

# Structuring stories: personal and traditional narrative styles in Tsuut'ina

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## 1 Introduction

This study investigates associations between particular lexical-grammatical features of Tsuut'ina (formerly Sarcee, Sarsi; ISO 639-3: srs) and the narrative contexts in which they are attested. This concentration on discourse-level phenomena as represented in collections of texts is in line with a considerable body of recent research on other Dene languages which has given attention to clause combination (e.g., Scollon 1985, Jung 2002), discourse-level dependencies (e.g., Mithun 2008), and investigations of style and genre (e.g., Moore 2002, Archuleta et al. 2006, Berez 2011). Such studies complement extensive research in Dene linguistics into phonological and morphological constructions: detailed descriptions of morphophonological phenomena provide a critical foundation for studies of discourse, while studies of discourse situate these well-studied constructions more precisely within their observed contexts of use.

Alongside a growing interest in the application and distribution of morphophonological phenomena within discourse and in the exploration of structure at such higher levels of linguistic organization, one may also observe an increasing reliance upon narrative sources to inform both linguistic analysis and language pedagogy for Dene languages. Collections of stories, traditional and otherwise, now commonly serve as the basis of many educational resources and multimedia tools for cultural and linguistic promotion and revitalization. At the Tsuu T'ina Nation, this can be seen in the recent development of a series of illustrated children's colouring books based on traditional narratives that draw on language documentation recently assembled by the Tsuut'ina

Gunaha Institute. Similarly, it is increasingly common for linguistic research to make use of narrative in the compilation of digital corpora, grammars, and dictionaries to provide examples of linguistic forms in natural contexts of use. As Moore (2002) observes:

There has been continuing interest in the use of American Indian narratives as sources of linguistic information. In cases where a language is no longer spoken, the written texts have become important primary sources. Collections of texts are used in conjunction with dictionary work with North American Indian languages to provide examples of the naturally occurring usage of lexical items or grammatical forms. In the last several decades considerable attention has also been given to the way grammatical forms are used in discourse. (12)

As the use of narrative materials becomes more prominent in linguistic research and language pedagogy, questions of narrative form and representativeness become more significant. There is no guarantee that the kinds of narrative now often incorporated into language instruction employ the same kinds of linguistic features as those areas commonly assumed as goals for second-language acquisition (e.g. conversational ability), or in the same distribution as those target domains. Much the same can be said for linguistic analysis drawing on narrative sources. Even while acknowledging that each domain of language use is likely to apply many of the same 'core' lexical-grammatical devices for similar communicative purposes, some of these features may also be particular to or more strongly associated with one specific kind of discourse. In the absence of some sense of the distribution of lexical and grammatical forms across discourse contexts, there remains the potential of arriving at inaccurate conclusions concerning the generality or specificity of particular constructions if differences in their distributions across narrative types are pronounced. Issues of representativeness are not merely a matter of sample composition concerned with the balance of speakers, communities, age groups, genders, and discourse contexts, but also of sensitivity to these categories insofar as they bear upon the distribution of linguistic forms.

It would be beneficial, then, to have some sense of how the grammatical resources afforded by Dene languages are put to use in different narrative contexts, as much to assist language learners in gaining a sense of what makes particular styles of speaking distinctive as to equip linguistic analyses with hypotheses of what may be (a)typical about a particular set of examples taken from narrative sources. This study therefore aims to present a clear description of several common linguistic features of Tsuut'ina narrative, providing an analysis of associated linguistic forms and their distribution across those discourse contexts represented in a small narrative corpus. Not explored here are possible connections to the expression of cultural point of view, gender, or ethnicity considered elsewhere in the recent literature, which presents a natural extension of these linguistic interests to topics in socio-cultural anthropology (cf. Moore 2002). Rather, this investigation is pursued with the goal of establishing what, if any, linguistic features serve to distinguish different narrative styles and what these features' relevance may be to the interpretation of Tsuut'ina narrative more generally.

## **2 Structuring narratives in Tsuut'ina**

### **2.1 Narrative and categories of narrative**

As a starting point, this study assumes the term 'narrative' to be those kinds of oral performance referred to in Tsuut'ina as *guniji* (< *guuniizh* '3<sub>SG</sub> is telling a story' + *-i* nominalizer). This includes familiar, traditional stories, as well as more impromptu accounts produced for a single telling, and even general news about daily occurrences (e.g., in the conversation-opening question *guniji nigò-ilà* 'do you have any news, any stories to tell?'). Moore (2002: 39) discusses several categories of narrative in Kaska which have a similarly broad range of associations. While the category of *guniji* in Tsuut'ina is relatively open, a tentative distinction is made here

between 'traditional' and 'personal' narratives on the basis of both thematic and cultural criteria. Thematically, whereas personal narratives may relate to events recently experienced, traditional narratives are more often framed with a prefatory *dzáná-gù* 'a long time ago' and not explicitly related to a specific time frame relating to the first-hand experience of the narrator. Traditional Tsuut'ina narratives are often situated within the 'mythological' past, offering justifications of features of the present-day social and physical world. In this respect, Tsuut'ina traditional narratives parallel the Sahtúot'ine “'Distant Time' stories” described in Rushforth (1992: 486), who in turn borrows this term from Nelson (1983) in work on Koyukon. Similarly, from a cultural perspective, it is not generally considered appropriate to tell traditional stories outside of wintertime. As Elder Bruce Starlight comments, speaking in early spring 2007 at the University of Alberta:

- (1) *Seasons and storytelling* (2007-04-13-srs-BRS-Edmonton-Sony-02; Bruce Starlight, speaker)<sup>1</sup>
- 36:57.9 *Well, in, in the springtime – well, this is the time,*  
 37:00.6 *you know, like, they, they quit telling stories, hey?*  
 37:03.8 *Because now, everything is growing, hey?*  
 37:07.0 *A-, and you don't want to [.] stop it, hey?*  
 37:10.4 *because the stories are so good, hey?*  
 37:13.5 *that a::ll the,*  
 37:15.5 *a::ll the*  
 37:16.5 *animals, and all the grass, and all the trees,*  
 37:20.4 *they might stop to listen*  
 37:22.7 *to the story. [.] And then nothing will grow.*

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<sup>1</sup> Examples from sources for which audiovisual recordings are available indicate the starting times (in mm:ss.ms format) of each intonation unit, the source recording identifier, and the name of the narrator. For narratives taken from written sources, each line is numbered according to the conventions of the source manuscript (if present there), and is given both in the original spelling and in the community orthography adopted by the Tsuut'ina Gunaha Institute. For spoken materials, hesitations and partial words are indicated with trailing dashes (e.g., *a-*), lengthened words or segments with :: (e.g., *a::ll*), and short-duration pauses with *[.]*. All other punctuation and capitalization is for presentation only.

While this differentiation between 'personal' and 'traditional' narratives within the larger category of *guniji* might thus be argued to have some cultural and thematic grounding, it clearly does not follow that any distinguishing linguistic traits must necessarily be associated with one or the other form of narrative, or that these culturally and thematically-established distinctions extend into the linguistic realm with any real significance. Given a sufficiently large corpus and diverse selection of narratives, one would ideally want such categories as 'traditional' and 'personal' to emerge from an in-depth study of recurring themes, contexts of performance, *and* linguistic characteristics of narratives taken together, rather than from a superimposed, top-down taxonomy based on any one such aspect in isolation.

Rather than attempting to defend this putative distinction between personal and traditional narratives immediately, this study instead chooses to focus first on those linguistic features which appear characteristic of Tsuut'ina narrative as a whole, with an eye to exploring potential differences between different forms of narrative as a secondary and more exploratory topic of investigation. The central concern of the remainder of this study is to gain a clearer view of the linguistic means used to accomplish common narrative tasks – introducing and ordering narrative episodes, indicating the temporal quality and sequencing of events within these episodes, and introducing quoted speech, among other things – and understanding how these means are collectively marshalled to meet the demands of on-line retelling across narrative contexts. More specifically, this study considers the distribution and role of four classes of linguistic features – connectives, discourse markers, quoted discourse, and verbal aspect – in establishing and reinforcing narrative structure. The sections which follow consider each of these features in greater detail, before returning to summarize and discuss characteristics of their

distribution when taken together.

## 2.2 Selected narratives

In order to consider the role of the aforementioned linguistic features to the organization of narrative in Tsuut'ina, this paper concentrates on four short narratives summarized in Table 1 and described in more detail below. The complete text of these narratives, in Tsuut'ina and English, is reproduced in Appendix A.

