

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

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ABSTRACT

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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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.

DEDICATION

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

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.

1.1 Language Family

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.

Figure 1.1: The Algic Languages

Proto-Algic

Proto-Algonquian	“Ritwan”		
Delaware Natick-Narragansett Penobscot-Abnaki Malecite-Passamaquoddy Micmac	Arapaho-Atsina Cheyenne Blackfoot Fox-Sauk-Kickapoo Cree-Montagnais-Naskapi Menominee Ojibwe-Odawa-Algonquin-Saulteaux Potawatomi 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.

Table 1.1: Bloomfield's Proto-Algonquian Reconstruction			
	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.

1.2 Ojibwe Language and Dialects

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.

1.3

History of the Saulteaux

The Saulteaux arrived in Saskatchewan in the early 18th 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 16th and 17th 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 Saukteaux 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 Saukteaux 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 Saukteaux language. Throughout our community English has increasingly replaced the use of Saukteaux (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).

Table 1.2: Saulteaux First Nations in Saskatchewan	
First Nation	Language Spoken
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)

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.

1.4

Review of Literature

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.¹

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.

¹ 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.

1.5 Grammar Sketch

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

1.5.1 Phonology

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.

Table 1.3: Vowels in IPA			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i: ɪ		u
Mid	e:		o: [ɔ:]
Low		ə a:	

(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	ʔp	ʔt			ʔk	ʔ
		lenis	p	t			k	
	Affricates	fortis			ʔtʃ			
		lenis			tʃ			
	Fricatives	fortis		ʔs	ʔʃ			(h)
		lenis		s	ʃ			
Sonorants	Nasals	+vd	m	n			[ŋ]	
	Laterals	+vd						
	Rhotics	+vd						
	Glides	+vd				j	w	

(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.

1.5.2

Orthography

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):

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

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

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 Sauteaux and Cree as Algonquian languages, and this writing system is presently used at the First Nation University of Canada in the Sauteaux 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 Sauteaux 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

Table 1.7: Orthographic Representation of Ojibwe Dialects						
Nishnaabemwin (RV)	Eastern Ojibwa (LB)	Severn (ET)	Otchipwe (FB)	Chippewa (EW)	Ojibwe (RR)	Sauteaux (MC)

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

*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>).

1.6

Summary

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*.

2. MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC SURVEY OF DIALECTS

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*-/).² 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*.

2.1 Survey of Other Dialects

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

² 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).

Table 2.1: Classification of Particle by Author				
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.

2.2 Word Classes that Co-occur with /mii/

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/.

2.2.1 Particles

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).

2.2.1.1 Emphatic Particles

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.

Table 2.2: Emphatic Particles		
Dialect	Particle	Function
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 giiwehn 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.

2.2.1.1.5

/maa/

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.

2.2.1.2

Sequencing Particles

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.'

2.2.1.3

Evidential Particles

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 6th 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.’

2.2.1.6

Manner Particles

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.

2.2.1.7

Degree Particles

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-minwaapewic 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.

2.2.1.8 Conjunctive Particles

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.

2.2.1.9 Quantification Particles

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.

2.2.1.10 Interrogative Particles

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.

2.2.1.11

Summary of Particles

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.

2.2.2**Pronominals**

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.

2.2.2.1**Personal Pronouns**

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.

2.2.2.2**Demonstrative Pronouns**

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.

Code	Set 1	Set 2	Meaning	Grammatical Category
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.

Table 2.7: Eastern Ojibwa Demonstrative Pronouns			
Grammatical category	‘this’	‘that’	‘that over there’
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).

Table 2.8: Otchipwe Animate Demonstrative Pronouns		
‘refers to “near” animate objects’		
Number	Form	Meaning
Singular	aw	this
	waáw	this one
	mábam	this here
Plural	ogów	these
	mámig	these here
‘refers to “distant” animate objects		
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.’

Table 2.9: Otchipwe Inanimate Demonstrative Pronouns		
‘refers to “near” inanimate objects’		
Number	Form	Meaning
Singular	ow	this
	mándan	this here
Plural	onow	these
	iniw	these here
‘refers to “distant” inanimate objects		
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.

Table 2.10: Chippeway Demonstrative Pronouns		
Grammatical category	Form	Meaning
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.

