us.*
- 293) nikī-wicikamakiškawānān name withheld kā-kī-inint 'you know'.  
ni=kī-wicikamakiškaw-ā-nān name kā-kī-iN-int you know  
1=TNS.pst-VTA-dir.(3s)-1p,indic name relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-xact.3s,conj Eng  
we=past-share home with-we(excl) name that-past-to be called-s/he you know  
*He used to share our home with us name withheld he was called 'you know'.*
- 294) Kikī-kihkēnimā? (ah hah)  
ki=kī-kihkēnim-ā ah hah  
2s=TNS.pst-VTA-dir.(3s),indic col  
you=past-to know s.o.-him/her ah hah  
*Did you know him? (agrees)*

- 295) Wāpisištikwān kī-inimān omintimowēhiman.  
wāpis+ištikwān kī-inim-ā-n o=mintimowēhim-an  
VII+NI TNS.pst-VTA-xact-3',conj 3=NA-obv  
white+head past-to call-be-his/her\_\_\_\_ his/her=wife  
*Whitehead was his wife's name.*
- 296) Kā-kī-papā-onīkihikot, *name withheld* kā-kī-inint.  
kā-kī-papā-onīkih-iko-t name kā-kī-iN-int  
relcl-TNS.pst-PV-VTA-inv-3s,conj name relcl-TNS.pst-VTA-xact.3s,conj  
that-past-continuous-to look after-s/he name that-past-to call-be-s/he  
*That's who always looked after him, name withheld she was called.*
- 297) Āh mi-iwiti ānīhš ahko nikī-tāmin  
ah mi=iwiti ānīhš ahko ni=kī-tā-min  
PC PC=PC PC PC 1=TNS.pst-VAI-1p,indic  
ah it is=over there because apparently I=past-to reside-we(excl)  
*Ah that was the place over there we used to live*
- nikī-wicikamakiškawānānik ahko.  
ni=kī-wicikamakiškaw-ā-nān-ik ahko  
1=TNS.pst-VTA-dir-1p-3p,indic PC  
I=past-to share it-we(excl)-them would  
*we used to share our home with them.*
- 298) Āh pami-manišikē ōwiti akāmahīnk  
ah pami-manišikē ōwiti akāmah-īnk  
PC PV-VAI.(3s),indic PC NI-loc  
ah to go-s/he cuts hay over there across the river-at  
*Ahh he was cutting hay over across the river*
- kotink iko (laughs).  
kotink iko  
PC PC  
one time  
*one time (laughs).*
- 299) Īnšan imā pami-manišikēk awēnipan,  
īnšan imā pami-manišikē-k awēni+pan  
PC PC PV-VAI-3s,conj PC+pret  
apparently there to go-s/he cut hay over+went  
*so there where he was cutting hay over he went,*
- ahpanē ahpanē pimi-āšikitišēt.  
ahpanē ahpanē pimi-āšikitišē-t  
PC PC PV-VAI-3s,conj  
gone gone to go-to fall backwards-s/he  
*gone, gone he fell backwards.*

- 300) **Mi**-nankona piniwē-kīcikoškank, onšiwēpiškāni  
**mi**=nankona piniwē-kīcikošk+am-k onšiwēpiškā-ni  
 PC=PC PV-VTI+TH-3s,conj VII-0's,indic  
**it is**=apparently right off-to break it-s/he it is right off  
*Apparently he had broken it right off, it is right off*

ahī apapiwin, ani-āšakiticōcink  
 ahī apapi+win ani-āšakiticōcin-k  
 PC VAI+NI PV-VAI-3s,conj  
 to sit on top+NI towards-to fall backwards-s/he  
*seat over he fell backwards*

mištaticimōk pišāniko pimi-mācāwak.  
 mištaticimōk pišāniko pimi-mācā-wak  
 NA-p PC PV-VAI-3p,indic  
 horse-s just to go-to leave-they  
*the horses just took off/left.*

- 301) Ahīhay **mi**-šikwa mōhkītamawankit.  
 ahīhay **mi**=šikwa mōhkī+tamaw-ankit  
 PC PC=PC VTA+ben-dir.1p-3s,conj  
 oh my **it is**=now to go after for-we(excl)>him/her  
*Oh my and now now we all go after them for him.*