<i>Text</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Narrator</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>IUs</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>Verbs</i>
“The Grey Team”	Personal	Russell Big Crow	2m46	52	164	31
“Making Dried Meat”	Personal	Doris Roan	4m57	107	267	104
“Cut Knife Hill”	Traditional	Bruce Starlight	6m13	150	369	91
“The Lynx and the Rabbit”	Traditional	Bruce Starlight	2m32	46	150	51

*Table 1. Overview of Tsuut'ina narratives, with recording durations (in minutes and seconds) and counts of intonation units (IUs), words, and verbs for each narrative.*

The first of the two personal narratives, “The Grey Team” (TGT), is excerpted from a longer conversation between Russell Big Crow and Bruce Starlight which was recorded with the assistance of Dr. Gary Donovan in the mid-1990s and preserved in the Starlight and Donovan Collection at the Tsuut'ina Gunaha Institute, Tsuu T'ina Nation (Starlight & Donovan 2010). The narrative concerns the loss of a team of horses belonging to the late *Tagudii* (Stanley Big Plume) at the crossing of the Elbow River near the present-day Weaselhead Bridge several decades earlier, an event within the living memory of the narrator. The event is described by Russell Big Crow in Tsuut'ina and English, with back-channel responses provided by Bruce Starlight. By comparison, little code-switching between Tsuut'ina and English is found in “Making Dried Meat” (MDM), a brief recollection told to the author by Doris Roan in the course of Tsuut'ina language consultation in 2011. While again recalling personal experiences from decades earlier,

this recording recounts memories of preparing *síní* 'dried meat' in a family setting and the importance of young women learning to prepare meat and perform other common skills.

In contrast to the personal narratives, the two traditional narratives considered here have a single narrator, Bruce Starlight, and were told to audiences of predominantly English-speaking students at the University of Alberta in 2007 and 2009, respectively. The first narrative, “Cut Knife Hill” (CKH), presents an account of the battle of Cut Knife Hill, in which the Tsuut'ina leader *Más Mik'átùní* (Broken Knife) and his helpers were ambushed while raiding horses from the Cree near present-day Cut Knife, Saskatchewan, and concludes with a description of the origins of Cut Knife Hill. The second narrative, “The Lynx and the Rabbit” (LAR), recounts a dispute between the Lynx and the Rabbit, ending in an explanation for human trapping of rabbits in the present day. Both of the latter narratives share the mythological-time orientation that Rushforth (1992) identifies as characteristic of a similar form of Sahtúot'ine narrative. In the case of “Cut Knife Hill,” it should also be noted that another version of this narrative, as told by John Onespot, is found in Onespot & Sapir (1922: VI/40a ff.), again suggesting this story to have an historical-traditional orientation.

This relatively small sample of Tsuut'ina narrative necessarily entails certain limitations on the scope of this study. It is clear that a larger selection of narratives demonstrating greater diversity of topics, narrators, and contexts of narration would help lend greater credibility to the patterns noted here, either confirming or refuting their typicality in particular kinds of narrative. Likewise, the underrepresentation of more 'natural' contexts of narration in this sample should be borne in mind, particularly as it relates to the proportion of narratives that are directed towards (and responded to by) a Tsuut'ina-speaking audience. It is certainly not typical for narrators to

proceed without a comprehending audience capable of participating in the narration (cf. Jacobs 1959). In this sample, however, only “The Grey Team” satisfies this condition. Taking these limitations into account, the present study might nevertheless still serve as an initial survey of linguistic aspects of narrative structure in Tsuut'ina, a topic which remains unexplored in the present literature. The investigation that follows thus attempts to advance more concrete hypotheses about the linguistic traits of particular kinds of narrative in order to present direction for continued research, beginning with the use of connectives in narrative and proceeding to investigate discourse markers, quoted discourse, and verbal aspect in turn.

### 2.3 Connectives

Before considering how narrative structure is established and reinforced linguistically in Tsuut'ina, a brief discussion of the assumptions made here about the general structure of narrative is in order. This study assumes as a unit of textual organization the narrative episode, representing the small, thematically coherent units of narrative action or attention out of which larger scenes or progressions of events are constructed. Such narrative episodes are available to the narrator either for further *elaboration*, allowing additional detail to be profiled within the context of the existing episode; or for *transition*, shifting the focus of narrative action and attention to another aspect of the retelling and allowing the narrative to progress. This perspective is similar to positions advanced in research on narrative structure in North American Indigenous narrative traditions, albeit without the benefit of consensus on the terms used to refer to units of analysis. The narrative episodes referred to here are synonymous with what Moore (2002: 124) terms 'paragraphs' and what both Hymes (1981: 309) and Mandeville & Scollon (2009: 241) term 'verses'.

This study makes an additional distinction between sets of markers that serve in narrative elaboration and progression. Constructions that relate additional events or commentary to one another within an existing narrative episode will be referred to here as *episode-internal connectives*. By contrast, constructions that indicate a “shift in the action focus” (Mandeville & Scollon 2009: 241) to a new narrative episode will be termed *episode-linking connectives*, being equivalent to the verse markers of Mandeville & Scollon (2009). Each of these two families of constructions is discussed in greater detail below.

### 2.3.1 Episode-internal connectives

Several linguistic strategies exist for connecting events and commentary temporally within narrative episodes in Tsuut'ina. This section considers three of the more common means found in these narratives: two constructions involving post-predicative enclitics (*-gù*, *-it'i*) and one involving postpositional complementation (*Pi ʔisxilà*). The distribution of these constructions across the selected narratives is summarized in Table 2 below.

<i>Text</i>	<i>IUs</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>-gù</i>	<i>-it'i</i>	<i>Pi ʔisxilà</i>
“The Grey Team”	52	164	0	3	0
“Making Dried Meat”	107	267	23	16	0
“Cut Knife Hill”	150	369	0	8	3
“The Lynx and the Rabbit”	46	150	0	4	2

*Table 2. Frequencies of episode-internal connectives across four narratives.*

The first of these constructions, the enclitic *-gù*, is attested as a connective in only one of the four texts (MDM), though it is certainly not rare elsewhere in Tsuut'ina. Cook (1984: 91-2) comments that *-gù* is “probably the most loaded and versatile morpheme of all the subordinating conjunctions,” glossing it at various times as “in the manner of”, “(in order) to”, “should” or “when.” In its connective use in MDM, *-gù* only appears with non-sequential events, typically



*she does it that way, she keeps going around it, she just keeps going around it carefully.*

Similar observations are made by Jung (2002: 176) for the cognate marker in Jicarilla Apache, where verbal predicates marked with “linker *-go*” may appear both with unmarked verbal predicates and with “structurally and intonationally independent units in discourse,” being dependent “not on another single clause, but rather [...] embedded in a larger discourse unit.” The dependency posited by Jung upon discourse units, rather than upon other clauses, is in line with Tsuut'ina examples such as (4), where no unmarked clause is present within which the remaining 'subordinate' *-gù*-marked clauses might be considered to be embedded, and also with the description presented in Mithun (2008) of the distribution and discourse applications of the cognate marker in Navajo. It is probable that the historical development of Tsuut'ina *-gù* parallels that of cognate elements in other Dene languages, with an earlier adverbializing function still present within the language (cf. *k'aazi-gù* 'carefully' in the preceding example, or *tóó-gù* 'three times, in three ways', as noted in Cook 1984: 77) gradually extending to 'adverbialize' entire clauses, and eventually serving to indicate simultaneity and elaborate narrative events as in the examples provided above. On this analysis, narrative episodes themselves present discourse units which may be elaborated by means of this episode-internal connective.

Without further attestation across narratives, however, it is difficult to determine whether or not marking contemporaneity is indeed the typical function of *-gù* relative to its other adverbial functions in Tsuut'ina, or if this construction is associated with any types of narrative in particular. Indeed, the restriction of *-gù* to a single narrative in this collection may be a consequence of the topic of that narrative, rather than any association with a particular style of





- (7) a. 01:41.6      **Yisnishí ʔisila**, ʔiyi tʔuł-ʔi,      (LAR; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
*While he was telling him that, the rope,*
- 01:44.0      ʔiya,  
*um,*
- 01:45.0      yik'us-k'a k-, ʔi-, ʔiya, [...] tiya ta-, [...] tadadiyitʔu [...] goghayilag-la.  
*he made him hang himself up there by his neck.*
- b. 00:20.8      **ʔUma-ʔi-isila**,      (CKH; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
*During the summertime*
- 00:22.5      nuwit'iyi wunit'osi [...] nishina ʔakonagisʔi-la, ʔistʔika-ka.  
*they looked for Crees over there in the north, for horses.*

Similar post-positional constructions are also found in other, related languages. In the example from Łué Chogh Tué Dene Sų́líné given in (8), a backgrounded, simultaneous event is realized as a complement of *hel* 'with'<sup>2</sup>:

- (8) a. Kú **edetoni hel**, ets'į́nathé níh nedá asą.      (John Janvier, speaker)  
*And while holding herself, she finally sits down on the ground.*

In the Tsuut'ina narratives considered here, this construction is not found in either of the personal narratives. This might not be surprising, as other means are available for setting up simultaneous events (e.g., *-gù*). It seems unlikely that this construction is in fact restricted to one specific kind of narrative, though it is understandably more serviceable in narratives where multiple concurrent events occur within a single episode.