2.2.2.3

Summary of Pronominals

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.

2.2.3

Nominals

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.

2.2.3.1

Summary of Nominals

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.’

2.2.4.1

Summary of Verbs

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.

2.3

Word Order

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*]_V [*iw wiigwaam*]_O [*aw kwe*]_S.
 ‘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.

2.3.1 Sentence-initially vs. Non-initially

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.

2.4

Conclusion

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 Sauteaux dialect.

3. DISCOURSE AND SYNTACTIC SURVEY FOR SAULTEAUX

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-*/.

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

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.

3.1.1

Particles

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.

3.1.1.1

Emphatic Particles

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	mi=iko	iwē
PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC	NI	PC=PC	PR.dem(Is)
it is=that	or	ashes	it is=	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	iko
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	šako	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	mi	na	iwē
PC	PC	PC	PR.dem(Is)
ahh	it is		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.*

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
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.*

mi =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+ hsa	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.

3.1.1.2 Sequencing Particles

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	tahs
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.

2.2.1.3 Evidential Particles

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	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.’

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

ītok	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.

3.1.1.4 Temporal Particles

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.*

mi =kēyāpi	i	kī-inanohkī	kī-tahkopināwisot
-------------------	---	-------------	-------------------

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.*

<i>wooh</i>	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.

3.1.1.5

Locative Particles

These types of particles are similar in Sauteaux 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	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.’

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

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)

mi=imā	šikwa	ni=kapēhsī-min
PC=PC	PC	1=VAI-1p,indic
it is=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	omā	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	imā	ni=kī+ayā	imā	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	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

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)	

‘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	iwiti	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.

3.1.1.6

Manner Particles

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 Sauteaux. 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.

3.1.1.7

Degree Particles

This type of particle occurs in Sauteaux 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	mi=ēhta
col	PC	PC=PR.dem(Is)	PC	PC	PC=PC
Oh	see	it is=that (thing)	no/not	something	it is=only

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	ēhta	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.*

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
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 =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	šikwa
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.*

mi=kayē	ahko	ānīhš	nihšinē	nihšinē
PC=PC	PC	PC	PC	PC
it is=also	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	kayē
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.

3.1.1.9 Quantification Particles

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	minik	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.

3.1.1.10 Interrogative Particles

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	na	kotinō	wīn	i
PC	PC	PC	PC	PC	PR.dem(Is)
yes	not	“?”	anything	not	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.*

mi =nankona	piniwēpišk+am-k	i	seat
PC=PC	VTI+TH-3s,conj	PR.dem(Is)	Eng
it is so =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.

3.1.1.11 Summary of Particles

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.

3.1.2 Pronominals

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.

3.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns

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	wīn	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.

Gender	Form	Meaning
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	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 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.*

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)

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

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

mēcīn-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-išinihkāsot.*

mi=hša+ko	awē	‘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.

Table 3.4: Saulteaux Distal Demonstrative Pronouns		
Singular		
Gender	Form	Meaning
Animate	awēti	that ‘one’ (in the distance)
Inanimate	iwēti	that ‘thing’ (in the distance)
Plural		
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.*
- | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| mi =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 |
| it is =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>		mi =awē+ns
TNS.pst-VTI+TH-3p,conj		PC=PR.dem(As)+dim
past-sit-with-they		it is =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’.

3.1.2.3

Interrogative Pronouns

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.

3.1.2.4

Summary of Pronominals

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.

3.1.3

Nominals

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.

3.1.3.1

Nouns

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.*

pōsīns-an	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	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 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.

3.1.3.2 Summary of Nominals

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.

3.1.4 Verbs

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

and semantic features with the other dialects. Saukteaux verbs are: Animate Intransitive (VAI), Inanimate Intransitive (VII), Transitive Animate (VTA) and Transitive Inanimate (VTI). As with the other dialects the verbs can also be put into the various modes such as, imperative and negative imperative (commands and negative commands), indicative and negative independent (statements/negative statements and polarity questions), conjunct and negative conjunct (subordinate clauses and supplementary questions). Also, verbs in the conjunct order present tense only will undergo an initial change. An initial change is a change in the first syllable of the verb. The examples will include one of each verb type.