- 302) **Mi**-ēšī-kanōnankitwā inki mištaticimōk  
**mi**=IC-išī-kanōn-ankit-wā inki mištaticimōk  
 PC=IC-PV-VTA-1p-3p,conj PR.dem(Ap) NA-p  
**it is**=thus-to call (s.o.)-we(excl)-them those (ones) horse-s  
*And we call to them those horses*

ta-kihihcīwāt, **mi**-wīnānawī matwē-kihihcīwak  
 ta-kihihcī-wāt **mi**=wīnānawī matwē-kihihcī-wak  
 TNS.fut-VAI-3p,conj PC=PR.prs(3p) PV-VAI-3p,indic  
 will-to stop-they **it is**=them to do-to stop-they  
*to stop, and so they did they stopped.*

- 303) Pami-papašikwī šikwa, wāhowa, ihkito,  
 Pami-papašikwī šikwa wāhowa ihkito  
 PV-VAI.(3s),indic PC PC VAI.(3s),indic  
 to go-s/he gets up from ground now oh my s/he says so  
*He gets up off the ground now that one, oh my, he says,*

pišāniko kohsa, ānīn itok ēšihse-yān.  
 pišāniko kohsa ānīn itok ēšihse-yān  
 PC PC PR-inter PC IC-VAI-1s,conj  
 just too what probably to happen to-I  
*(just too), I just don't know what happened to me.*

- 304) **Mi**-nankona piniwēpiškank i ‘seat’  
**mi**=nankona piniwēpišk+am-k i seat  
PC=PC VTI+TH-3s,conj PR.dem(Is) Eng  
**it is**=apparently to break it off-s/he that seat  
*He had broken off that ‘seat’*
- omanakwaciškān ‘you know’.  
o=manakwacišk+ā-n you know  
3=VTI+TH-0’s,indic Eng  
s/he=to knock off s.t.-s/he you know  
*he knocked it right off ‘you know’.*
- 305) Minšiwē ahko kī-ayēninīkēwak kihci-anihšināpēk  
minšiwē ahko kī-ayēninīkē-wak kihci-anihšināpē-k  
PC PC TNS.pst-VAI-3p,indic PN-NA-p  
all sorts would past-to occur to-they great-Indian-s  
*All sorts of things happened to those old people*
- (eh heh) kēkō anohkātamowāt. (Mīnankē)  
eh heh kēkō anohkāt+amo-wāt mīnankē  
col PC VTI+TH-3p,conj PC  
ēh heh something to work on s.t.-they yes  
(eh heh) when they use to work on things. (Yes)



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## APPENDIX B

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Department of Interdisciplinary Programs  
 First Nations University of Canada  
 Basic (Lecture) Lesson Plan

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Instructor/Teacher: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Subject: \_\_\_\_\_ Topic: \_\_\_\_\_  
 C.E.L. (s): \_\_\_\_\_  
 Professional target: \_\_\_\_\_

OBJECTIVES	ASSESSMENT
<p>Mental: Students will be able to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* identify, describe and reproduce /mi-/ constructions</li> <li>* recall information on how, when and where the /mi-/ particle is used</li> <li>* recognize the particle /mi-/ and distinguish the function in a construction, phrase or sentence</li> </ul> <p>Emotional: Students will be able to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* develop appreciation for the particle /mi-/ within Elder discourse</li> <li>* relate the application of /mi-/ to various language contexts</li> </ul> <p>Physical: Students will be able to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* collaboratively compile then deliver group assigned tasks</li> <li>* diagram positioning of particle /mi-/ in Constructions</li> </ul> <p>Spiritual: Students will be able to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* evaluate and appreciate language patterns into formal and informal settings</li> <li>* make judgments on behaviour when before Elder and traditional settings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* observation of participation during discussion</li> <li>* rating scales i.e. (1 2 3 4 5) - measuring students ability to recall information independently and within group settings</li> <li>* have students do peer evaluation on:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- participation by each member</li> <li>- staying on task and following instructions</li> <li>- contributing to the discussion</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