### 2.3.2 Episode-linking connectives.

There are several markers in Tsuut'ina which serve to demarcate narrative episodes. The

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2 Thanks to John Janvier (Cold Lake First Nations) and Sally Rice (University of Alberta) for this example.

two most prominent among these in the selected narratives are *ʔut'i* 'and then' and *ʔuwa* 'and'.

Both are attested in all texts (with the exception of *ʔuwa* in “The Grey Team”), as noted in Table

3.

<i>Text</i>	<i>IUs</i>	<i>Words</i>	<i>ʔut'i</i> 'and then'	<i>ʔuwa</i> 'and'
“The Grey Team”	52	164	5	0
“Making Dried Meat”	107	267	7	3
“Cut Knife Hill”	150	369	33	6
“The Lynx and the Rabbit”	46	150	12	2

Table 3. Frequency of episode-linking connectives across four narratives.

Beginning with the first of these two connectives, *ʔut'i* 'and then' represents a contraction of *ʔuwa* 'and' and *ʔat'iya* (also *ʔat'iyi*, *ʔit'iyi*, *ʔit'iya*, often apocopated in rapid speech to *ʔat'iy'* or *ʔit'iy'*) 'that, then' (cf. Cook 1984: 86). Evidence for this development can be drawn from earlier collections of narrative such as Goddard (1915), Onespot & Sapir (1922), and, to a lesser extent, Onespot & Young (1939), where the marker is well represented in its unreduced form:

(9) a. *ʔut'i* < *ʔuwa* + *ʔat'iya* (“Minor Narratives I”, Goddard 1915: 266; Dit'oni Chok'a, speaker)

- 11     *tū tcū wa dī k'a ts'in na nīs tin hī k'a ta zī k'a*  
          *Túh-chuwa diik'ats'iná. Nistini-k'a tazak'a*  
          *People were travelling across a lake. In the middle of the ice,*
- 12     *ʔida xa gī ʔa ʔi wa t'i ge ts'i da tcī tc'a lī*  
          *ʔida xayíʔo. ʔUwaat'iyi ts'idoo chich'a tí*  
          *a horn was sticking out. **And then** a little boy that a dog*
- 13     *ga gaL lī yī nī tcūt yī ga nī dū yī dī tsit mā*  
          *yayali yinichud; (?) dú yiditsid. Moo*  
          *was pulling grabbed it; (?) he wouldn't let go. His mother*
- 14     *yī k'an nīs tsil ʔi wa t'i ge tū yī ga na gīs nat*  
          *yik'anistsil. ʔUwaat'iyi túh yiya nayisnat,*  
          *chopped at it. **And then** the water underneath it moved,*
- 15     *nīs tin ne ta nīs gits' yī wa t'i ge tū wī gī gī kī lan na*  
          *nistini tanisyits'i. ʔUwaat'iyi túhagi'yiki, tona*  
          *breaking up the ice. **And then**, falling into the water, some*

16 nī wa ta kas gīz l̥an na ta k̥an nas gīs  
 nuwa takayīiz, t̥ona takanasyīiz.  
*fled over there, (while) some fled back.*

b. *ʔut'i* < *ʔuwa* + *ʔat'iyā* (Onespot & Young 1939; Edward Onespot, speaker)

1 Taazasi la Tshúut'ina txiníná la '**iwaat'iiye** káanál la  
 Taazasi-la, Tsuut'ina tiníná-la. **ʔUwaat'iyā** gáanál-la.  
*Once, the Tsuut'ina were travelling. **And then** they were moving camp.*

2 txwútchuu gánikiiyíná la '**iwaat'iiye** nistxiník'a  
 Túh-chu kánigiyyíná-la. **ʔUwaat'iyā** nistini-k'a  
*They came up to a lake. **And then**, on the ice,*

3 nágakiitishná la [...]  
 nágagidishná-la.  
*they were travelling across.*

Although its diachronic analysis is relatively clear, there is some evidence that *ʔut'i* has come to have both a conventionalized distribution and meaning that cannot be predicted entirely from its earlier morphological composition. In terms of its meaning, *ʔut'i* is no longer literally taken to mean *ʔuwa* 'and' and *ʔat'iyā* 'then, that'. Were this the case, one would expect to encounter instances of *ʔut'i* *N* having the literal reading 'and that N', reflecting the normal deictic usage of *ʔat'iyā* *N* 'that N' with nominals. No such instances are found, either in the present corpus or elsewhere; only the conventionalized function of *ʔut'i* is available, serving to advance the progression of a narrative forward by another episode. This specific discourse function of marking the beginning of a new set of events in turn sheds light on its distribution, which is almost exclusively episode initial (and, by extension, typically utterance initial, where not preceded by hesitations or pauses filled with *ʔiya* 'um, er'). While other episode-linking connectives exist as well (e.g., *ʔuwa*, as described below, and potentially also some temporal adverbs), *ʔut'i* appears to be the primary means of marking shifts between narrative episodes in





- (13) 02:16.9      “ʔIyi ʔasisdiyinií dosa,”      (LAR; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
                           “*Because you talked that way to me,*”
- 02:19.8      “wusa [...] dina nitina,”  
                           “*in the future, people (on) your trail,*”
- 02:23.1      “n-, nitina tananatʔush-aa,” yisni-la.  
                           “*will set traps on your trail,*” he told him.
- 02:26.9      “ʔUwa ʔat'iya dosa, [...] dina nisnoó ʔagunah-aa,” yisni-la.  
                           “*So because of this, it will come to be that people eat you,*” he told him.

A relatively clear distinction can thus be made between the functions of these two episode-linking connectives, with *ʔut'i* serving to advance the progression of narration to another narrative episode, and *ʔuwa* similarly shifting the focus of attention or action to another related narrative event, albeit a related one. In both cases, the meaning of these markers appears to have become conventionalized beyond their literal interpretations (where these are still accessible to speakers; in the case of *ʔut'i*, at least, many Tsuut'ina speakers have indicated their awareness of the historical, uncontracted form *ʔuwaat'iyi* being related). Despite its earlier morphological composition, *ʔut'i* no longer acts as a literal deictic when preceding nominals, and while *ʔuwa* is still available as one means of conjoining two noun phrases, its conventional usage in linking narrative episodes appears to be well established, as must have been the case historically, as well, for the contraction *ʔut'i* to have arisen.

#### 2.4 Discourse markers

Although the term 'discourse markers' can be notoriously vague, it is used here to refer specifically to non-connective elements that do not change the factual meaning of a sentence, but instead convey the attitude or perspective of the narrator towards what is being said. This



*“Well, look at yourself,” he told him, the rabbit (did).*

While the relative scarcity of such markers in these narratives precludes much further commentary, a brief note on the emphatic *xat'a* 'just like that' (< *xa-* 'thus' + *t'a* 'be.IPFV') is in order. The former marker stands out above for both its frequency and its restricted distribution: while one occurrence of *xat'a* is noted in “The Grey Team,” reproduced as (15a), all other occurrences are found in “Making Dried Meat,” as with example (15b):

- (15) a. 30:16.2      **Xat'a** gogha tagididli, ?at'iya ?istlika.      (TGT; Russell Big Crow, speaker)  
*They **just** pray for them, (for) those horses.*
- b. 01:44.0      Dújú, [.] dújú nichow,      (MDM; Doris Roan, speaker)  
*It was never, never big,*
- 01:46.5      dú nitsit'a,  
*it wasn't small,*
- 01:48.2      **xat'a** milò yiicho-gu.  
*it fit **right** into her hand.*

Given the apparent function of *xat'a* in such contexts to add emphasis or intensity, it is not surprising to find it appearing most frequently in a personal reminiscence of fond childhood memories. It may be the case that this kind of personal stance-taking through independent discourse markers such as *xat'a* is itself characteristic of personal narrative style. However, this cannot be concluded decisively on the basis of the current sample of narratives alone.

#### 2.4.2 Dependent discourse markers

Tsuut'ina has an extensive series of dependent discourse markers which serve to express modality. These frequently take the form of enclitics which attach to predicates, whether noun or verb phrases. Several common markers are found in these narratives, indicating assertion or

intention (-ʔà), probability or possibility (-ìsò, with variants -ìsà, -ìsì), and inference (-la). Their distribution across narratives is given in Table 5.

<i>Text</i>	-ʔà 'assertion'	-ìsò 'probability'	-la 'inference'
"The Grey Team"	0	1	1
"Making Dried Meat"	0	4	0
"Cut Knife Hill"	1	2	46
"The Lynx and the Rabbit"	4	0	25

Table 5. Frequency of post-predicative enclitics across four narratives.