In example (56) /*mi-*/ occurs in the first clause with an animate intransitive verb (VAI) in the conjunct mode, from Keewatin (Appendix A:line218):

(56) [*ēh hah*] *āh, mi-kā-iši-tōtamān, mi-iwē.*

eh hah	āh	mi =kā-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.’

The VAI can also occur without /*mi-*/ as in example (57) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 40):

(57) *Āh, owē o, owē o kā-tōtaman, kā-tōtawiyānk, nikī-ikōk ahko.*

aah	owē	o	owē	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

kā-tōtaw-i-yank	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

‘Ahh this thing, this thing, this that you do, what you do for us, they would tell me.’

In example (58) it occurs in the first clause with an inanimate intransitive verb (VII), in the conjunct mode, (the preverb *iši-* will have an initial change when the verb is in the present

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	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

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	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

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	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

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

‘Aah, and so I speak to them I apologize to them there in the spirit place, and so they go/leave {audibly}.’

The VTA can occur without /mi-/ as in example (61) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 51):

(61) *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) servicing (looking after) them old people.’

In example (62) it occurs also in the first clause with a transitive inanimate verb (VTI) in the conjunct mode, from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 214):

(62) *Āh, mi-ēši-nātiyān mihtik mi-ēši-nīwinahwak.*

āh	mi =IC-iši- <u>nāti</u> -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 fetch a stick and I beat him to death.’

The VTI can also occur without /mi-/ as in example (63) from Keewatin (Appendix A:line 79):

(63) *Āhpihci nikī-šīnkēntān i kī-iši-ayāyān kī-āhkosi-yān.*

āhpihci	ni=kī- šīnkēt +ā-n	i	
PC	1=TNS.pst-VTI+TH-1s,indic	PR.dem(Is)	
very	I=past+to dislike it=I	that	

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

‘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

mi=ni=kī-wīntamaw-ik	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-tipātōtā-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.’

3.1.4.1 Summary of Verbs

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.

3.2.1 Clause-initial vs. Non-initial Position

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.*

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

mi =ni=kī--wīntamaw-ik	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.’

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

3.3 Conclusion

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 Sauteaux 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 Sauteaux 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.

4.1.1

Methodologies

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.

4.2

Andragogy

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.

4.3

Lesson Plan

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 Sauteaux 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 Sauteaux 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 Sauteaux 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.

4.4

Summary

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

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-otāhpiniōk.
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-pimātišiwīn 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-pimātišiwīn
 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-manēwišihī
 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 ni=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 ni=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 ki=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 ni=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.
 ni=kī–wī–išā kāwīn tahs ni=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 mīnawā pēšikwayak āhpihci
 na **mi**=iwē mīnawā 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 ni=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-išinihkāsot.
mi=hša+ko awē '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
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-maškihkwihkwē.
a a kihci-maškihkwihkwē
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-maškihkwihkwē.
ni=kī-kihkēnim-ā a kihci-maškihkwihkwē
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 iškōnikanink.
omā kī-pi-išā ahko iškōnikan-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 pišišik ihkito.
kā-šākanāhšīmo-t pišišik 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-ēšī-ayāyān** ihkito.
mi=IC-išī-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-išī-nahkawēyān nānakotink.
ta-išī-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 išit '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 oškihayāk]
 nit=āntaw-iko-ik onko oškihayā-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-kihkētānāwā.]
 eh hah nīpawa kēkō o=nōntē-kihkēt+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) [šikwa āh] eh heh [we don't have that much time] eh heh
 šikwa 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 [šanakat ānīhš
 ta-kihkinahamaw-ak-wā eh heh šanakat 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-kihkēntān ītok pēšik
mi=iwē o=kī-kihkēnt+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-kihkēntān
 na **mi**=šikwa ītok 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.-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-tatītipīt a pēpīns
pišāniko ani-mihci-tatītipīt 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 kakwātakitōt ihkito īnšan.
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 tatītipīt ānīn ēšinākosit
pišāniko tatītipīt ānīn ēšinākosit-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
wīnkē miskosiwi+nākosi 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-pimiwinitisot pišāniko kaškēntamapisot.
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-oncihiwēt
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	mi =awē	name
PC	TNS.pst-VAI.(3s),indic	PC=PR.dem(As)	name
just	past-s/he is crying	it is =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-otāhpīnāwān ini apinōcīyan.
o=kī-otāhpīn-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-tahkopīnāwāt na hī! [ēh heh]
mi=imā kā-tahkopīn-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 *one hour* 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 'you know' [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.
mi=iwē kayē pēšik mīnawā oncih+iti+win
 PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC PC VAI+recip+NI
it is=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,
mi=iwē mīnawā pēšik ēkā awiya ta-tōt+am-k
 PC=PR.dem(Is) PC PC PC PC TNS.fut-VTI+TH-3s,conj
it is=that again one not someone will-to do
That again that one must not do,