MATERIALS	FIRST NATION CONTENT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Prepared handouts of /mi-/ constructions</li> <li>* Flipchart paper and markers</li> <li>* Elder text examples from the late Annie Keewatin narration.</li> <li>* Text examples from <u>Nahkawēwin: Saulteaux (Plains Dialect of Ojibway</u> by Margaret Cote (1985)</li> </ul>	<p>Saulteaux language vocabulary listing;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Introductory examples with /mi-/ particles:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>mi-awē ihkwē</i>. (It is that woman)</li> <li>2. <i>mi-inkiwē kā-kī-otāhpiniwāt</i>. (Those were the ones that had taken me)</li> <li>3. <i>mi-nīn kā-tōtamān</i>. (That's what I did.)</li> <li>4. <i>mi-nitānihš kā-tōtank</i>. (That's what my daughter did.)</li> <li>5. <i>mi-ahpi kā-takohšinānk</i>. (It's when we arrived.)</li> <li>6. <i>mi-ēši-mihkawihšēyān i</i>. (I remembered that.)</li> </ol> </li> <li>* Independent Practice examples;               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>mi-iwē cīmān</i>. (It is that boat.)</li> <li>2. <i>mi-awēti</i>. (It's that one over there.)</li> <li>3. <i>mi-kīn ta-anohkīyan</i>. (So you will work.)</li> <li>4. <i>mi-imā kī-wīcihiwē</i>. (It's there she helped.)</li> <li>5. <i>mi-šikwa kā-kīwēyānk</i>. (So now we went home.)</li> <li>6. <i>mi-ēhkitowāt</i>. (So they say.)</li> </ol> </li> </ul> <p>Provide Elder texts according to Saulteaux values of: <i>nipwāhkāwin</i> (wisdom), <i>sākihitiwin/sawēnitiwin</i> (love), <i>manāhchihitiwin</i> (respect), <i>sōnkitēhēwin</i> (bravery), <i>ayānkwāmišiwīn</i> (perseverence), <i>kwayakwātišiwīn</i> (living right), <i>tipatēntisiwin</i> (humility), <i>tēpwēwin</i> (truth/honesty), <i>nihšitotamowin</i> (understanding), <i>tipātēntisiwin</i> (humility), <i>kišēwātišiwīn</i> (kindness), <i>minwātišiwīn</i> (sharing), <i>kitimākēnitiwin</i> (compassion).</p> <p>If Elder texts unavailable, Elder knowledge may be sought or an invitation of Elder(s) into class setting. Reinforcement of /mi-/ in these instructional options greatly enhances student learning while respecting values taught and examined.</p>

Prerequisite Learning (Previous knowledge): When introducing the particle /*mi-*/ it is assumed that pre-teaching occurred on elements of nominals, prenominals, verbs and particles.

TEACHER ACTIVITIES
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**SET** (Introduction to the lesson)

Introduction: Formulate sentences where the particle /*mi-*/ it used.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>mi-awē ihkwē.</i>                | (It is that woman)                      |
| 2. <i>mi-inkiwē kā-kī-otāhpiniwāt.</i> | (Those were the ones that had taken me) |
| 3. <i>mi-nīn kā-tōtank.</i>            | (That's what I did.)                    |
| 4. <i>mi-nitānihš kā-tōtamān.</i>      | (That's what my daughter did.)          |
| 5. <i>mi-ahpi kā-takohšinānk.</i>      | (That's when we arrived.)               |
| 6. <i>mi-ēši-mihkawihšyān i.</i>       | (I just remembered that.)               |

Skills: recognizes that the particle /*mi-*/ always occurs sentence, phrase or clausal initial.

Objective: understand the particle /*mi-*/ is used in Elder discourse and as a focus-marker.

**PROCEDURE** (What you plan to do and how you will do it)

1. Introduce /*mi-*/ in natural contexts using examples marked Introductory examples with the particle /*mi-*/.
2. Explain to students that the particle /*mi-*/ is used so that the listener understands who is being spoken of.
3. Make reference to own examples by writing the sentences on the board with translations.
4. Demonstrate how /*mi-*/ is the point of reference in the sentence
5. Break students into small groups to construct examples of /*mi-*/ constructions or sentences.
6. Each group is to identify various points of reference building on sentence constructions provided by examples.

7. Sentences are presented to larger group and concludes with examples using Elder discourse.

**INDEPENDENT PRACTICE** (What you want the students to do on their own.)

1. Have students orally recall examples of sentences using the particle /*mi-*/.
2. Distribute sentences marked Independent Practice examples to students

**CLOSURE** (Summary of the lesson or transition to the next lesson.)

Discussion on specific aspects of the particle /*mi-*/ function: Where is the particle /*mi-*/ found? What does it do in sentences? Where would you hear the particle /*mi-*/ being used? Why is it important to understand the particle /*mi-*/ in oral narratives?