As is evident from this table, the enclitic -ʔà, which emphasizes an assertion or intention (cf. Cook 1984: 34), is not common in any of these narratives. It does appear in the two traditional narratives, however, but only in quoted speech:

- (16) 04:03.7      “Sisasgud-dà-zó, sizasyaʔaa," gusni-la.      (CKH; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
*“Only if you stab me will you kill me,” he told them.*
- 02:26.9      [...] “dina nisnoo ʔagunah-aa,” yisni-la.      (LAR; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
 [...] *“it will come to be that people eat you,” he told him.*

Cook (1984: 34) argues that the assertive enclitic -ʔà could be suggested to be a reduced form of the imperfective verb stem -t'à 'be', and thus share essentially the same function and syntactic distribution as the verb ʔát'à 'it is, will be'. If we extend the scope of analysis to include instances of ʔát'à, we note at least one similar example among the personal narratives:<sup>3</sup>

- (17) 04:51.4      *But* [...] dóní ʔit'ookuwa [...] ʔásʔini ʔágunilin-aat'a.      (MDM; Doris Roan, speaker)  
*But girls making (dried) meat is good.*

This limited distribution may suggest that -ʔà is not a common feature of personal or

3 Cook (1984: 33-5) presents several possible analyses of the morphological structure of forms in which -á(ʔ)à occurs, with this marker being either (a) a morphologically-inert affix, (b) a morphologically complex form incorporating the relativizer-complementizer suffix -i, or (c) a separate matrix verb altogether. Additional evidence (e.g., the prosody of this enclitic and the presence of stem-final consonant alternations that appear only under relativization) suggests a grammaticalization path proceeding from the copular construction N ʔát'à 'it is N' (and, by extension, nominalized verb phrases *Ví ʔát'à*) to a phonologically-reduced form of the copula -ʔà which still appears to encliticize only to nominal (and nominalized verb) forms.





- 00:33.3 “Gá, níni ʔidinaniiʔi,” **yisni-la**, [.] natʔodagha-tsi.  
*“Well, look at yourself,” he told him, the rabbit (did).*
- 00:37.6 “ʔIyi níni [.] ʔatsitʔo,”  
*“That face of yours is just like”*
- 00:40.4 “tsá tayiskʔisi ʔisiʔ ni-, níni tsʔistʔa-ʔi,” **yisni-la**.  
*“somebody touched your face with a hot rock,” he told him.*
- 00:45.8 ʔUtʔi, [...] *And then, [...]*

It appears that *-la* not only contributes some possible inferential or evidential meaning, with some speakers occasionally preferring to translate such instances as “I guess he told him”, but also helps to segment action within this narrative episode – in this case, breaking up the back-and-forth of dialogue between the Lynx and the Rabbit into pieces more manageable for the listener. On this analysis, the narrative structure of the preceding section would be essentially as in (23):

(23)	ʔUtʔi	NARRATIVE EPISODE
	natʔodagha-tsi xayisni- <b>la</b>	NARRATIVE EVENT
	“ʔIchʔiduwah! (...),” yisni- <b>la</b>	NARRATIVE EVENT
	“Gá, (...),” yisni- <b>la</b>	NARRATIVE EVENT
	“ʔIyi (...),” yisni- <b>la</b>	NARRATIVE EVENT
	ʔUtʔi	NARRATIVE EPISODE

This would help to explain the frequent recurrence of *-la* in these traditional narratives. As noted earlier, these traditional narratives involve both events not within the first-hand experience of the narrator, and are thus prime candidates for inferential-evidential marking with *-la*; as well as highly elaborated narrative episodes, for which an internal connective would help distinguish sequences of action. This hypothesis gains some plausibility when this construction is compared with similar forms in other Dene languages. Although not included in the survey of

Dene evidentials offered by de Haan (2008), Moore (2002: 135) notes the use of two formally-similar elements, *-lq̣'* 'then' and *-lā* 'assertive', in this context in Kaska:

- (24) Mets'édāne edādzjh                      meyéhłígé' k'ī meyéh āyāl            **lā**    gíhdī  
 His children coming from behind his wife also with him 3sg.walks **then** 3pl.said
- Gah łígé' meghah dēgestl'ūn    **lā**    kíhdī  
 Rabbit one for it 3sg.set snare **assert** they say

*'His wife and children were following behind on his trail and he walked on, they say. His wife had set one rabbit snare when they camped.'* (Kaska; Moore 2002: 135, citing Charlie 1999)

The historical loss of nasal vowels in Tsuut'ina posited by Cook (1984: 4) might be proposed to have resulted in the merger of two previously-distinct forms, one mirroring the Kaska *-lq̣'* 'then' in sequencing events within a narrative episode, and another concerned with modality similar to *-lā*, contributing to the situation observed today. Although further cross-linguistic comparison would be required to demonstrate such a development conclusively, language-internal evidence suggests that at least some variants of Tsuut'ina *-la* historically had a coda nasal, as is still present in forms such as *laan-t'i* 'I guess' (< *-la* + *-it'i* 'then', cf. §2.3.1).

## 2.5 Direct discourse

Another way in which one might expect there to be differences between different types of narrative is in the incorporation of direct discourse through quotation. Besides the use of changes in prosody or voice quality to signal a different speaker in narrative, several constructions exist for introducing direct discourse in Tsuut'ina:

1. Preposed *xa-ní*: Before a section of quoted speech, an imperfective or customary form of 'say' (*-ní*, *-nish*) is used with the specified manner prefix *xa-* 'thus, in the following way':

(25) a. 05:34.4      ?Ut'i ?at'iyá nishina-?i **xatlisgini**-la:      (CKH; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
*And those Crees said to each other:*

05:37.3      “?Iyi ?akina-?i, gá, [.] dagimisaáláh-da?”  
*“Well, what are we going to do with those (other) two?”*

b. 02:07.7      ?Ut'i [.] nat'odagha-tsi **xani**-la:      (LAR; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
*And then the rabbit said:*

02:10.9      “?Akusa! ?Akusa!”  
*“That's enough! That's enough!”*

2. Postposed *-ní*: After a section of quoted speech, an imperfective or customary form of the verb stem 'say' (*-ní*, *-nish*) is used, but without a specified manner prefix:

(26) a. 03:24.3      “Tsuut'ina-tsi nadiya-iso,” **giyisni**-la.      (CKH; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
*“You could go back to the Tsuut'ina,” they told him.*

b. 03:54.2      “Ts'ika mágunilini ginisho-zo,” **dàts'inish**.      (MDM; Doris Roan, speaker)  
*“They're raising a real nice woman,” people say.*

3. Preposed N: Before a section of quoted speech, a full noun, deictic, or emphatic pronoun appears to introduce or refer back to the actor being quoted:

(27) a. 05:50.6      **?At'iyá-?i**: “Gá, ?idaagu,” ?isni-la, ?iyi guxakija.      (CKH; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
*That one (said): “Well, nevermind” he said, that chief of theirs (did).*

b. 01:51.8      ?Ut'i **nat'odagha-tsi**: [.] “?łasi naguyisyal!”,      (LAR; Bruce Starlight, speaker)  
 ?isni-la, yit-, ?iya, yist'ah-it'i  
*And then the rabbit (said): “It's really dark!”, he said, (every time) when he pulled (the rope).*

The distribution of these quotative constructions across the four narratives considered here is given in Table 6 below.

<i>Text</i>	<i>Preposed xa-ní</i>	<i>Postposed -ní</i>	<i>Preposed N</i>	<i>Total</i>
“The Grey Team”	0	0	0	0
“Making Dried Meat”	0	2	1	3
“Cut Knife Hill”	3	8	1	12
“The Lynx and the Rabbit”	5	11	1	17

*Table 6. Frequency of quotative constructions across four narratives.*

At least in this set of narratives, there is a relatively strong tendency for direct discourse to appear in the traditional narratives more often than in the personal narratives. Again, this may simply be a characteristic of this set of narratives, and not representative of personal or traditional narrative in Tsuut'ina as a whole: the personal narratives found here report largely on the actions of a single narrative figure or a group of individuals whose actions are described collectively, potentially limiting the number of opportunities for non-rhetorical quoted speech to be presented. Nevertheless, observing a difference here at least suggests this as an area of further investigation on the basis of a larger and more diverse corpus.

## 2.6 Verbal aspect

As in other Dene languages, one way in which the temporal quality of events is indicated in Tsuut'ina is through the use of aspectually-marked verb stems. Tsuut'ina verb stem forms distinguish at most four aspects: imperfective (IPFV), perfective (PFV), progressive (PROG), and customary (CUST). Unlike other northern Dene languages, no optative stem forms remain (Cook 1984: 212).<sup>4</sup> Verbal aspect expressed through the choice of stems may be relevant to structuring narrative, inasmuch as the assignment of aspectual categories to a given event might correlate with the selection of other narrative markers or even typify a particular form of narrative in its own right. Commenting on the role of aspect in a series of Dene Sų́líné narratives, Scollon

<sup>4</sup> For his part, Li (1930: 23) reports several Tsuut'ina verb stems which appear to parallel the regular formation of optatives in several Pacific Dene languages, but does not go so far as to posit an equivalent category in Tsuut'ina.

writes:

Aspect relates directly to [the] overall typology of narratives. The narratives of mythological time [...] are predominantly a sequence of actions in the perfective. There are exceptions, of course, such as when complex actions are embedded within each other. The same is true for narratives of personal experience [...]. (Mandeville & Scollon 2009: 251)

To investigate whether or not a similar pattern holds for the Tsuut'ina narratives considered here, all of the verb stems in the four narratives were coded for their aspectual category according to the Tsuut'ina stem lists found in Li (1930) and Cook (1972). Verb stems which share the same imperfective and perfective forms were separated into another category to avoid conflation with either unambiguous imperfectives or unambiguous perfectives. The resulting distribution of verbal stem aspect across the four narratives is summarized in Table 7.