mi-iwē ta-kanawāpantaman kēkīn mi-iwē 'you know'.			
mi=iwē	ta-kanawāpant+am-an	kē+kīn	mi=iwē <i>you know</i>
PC=PR.dem(Is)	TNS.fut-VTI+TH-2s,conj	emph+PR.prs(2s)	PC=PR.dem(Is) Eng
it is=that	will-watch for s.t.-you	also+you	it is=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-tōtank.			
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 ihkito,
kī-nōntē-nitāwakī-t kohsa i ihkito
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 inintwā ānīhš,
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.

mi=iwē	ni=nānākacihāt+ō-n
PC=PR.dem(Is)	1=VTI+TH-1s,indic
it is=that	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+īns-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-t 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-t 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,

nikī-inik kâ-kī-ôhkôyân.
ni=kī-iN-ik kâ-kī-ôhkô-yân
1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv.(3s),indic relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj
me=past+s/he tells-s/he that-past-have as grandmother-I
she told me the one that was my grandmother.

- 220) Kī-tôtaman nimihšômiš sako kayē
kī-tôtam-an ni=mihšômiš sako kayē
TNS.pst-VAI-2s,conj 1sPoss=NAD PC PC
past-to do-you my=grandfather also
What you do, my grandfather also

nihšinē kēkô nikī-oncīhikôk ānīš
nihšinē kēkô ni=kī-oncīh-iko-ik ānīš
PC PC 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic PC
always something me=past-disallow-they because
always (something) disallowed/didn't allow me (because)

ēkā kēkô ta-otaminwākēyân.
ēkā kēkô ta-otaminwākē-yân,
PC PC TNS.fut-VAI-1s,conj
not something will-to play with others-I
to play with anything.

- 221) ēkā kēkô ta-nihšipāhpipotamān, 'you know' awēhsīyēnsak
ēkā kēkô ta-nihšī-pāhpipot+am-ān you know awēhsī+(y)ēns-ak
PC PC TNS.fut-PV-VTI+TH-1s,conj Eng NA+dim-p
not something will-make fun-to laugh at s.t.-I you know animal+little-s
Not to make fun of and laugh at something, 'you know' little creatures/animals

(ēh hah) ānīš kēko wīhkā otaminwākēhkēn
ēh hah ānīš kēko wīhkā otaminwākē-hkē-n
col PC PC PC VAI-neg-2s,imp
eh hah because don't ever to play with others-don't-you
(eh heh) (because) not to ever play with

kēkô mi-tinôhkānak nikī-ikōk.
kēkô mi=itinôhkān-ak ni=kī-(iN)-iko-ik
PC PC=PC-p 1s=TNS.pst-VTA-inv-3p,indic
something **it is**=that kind-s me=past-tell-they
anything, those kind of things they told me.

- 222) Pinēhsīyēnsak māwīn wāwīš, mi-itinawa
pinēhsī+(y)ēns-ak mā+wīn wāwīš, mi=itinawa
NA+dim-p PC+PR.prs(3s) PC PC=PC(A)
bird+little-s them especially **it is**=that kind
Little birds, especially them (that kind)

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 onāhkohsik nitihkitomin.
 ah ki=ka-anta-akōtō-min onāhkohsi-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 onāhkohsik.
 Cwātī mākišā onāhkohsi-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 nōntamān 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,

kī-wīntamawit kā-kī-ōhkōyān.

kī-wīntamaw-i-t kā-kī-ōhkō-yān
TNS.pst-VTA-inv.1s-3s,conj relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-1s,conj
past-s/he tells-I-s/he that-past-have as grandmother-I
when she told me the one that was my grandmother.