<i>Text</i>	<i>Verbs</i>	<i>IPFV</i>	<i>IPFV/PFV</i>	<i>PFV</i>	<i>PROG</i>	<i>CUST</i>	<i>n/a</i>
“The Grey Team”	31	6	7	6 (9)	5	3	1
“Making Dried Meat”	104	35 (39)	31 (34)	1 (9)	2	19	1
“Cut Knife Hill”	91	29 (33)	9	33 (38)	3 (4)	6	1
“The Lynx and the Rabbit”	51	25	4 (5)	9 (13)	1	5	2

Table 7. Frequency of verbal aspects across four narratives (*n/a*: not listed in available documentation). Numbers given in parentheses indicate the total number of instances of each category when potentially unclear cases are included.

We will first consider the two most frequent aspectual categories in these narratives and their frequency relative to one another.<sup>5</sup> For the two personal narratives, we note that the ratio of imperfective to perfective forms is almost equal in the case of “The Grey Team” (6 IPFV vs. 6 PFV), or significantly favours the imperfective in “Making Dried Meat” (35 IPFV vs. 1 PFV). By contrast, the perfective appears to be weakly favoured in the first of the two traditional narratives (“Cut Knife Hill”; 29 IPFV vs. 33 PFV), although this distinction not seem to hold for

<sup>5</sup> Concerning the remaining aspectual categories, the unexpected frequency of customary verb forms in MDM is likely due to the subject matter of that narrative more than any other factor: preparing dried meat involves a series of repetitive actions which might naturally be reflected in the use of customary-aspect verbs. The use of this morphological device might itself be a stylistic decision, however, given the availability of periphrastic constructions expressing much the same aspectual information (e.g. *Xi gúdinish* ‘it used to be, is always X’).

the other traditional narrative, where imperfective forms are again favoured (“The Lynx and the Rabbit”; 25 IPFV vs. 9 PFV).

Before drawing any conclusions on the basis of these preliminary ratios, however, it bears noting that these numbers may be skewed by the occurrence of quoted speech, since most such quotations are introduced with an imperfective form of 'say' (cf. §2.5 above). If this is taken into consideration and only non-quotative imperfective forms in the traditional narratives are counted, the ratio of unambiguous imperfective to perfective forms in “Cut Knife Hill” becomes even more heavily weighted towards the perfective (17 IPFV vs. 33 PFV), and, in the case of “The Lynx and the Rabbit”, becomes exactly equal (9 IPFV vs. 9 PFV).<sup>6</sup> Although this observation does not lead us to suggest a hard-and-fast distinction between these kinds of narrative, it would seem that there may be a trend in aspectual use across these narratives meriting further investigation, with perfective forms potentially being more common in the traditional narratives than in personal narratives as Mandeville & Scollon (2009) observe for Dene Sų́liné. It is clearly not the case that these different narratives, all of which refer to completed events, require equal use of perfective verb forms, making the apparent imbalance here all the more intriguing.

### **3 Conclusions**

Taken together, the linguistic features considered above for the selected narratives can be summarized as follows in Table 8.

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<sup>6</sup> In contrast, the balance for the two personal narratives remains essentially unchanged when quotatives are removed (TGT: 6 IPFV vs. 6 PFV; MDM: 34 IPFV vs. 1 PFV).

<i>Feature</i>	<i>Personal narratives</i>	<i>Traditional narratives</i>
Episode-internal connectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Common constructions across Dene languages</li> <li>• No clear differences between kinds of narratives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Common constructions across Dene languages</li> <li>• No clear differences between kinds of narratives</li> </ul>
Episode-linking connectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No apparent difference in use of <i>ʔuwa</i> 'and' between kinds of narrative</li> <li>• <b><i>ʔUt'i</i> 'and then' less common</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No apparent difference in use of <i>ʔuwa</i> 'and' between kinds of narrative</li> <li>• <b><i>ʔUt'i</i> 'and then' more prevalent</b></li> </ul>
Independent discourse markers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Favour 'interactional' and affective markers (<i>gá</i> 'well', <i>xat'a</i> 'just, really', <i>nán'sʔi</i> 'look')</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Favour markers commenting on (un)expectedness of events (<i>ʔach'a</i>)</b></li> <li>• (Interactional and affective markers still used in quoted speech)</li> </ul>
Dependent discourse markers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emphatic <i>-ʔà</i> and potential <i>-isò</i> generally uncommon</li> <li>• <b>Use of inferential <i>-la</i> relatively rare; not attested as connective</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emphatic <i>-ʔà</i> and potential <i>-isò</i> generally uncommon</li> <li>• <b>Use of inferential <i>-la</i> very common, serving as episode-internal connective</b></li> </ul>
Direct discourse Verbal aspect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Less quoted direct discourse</b></li> <li>• <b>Generally favour imperfective aspect</b></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>More quoted direct discourse</b></li> <li>• <b>Generally favour perfective aspect</b> (although imperfective often used to introduce direct discourse)</li> </ul>

Table 8. Summary of linguistic characteristics of Tsuut'ina personal and traditional narratives.

It is clear that some of these features are likely artefacts of the limited selection of narratives considered here and their particular characteristics. It would be difficult to assert that the relative sparsity of direct discourse is a common feature of personal narrative, for example, without further comparison with other personal narratives involving a wider range of narrative situations and interacting figures. Nevertheless, we observe trends that appear promising for distinguishing traditional narrative from personal narrative. The repeated use of *-la* in traditional narratives stands out as one such feature, with some Tsuut'ina speakers reporting that repeated use of this marker “sounds like a story.” Likewise, a heavier use of perfective aspect in traditional narratives appears common not only in Tsuut'ina, but also reportedly elsewhere

among the Dene languages (cf. Mandeville & Scollon 2009: 251-5). Other potentially discriminant features have received less attention here due to the categories explored, but may be worth further research. In particular, pronominal agreement patterns, narrative word order (cf. Thompson 2000), and the presence of other particles and bound markers (perhaps most notably *-tsi(i)* or *-tsiná*, both of which appear suffixed to topical subjects in both traditional and personal narratives) present items which may be relevant in future investigation.

No single linguistic feature appears to unambiguously distinguish one form of narrative from another in the Tsuut'ina texts considered here. Rather, the proportional distribution of many such features, themselves shared across different texts, serve more adequately in establishing potential differences between narrative styles on purely linguistic grounds. As an example, neither the inferential enclitic *-la* nor the episode marker *ʔut'i* alone distinguish traditional narratives from personal ones; as we have seen, both markers appear in both kinds of narrative. Instead, the frequent repetition of frames such as *ʔut'i ...-la* in traditional narratives, in co-occurrence with other linguistic features surveyed here, may help to convey to the listener that this is a particular kind of narrative, making it sound more 'like a story'.

The selection of narrative features may convey more than surface grammatical information alone. Consider the following excerpt of one of the Tsuut'ina separation and migration narratives, as narrated by Tom Onespot to E.D. Cook in 1971:<sup>7</sup>

- (28) *Tsuut'ina migration narrative* (EDC-CD-B4-1\_2p2\_1-06; Tom Onespot, speaker)  
00:11.7 Dzáná-gu,  
*A long time ago,*

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<sup>7</sup> Other retellings of this narrative in Tsuut'ina are found in Goddard (1915: 266) and Onespot & Young (1939); cf. (9) above.

- 00:13.0      *diní xalikuwa giyoghagunahí,*  
*these old people, what they talk about,*
- 00:15.9      *ʔáginíi:*  
*what they said:*
- 00:17.3      *its-, [.] Tsuut'ina nahini*  
*we Tsuut'ina,*
- 00:19.6      *nuwi [.] wunit'osi dina-isillin-aat'a.*  
*we were people of the north.*
- 00:23.5      *ʔUt'i [.] diní ʔits-, [.] tuh-chu-la giya-,*  
*And then, this big water,*
- 00:26.4      *nisk'-, giyik'a noghadali.*  
*they were going to cross over it.*
- 00:28.9      *Zosk'a ʔisxila gustín, gini.*  
*It was frozen in the winter, they say.*

Even in the brief section presented here, it is clear that this narrative does not share many features of 'traditional' narrative that we have seen above. Statements here are not offered as 'inference', with *-la* markers used accordingly, but rather appear to present an account of these events given with more assertion, an interpretation supported by observing the occurrence of the assertive *ʔat'a* 'it is' early on in the narration in the utterance *wunit'osi dina-isillin-aat'a* 'we were people of the north'. This framing of the narrative depends critically on the balance of linguistic features such as these, not in isolation, but rather in light of their distribution within and across narratives. Without consideration of the distributional patterns of such linguistic features, it would not be difficult to misinterpret narratives such as this, mistaking the more factual framing of Elders' accounts of the Tsuut'ina separation asserted here by specific linguistic means for a

'distant time' narrative.

Considering the proportional representation of linguistic features such as these used to structure, develop, and advance narrative elements provides another means of arriving at interpretations of Tsuut'ina narrative that are potentially less influenced by the process of translation, and that afford some counterbalance against potential misreadings that may arise in the absence of an intimate familiarity with narrative devices' typical distributions. The results of this investigation similarly offer a possible point of reference for the use of narrative materials in linguistic analysis and language pedagogy, providing clearer notions of what may be representative or non-representative about a particular sample of narrative language. Moreover, closer investigation of narrative features might be hoped to bring continued attention to Dene discourse in general, and encourage further development of both historical (e.g. Goddard 1915, Onespot & Sapir 1922) and present-day (Hildebrandt et al. 1996, Starlight & Donovan 2010) collections of narrative, many of which remain inaccessible to non-fluent speakers for both language learning and linguistic analysis. Ultimately, one might hope that information such as this may be of use to students and scholars not only in understanding what distinguishes particular Tsuut'ina narrative styles from one another and from the narrative practices of other Dene communities, but also in coming to a more thorough appreciation of the considerable repertoire of narrative devices commanded by Tsuut'ina Elders.

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## 5 Appendix A: Narratives

The following four narratives represent the textual corpus upon which this study is based.<sup>8</sup> Each narrative is identified by its title (e.g. “The Grey Team”) and with a permanent label referring to the corresponding audio recording (e.g. SRC-SD-0251-A). Where these narratives represent excerpts of longer recordings are cited, start times and end times for the transcribed sections are also given. Each line of narrative is presented in the following format:

START TIME (mm:ss.ms)	Original text ( <i>English in italics</i> , Tsuut'ina in plain typeface)
SPEAKER ID	English free translation

Lines correspond roughly to intonation units, which are taken here to be sections of spoken language preceded and followed by silence which often share a single prosodic phrase. Pauses shorter than one syllable in duration are indicated by [.] , longer pauses by [..] , lengthened pronunciations of words or segments by :: , and disfluencies (e.g. hesitations, partial words) by a trailing dash after the partial word. All other sentential punctuation and capitalization in the Tsuut'ina text and English free translation is intended for presentation only.

### 1. “The Grey Team” (SRC-SD-0251-A, 28:26 – 31:12)

Russell Big Crow, narrator

Bruce Starlight, interviewer; Gary Donovan, recording assistance

Doris Roan, Christopher Cox, transcription and translation

28:26.4	<i>Gee, he had a nice, [.] nice, grey team, ʔat'a, Tagudii-tsi.</i>
RBC	He had a nice, nice grey team, it was, Tagudii (did).

*Mm.*

28:30.6  
BRS

28:31.1	Tsodina nán'sʔi, ʔa-,
RBC	All by himself, look at that,

28:32.6	ʔaskadi naxashaànali
RBC	we were following each other (in wagons)

28:36.9	<i>from town. ʔAt'iya Weasel Head Bridge-ʔogha, [.] ʔisthika tughanilo.</i>
RBC	from town. At that Weasel Head Bridge he watered the horses.

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<sup>8</sup> The contributions of the narrators, interviewers, recorders, and translators noted here are gratefully acknowledged; any errors which remain in the transcripts presented here are the responsibility of the author alone. Special thanks are due to the Tsuut'ina Gunaha Institute for allowing those portions of the recording containing “The Grey Team” (SRC-SD-0251-A; Starlight & Donovan 2010) to be reproduced here in full.

28:44.3 RBC	Dilich'aka ?amoghadidloni. He was proud of his horses.		
		?Oo. Yeah.	28:46.5 BRS
28:47.6 RBC	Diyí, diyí [.] thik'a ?istli-?i (And) this, this one horse,		
28:52.3 RBC	tughaxagu?asi, he was kicking out a pit in the water,		
28:55.4 RBC	?iya, um,		
28:56.7 RBC	giyistotili, ?iya... the one that lifts [ <i>wagon tongue?</i> - DR], um...		
28:59.0 RBC	?Ut'i ?ak'oo gudi?ààz-la, ?at'iya ?istli-?i. And then I guess he just hooked his leg into it, that horse (did).		
29:03.8 RBC	?Ut'i Tagudii ?isch'inishi, chichi, And Tagudii, they called him, he can't,		
29:05.8 RBC	<i>can't do nothing, [.] can't back up.</i>		
29:10.5 RBC	?At'iya nidza, ?isthika-?i mogha, All of a sudden, the horses (take off) from him,		
29:14.5 RBC	mogha ?at'iy', [.] ?at'iy' [.] <i>Weasel Head</i> -?ogha from him, that, at that Weasel Head		
29:20.3 RBC	<i>to the dam.</i>		
29:22.1 RBC	Gwadi nagudaatlod, ?idini. He jumped down off (the wagon) without them, he (did).		
29:25.3 RBC	?Istli, di-, di-, [.] dik-, dilich'aka ?ikadi ?inas?in, nuwa. The horse – he was looking at his horses (taking off) without him over there.		
29:29.9 RBC	T?oogimiyi?ud. They were swept away (by the current).		

*Gee.*

29:32.2  
BRS

- 29:34.8      ?Ut'i *every time*,  
RBC            And then, every time,
- 29:37.1      *every time* nats'ana-, nats'ayał-it'i, *from town*, ?itl'iya-,  
RBC            every time someone's walking home from town
- 29:42.2      ?itl'iya-t'i,  
RBC            at night-time,
- 29:44.5      gugo, [. ] gugo nagaat'at,  
RBC            they're running beside you,
- 29:47.7      ?at'iy' *grey horses*.  
RBC            those grey horses.

*Huh.*

29:49.7  
BRS

- 29:50.6      *Not, not in the road.*  
RBC
- 29:52.6      *They're in the field*, gá, nuwi  
RBC            They're in the field, well, over there
- 29:55.5      gugo  
RBC            beside you
- 29:56.8      nagaat'at.  
RBC            running along.
- 29:59.4      Nuwi, g-, ?at'iya,  
RBC            Over there, that,
- 30:02.3      ?iyi nahogha *main road*-?i.  
RBC            that main road of ours.
- 30:04.5      ?Ut'i kanagudijona,  
RBC            And then it (the road) comes/juts out,

30:06.9 RBC	ʔat'iya, nán'sʔí, there, look at that,		
30:08.9 RBC	kanagidit'áh-it'i, when they come running out,		
30:10.9 RBC	ʔat'iy', those,		
30:12.3 RBC	duju-iguł gimoghaadzos, ʔat'iy' xalikuwa-yina. they never get scared, those old people.		
30:16.2 RBC	Xat'a, gogha tagididli, ʔat'iya ʔistlika. They just pray for them, (for) those horses.		
30:19.5 RBC	ʔIstlika giduwah. (And then) the horses were gone.		
		ʔOo. Yeah.	30:23.9 BRS
30:22.7 RBC	Dagiduwah, [.] ʔat'iya guts'i. They were all gone after then.		
30:28.2 RBC	ʔAt'iya guts'i dújú nagimits'iitsá. Since then, you never see them again.		
30:30.8 RBC	Nayinał-na, nayiit'ala-na s-, <i>from town</i> . People who are walking back, people who are riding back from town.		
30:34.9 RBC	ʔIstlika, Tagudii ʔishch'inishi lich'aka, <i>grey team</i> . Horses, the late Tagudii's horses, his grey team		
30:39.2 RBC	<i>grown-, drown-, drowned</i> ʔagijagi; gá, drowned, that's what happened to them; well,		
30:42.5 RBC	<i>you know</i> .		
30:44.4 RBC	( <i>clears throat</i> ) ʔUt'i gimi-, And then		
30:46.2 RBC	gimik'odza-zo just their spirits		

30:48.1 RBC	ch'ishchashi. are what people see.		
30:50.4 RBC	Danit'a-na-gu, dina I wonder how many people (there are)		
30:54.6 RBC	ʔat'iyi ʔisthika yiʔini. that saw those horses.		
		<i>Huh.</i>	30:57.0 BRS
30:57.7 RBC	ʔAt'iya nidza, ʔat'iyi xalikuwa-yina, ʔits'ina-yina-isi, And then, those old people, I wonder who they must be,		
31:03.2 RBC	g-, ʔiya um,		
31:04.3 RBC	gogha tagididli. that prayed for them.		
31:08.0 RBC	ʔAt'iyi guts'i giduwah. Since then, they're gone.		
31:10.1 RBC	Dújú nágimits'aaʔi. Nobody ever saw them again.		