- 275) Ītok ēkimā ĭtok kī-kihkēntamowāt
ītok ēkimā ĭtok kī-kihkēnt+amo-wāt
PC PC PC TNS.pst-VTI+TH-3p,conj
apparently not apparently past-to know it-they
Apparently they 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 scrub/wash the floors.

- 276) Kaškocīpan kohsa īnšan 'four times' kā-āncitōwāt
kaškocīpan kohsa īnšan four times kā-āncitō-wāt
PC PC PC Eng TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj
eventually also apparently four times past-to change/fix-they
Apparently, eventually four times they changed

iwē kā-kī-napakīšakēwāt.
iwē kā-kī-napakīšakē-wāt
PR.dem(obv) relcl-TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj
those that-past-to be flat-they
those floor boards.

- 277) **Mi**-šikwa ītok kā-otišikōwāt waha,
mi=šikwa ītok kā-otišikō-wāt waha
PC=PC PC TNS.pst-VAI-3p,conj PC
it is=now apparently past-to come-them oh my
And then someone (apparently) came to them,

“Ānīn tahs wēnci-ahpīhcī-išpāmakahk ahko
ānīn tahs IC-onci-ahpīhcī-išpāmakat-k ahko
PR-inter PC IC-PV-PV-VII-0s,conj PC
how but for-very-to be high/up-it (apparently)
“Why is it that it is very high

kiwāhkāhikaniwā?” otikowān īnšan.
ki=wāhkāhikan-iwā ot=(iN)-iko-wā-n īnšan
2Poss=NI-2p 3=VTA-inv-3p-3',indic PC
you=house-your(pl) s/he=to say to s.o.-s/he>them apparently
this house of yours?” he says to them.

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-kihkētānāwā **mi**-imā onci
o=kī-kihkēt+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

mištaticōk pišāniko pimi-mācāwak.
 mištaticōk 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 mištaticōk
mi=IC-išī-kanōn-ankit-wā inki mištaticōk
 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 ītok ēšihse-yān.
 pišāniko kohsa ānīn ītok 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)

APPENDIX B

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"> * identify, describe and reproduce /mi-/ constructions * recall information on how, when and where the /mi-/ particle is used * recognize the particle /mi-/ and distinguish the function in a construction, phrase or sentence <p>Emotional: Students will be able to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * develop appreciation for the particle /mi-/ within Elder discourse * relate the application of /mi-/ to various language contexts <p>Physical: Students will be able to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * collaboratively compile then deliver group assigned tasks * diagram positioning of particle /mi-/ in Constructions <p>Spiritual: Students will be able to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * evaluate and appreciate language patterns into formal and informal settings * make judgments on behaviour when before Elder and traditional settings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * observation of participation during discussion * rating scales i.e. (1 2 3 4 5) - measuring students ability to recall information independently and within group settings * have students do peer evaluation on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - participation by each member - staying on task and following instructions - contributing to the discussion

MATERIALS	FIRST NATION CONTENT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Prepared handouts of /mi-/ constructions * Flipchart paper and markers * Elder text examples from the late Annie Keewatin narration. * Text examples from <u>Nahkawēwin: Saulteaux (Plains Dialect of Ojibway</u> by Margaret Cote (1985) 	<p>Saulteaux language vocabulary listing;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Introductory examples with /mi-/ particles: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 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-tōtamān</i>. (That's what I did.) 4. <i>mi-nitānihš kā-tōtank</i>. (That's what my daughter did.) 5. <i>mi-ahpi kā-takohšinānk</i>. (It's when we arrived.) 6. <i>mi-ēši-mihkawihšēyān i</i>. (I remembered that.) * Independent Practice examples; <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>mi-iwē cīmān</i>. (It is that boat.) 2. <i>mi-awēti</i>. (It's that one over there.) 3. <i>mi-kīn ta-anohkīyan</i>. (So you will work.) 4. <i>mi-imā kī-wīcihiwē</i>. (It's there she helped.) 5. <i>mi-šikwa kā-kīwēyānk</i>. (So now we went home.) 6. <i>mi-ēhkitowāt</i>. (So they say.) <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

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?