2. “**Nido ʔuwa Natl'odagha** (The Lynx and the Rabbit)” (2009-02-06-srs-BRS-Edmonton-Korg-01)  
 Bruce Starlight, narrator  
 Doris Roan, Christopher Cox, transcription and translation

- 00:00.4 Nido-tsi,  
The lynx,
- 00:02.6 nido ʔuwa natl'odagha.  
the lynx and the rabbit.
- 00:05.8 Nido-tsi,  
The lynx,
- 00:07.7 nido-tsi,  
the lynx,
- 00:09.1 ʔi-, ʔiya,  
um,
- 00:11.6 natl'odagha xaasni-la:  
told the rabbit:
- 00:13.9 “ʔIyí nikà,”  
“Those feet of yours,”
- 00:15.9 “diitsuwi mik'a-, mik'a nadinilishi dosa-ʔaa, dadiitsuwi,” yisni-la.  
“they're yellow because you're always peeing on them,” he told him.
- 00:21.8 ʔUt'i [...] natl'odagha-tsi xayisni-la: “ʔIch'iduwah!”  
And then the rabbit said to him: “No!”
- 00:25.6 “Ch'adit'a-na ʔogha [...] mist'udi doonádishtłashi dosa-ʔaa, s-, [...] si-, siwus dadiitsuwi,” yisni-la.  
“I usually carry pipe tobacco for the medicine men; *that's* why my feet are yellow,” he told him.
- 00:33.3 “Gá, níní ʔidinaniiʔi,” yisni-la, [...] natl'odagha-tsi.  
“Well, look at yourself,” he told him, the rabbit (did).
- 00:37.6 “ʔIyí ninì [...] ʔatsit'o,”  
“That face of yours is just like”
- 00:40.4 “tsa tayisk'isi ʔisi' ni-, ninì ts'ist'a-ʔi,” yisni-la.  
“somebody touched your face with a hot rock,” he told him.

00:45.8       ?Ut'i,  
And then,

00:47.4       ?ut'i ts-, [...] n-, nido-tsi ?izoghadizid-la.  
and then the lynx got mad.

00:51.9       “Chuwa-la,” ?isni-la.  
“Just wait,” he said.

00:54.5       ?Ut'i ?iyi t-, ?iyi nat'odagha yidáh-gù dist'o-la.  
And then the rabbit ran ahead of him (to head him off).

00:58.9       ?Ut'i yinigi di-, [...] didogha ?isila yin-, [...] didogha dasit'un-it'i.  
And then he braided his whiskers waiting for him.

01:03.6       Yinigi  
(While) waiting for him,

01:04.9       mił ?alag-la, ?at'iyi [...] y-, yitina-?ii.  
he made a snare for him, there (on) his path.

01:08.9       ?At'iyi da-, dayist'un-la.  
There he tied it.

01:12.0       ?Ut'i nat'odagha-tsi ?anayit'ahi ?isila, ?at'iyi tsat-,  
And as the rabbit was going along, there

01:16.4       t'otsiyit'on-it'i, ?iyi mił-?i, ?it'iy' [...] mił-?i  
he put his head in that snare, (and) that snare

01:20.2       mik'us-k'a k'adidiyisdiiz-la.  
twisted around his neck.

01:23.7       ?Ut'i  
And then

01:24.9       nido-tsi yanaat'o-la.  
the lynx caught up to him.

01:27.7       ?Ut'i  
And then

- 01:28.8 xayisni-la:  
he said to him:
- 01:30.3 “Dit'aaka xasilagi?”, yisni-la, nat'odagha-tsi.  
“Why did you do this to me?”, he told him, the rabbit (did).
- 01:33.8 ?Ut'i nido-tsi xayisni-la: “Gá, yis-,”  
And the lynx told him: “Well,”
- 01:36.6 “sinì [.] ts'ist'aa xani-, xananis?i sisdini-?i,” yisni-la.  
“you said my face looked like it was burned,” he told him.
- 01:41.6 Yisnishi ?isila, ?iyi t'ul-?i,  
While he was telling him that, the rope,
- 01:44.0 ?iya,  
um,
- 01:45.0 yik'us-k'a k-, ?i-, ?iya, [.] tiya ta-, [.] tadadiyit'u [..] goghayilag-la.  
he made him hang himself up there by his neck.
- 01:51.8 ?Ut'i nat'odagha-tsi: [.] “Tłasi naguyisyal!”, ?isni-la, yit-, ?iya, yist'ah-it'i  
And then the rabbit (said): “It's really dark!”, he said, (every time) when he pulled (the rope).
- 01:57.5 ?Ut'i nayiditsid-it'i,  
And then, when he let go,
- 01:59.6 *uh,*
- 02:00.3 “Nanagudigoy!”, ?ishnish-la, nat'odagha-tsi.  
“It's daylight again!”, he would say, the rabbit (would).
- 02:03.7 ?Ut'i xayis?i-la, [.] yisi' yoghayitohi.  
And this is what he did to him, toying with him.
- 02:07.7 ?Ut'i [.] nat'odagha-tsi xani-la:  
And then the rabbit said:
- 02:10.9 “?Akusa! ?Akusa!”  
“That's enough! That's enough!”
- 02:13.5 “Gá, xanasisdiyini-guh,” yisni-la.  
“Well, don't ever say that to me again,” he told him.

- 02:16.9 "ʔIyi ʔasisdiyinií dosa,"  
"Because you talked that way to me,"
- 02:19.8 "wusa [...] dina nitina,"  
"in the future, people on your trail,"
- 02:23.1 "n-, nitina tananat'ush-aa," yisni-la.  
"will set traps on your trail," he told him.
- 02:26.9 "ʔUwa ʔat'iya dosa, [...] dina nisnoo ʔagunah-aa," yisni-la.  
"So because of this, it will come to be that people eat you," he told him.

3. “**Cut Knife Hill**” (2007-02-07-srs-BRS-Edmonton-Samson-01)

Bruce Starlight, narrator

Bruce Starlight, Doris Roan, Christopher Cox, transcription and translation

- 00:01.9 Dzáná-gu,  
A long time ago,
- 00:02.9 ʔisthika-ka,  
for horses,
- 00:05.0 ʔiya,  
um,
- 00:06.3 sinajuna, ʔat'iya,  
my relative, that,
- 00:07.8 ʔiya,  
um,
- 00:08.6 Más Mik'átùní  
Broken Knife
- 00:11.6 ʔuwa  
and
- 00:12.9 dasgaaka  
his helpers
- 00:15.1 ʔisila nishina-ts'i,  
(went) to the Crees,
- 00:17.2 nishina-ts'i gidismoy-la.  
they went to war against the Crees.
- 00:20.8 ʔUma-ʔi-isila,  
During the summertime
- 00:22.5 nuwit'iyi wunit'osi [.] nishina ʔakonagisʔi-la, ʔisthika-ka.  
they looked for Crees over there in the north, for horses.
- 00:27.9 ʔUt'i  
And then

00:29.9      ?isdogijagi-isina,  
I guess they got tired,

00:32.1      tladagidiniſtí-la.  
they all fell asleep.

00:34.8      ?Ut'i diní nishina,  
And then this Cree,

00:36.5      ?iya,  
um,

00:38.5      ?i-, ?iya,  
um,

00:39.7      k-, ?iya,  
um,

00:40.9      kùh,  
the camp (fire, hearth),

00:41.7      kùh,  
the camp,

00:42.5      domayá goghayinoó,  
that was guarding the perimeter (of the camp),

00:45.1      ?iya, [...] naazah-la.  
um, apparently was hunting.

00:47.9      ?Ut'i [...] ?at'iy',  
And then that,

00:49.5      ?iya,  
um,

00:51.8      Más Mik'átùní nuwi nishina ?akonas?i-la.  
Broken Knife was looking for the Crees over there.

00:56.0      ?Ut'i diní,  
And this,

00:57.4      diní  
this

00:58.0 nishina-ʔi  
Cree,

00:59.7 ʔat'iy' [...] ch'izhuni-isiy' ya-, yaditsid-la.  
he poked him with a spear, I guess.

01:03.7 ʔUt'i xayisni:  
And he said to him:

01:06.2 “Más Mik'átùnì, [...] nit'onik'a ʔisaàla,” yisni-la.  
“Broken Knife, we're behind you,” he told him.

01:09.5 ʔUt'i ʔi-, ʔi-, ʔigust-, [...] tlayist'a,  
And then, right away,

01:11.9 ʔat'iy', ʔiya, [...] tsis-ʔi  
that, um, hill,

01:14.5 nakadaginimooz-la, ʔat'iy' d-, dasgaaka ʔisila.  
they all rolled down it with his helpers.

01:19.6 *Uh,*

01:20.7 ʔakadii ʔakiyi mitoo gili-la.  
there were twenty-two of them.

01:24.5 ʔUt'i  
And then,

01:25.3 ʔat'iy'  
that,

01:26.6 noghatsigiiyiz-la, ʔat'iy' tüh, ʔa-,  
I guess they were retreating across that water,

01:29.2 ʔat'iy'  
that

01:30.3 tsis-go [...] nit'iy-la; ʔat'iy' noghatsigiiyiz-la.  
ran along the hill; apparently they were retreating across there.

01:34.7 ʔUt'i ʔat'iy' ʔach'a [...] nishina  
And then, I guess, the Cree,

01:37.6 nishina-ts'i  
towards the Cree

01:39.4 tsigayiz-la.  
they were retreating.

01:40.8 ?Ut'i ?at'iy' nishina-?i gugidistoy-la.  
And those Cree were counting them (how many they were).

01:44.7 ?Ut'i ?at'iy' noghatsigiiyiz-la, ?akina ts-, ?i-, ?akina-?i  
And then they were retreating across, and two

01:49.2 tugh-a-,

01:49.9 túh yik'a,  
under the water,

01:51.4 ?at'iy' túh yik'a  
under that water

01:53.0 gidismín-t'i, nuwa [. ] túh-dáka.  
they swam over there (to) the shore.

01:56.4 Xanágiyiya-t'i, ?at'iy', [. ] ?at'iyi  
They walked out of there, those,

01:58.9 ?at'iy-a-na-?i,  
(and) those ones

02:00.1 nuwa Tsuut'ina-ts'i,  
towards the Tsuut'ina over there,

02:02.3 *uh, um,*

02:03.1 Tsuut'ina-ts'i guminaginstidi. ?Ut'i diga?ola, gidiwus ?isila  
they were trying (to get back) to the Tsuut'ina. And on their backs,  
with their legs

02:08.3 ?at'igiyinił-la.  
they were pushing (to swim).

02:10.6 ?Ut'i dini nishina ts'ika gwa?i-la.  
And then this Cree woman saw them.

- 02:14.0      ?At'iy' nishina ts'ika-?i gizisyini,  
They killed that Cree woman,
- 02:16.6      yi-,
- 02:17.0      Tsuut'ina-ts'i natsigidist'l'o-la.  
(and) they retreated back to the Tsuut'ina.
- 02:19.8      ?Ut'i ?at'iya t'uh dak'-, ?a-, ?at'iy' t'uh  
And that, that water,
- 02:22.0      noghatsigisyidzi, ?iyi tsis,  
they ran across (to) that hill.
- 02:24.6      ?iyi tsis, ?at'iy',  
that hill there,
- 02:26.4      ?at'iy' katsigiyiyiz-la-t'i,  
they ran away up it, I guess,
- 02:29.0      ?id-, ?igidogha-?i, xadagugigad-la. ?Ut'i nishina-?i gu-, gu-, gusdál-la.  
they were digging (foxholes) for themselves. And then the Cree surrounded them.
- 02:35.3      ?Ut'i ?at'iya nishina-?i gust'uł-la.  
And then those Crees were shooting at them.
- 02:37.8      ?Ut'i,  
And then,
- 02:39.1      ?ut'i t'laat'a ?at'iyi  
and then all of those
- 02:40.7      masgaaka-?i, t'laat'a giyighon-la, ?at'iyi nishina-?i.  
helpers of his, they killed them all, those Crees (did).
- 02:46.2      ?Ut'i ?idini-?i  
And as for him,
- 02:47.9      ?iya, [...] tiya ?idogha gu-, [...] guja xaguyigad-isi,  
um, I guess he must have dug (a) good (foxhole) for himself;
- 02:51.4      ?iyi giyisila naadichiizh-la, ?at'iya nishina-?i.  
they kept charging at him, those Crees (did).

02:55.2       ?Ut'i guts'i xanagudiditlad-it'i, gust'uł-la.  
And he kept jumping out at them and shooting them.

02:58.9       ?Ut'i di-, didoona-,  
And then

03:00.8       doonádidi-,

03:02.1       doonád-,

03:03.3       doonádilo-t'i, guts'i xanaguditliizh-la.  
he'd load up again and jump out at them again.

03:07.7       ?Ut'i ?at'iya nishina ?isdogijagi-isina.  
And then those Crees must have gotten tired.

03:11.1       Xagiyisni-la:  
They told him:

03:12.7       “Guts'uwa.”  
“Go ahead.”

03:13.7       “Guts'uwa, ni-, ninájuna-ts'i gumináníítid-iso,” giyisni-la.  
“Go ahead, try and (go back to) be with your people,” they told him.

03:19.4       ?iya, “Dú nizaàyá yinaàzin. [.] Guts'uwa.”  
um, “We don't want to kill you. Go ahead.”

03:22.4       niyi-,

03:23.0       t-, ?iya,  
um,

03:24.3       “Tsuut'ina-ts'i nadiya-iso,” giyisni-la.  
“You could go back to the Tsuut'ina,” they told him.

03:28.1       ?Ut'i: “?Ich'iduwa,” gusni-la, “sasgaaka,”  
And then he told them: “No. My helpers,”

03:30.7       “s-, tlaat'a sinájuna”  
“all my relatives,”

03:33.3       “sis-, k'azashyá,” gusni-la.  
“you killed them off,” he told them.

- 03:36.7 “ʔUwa sizisyá-dà,”  
“And if you (wish to) kill me,”
- 03:38.5 “ninoghadissi:”  
“I’ll tell you:”
- 03:40.2 “k’ot’ini nihinidza-da,”  
“if you have a man among you,”
- 03:42.9 “diyi sit’anak’a-ʔi.”  
“(you have to get) behind me.”
- 03:45.5 “Musti,”  
“Willow,”
- 03:47.2 “musti, ʔiyi [.] kuh-ts’i ʔast’as,” gusni-la.  
“cook a willow by the fire,” he told them.
- 03:50.6 “Diigááz gwała-t’i,”  
“Make it hard,”
- 03:52.3 “naxayast’u-t’i,”  
“tie it to yourselves,”
- 03:54.1 “ʔat’iya sisiy-,”  
“with that,”
- 03:55.5 “sisila disastsid-da,”  
“if you charge me with that,”
- 03:58.8 “sit’onak’a”  
“my back,”
- 04:00.5 “sit’ona guk’a,”  
“on my back,”
- 04:02.0 “guts’i –”  
“towards there –”
- 04:03.7 “sisasgud-dà-zó, sizasyaʔaa,” gusni-la.  
“only if you stab me (there) will you kill me,” he told them.
- 04:07.9 “Dina, [.] t-, k’ot’ina nihinidza(-da).”  
“If there’s a person, a man among you.”

04:10.9       ?Ut'i giyis nádiichiizh-la.  
And they kept charging at him.

04:13.5       ?Ut'i dini tlik'i nishina,  
And this one Cree,

04:15.9       mitsi ?oghast'u-la.  
there was something tied on his head [*a scalplock – BRS*].

04:19.3       ?Ach'a diidili guts'i ?at'a-la.  
I guess it was made out of metal.

04:22.3       ?Ut'i ?at'iya yi-, yits'i  
And towards him there

04:24.3       kadiniyi?ini-isila,  
as he was sneaking up,

04:27.2       sila-,

04:27.9       ?at'iya nishina,  
that Cree (was),

04:29.6       yits'i xagudatladi, yinist'uw-la.  
he jumped out (of the foxhole) at him and shot at him.

04:32.7       ?Ut'i ?at'iya diidila-?i, diyi mitsagha ?ayit'uni,  
And that metal that was tied to his hair,

04:36.2       ?at'iy' ?is-, ?at'iya ?astiya ?inist'uw-la.  
he shot that, instead.

04:39.9       ?Ut'i ?at'iya  
And that

04:41.0       nishina-?i xił niyi-, xił naats'id-la.  
Cree got knocked out (fell unconscious).

04:45.7       ?Ut'i  
And then,

04:47.0       kunagudaatladi-isila, ?at'iya nishina-?i  
as he jumped back in, that Cree

04:50.0 kugudaatlad-la.  
jumped in.

04:52.0 ?Ut'i yizi-k'a yini-, yisgud-la.  
And then he stabbed him in the back.

04:55.9 ?Ut'i [.] tlayist'a, ?at'iy',  
And right away, that,

04:58.9 ?at'iy' [.] Más Mik'átùní tsá gwajag-la.  
that Broken Knife turned into a rock.

05:03.4 ?Ut'i ?ak'oo ?at'iy'  
And still, that,

05:05.2 tsá [.] ?ak'oo ?at'iy' si?o, ?at'iy' nishina-nidza.  
that rock, it's still sitting there among those Cree.

05:09.9 Nishina, [.] ?iya,  
Crees, um,

05:11.8 “*Cut Knife Hill*” gusginish.  
call it "Cut Knife Hill."

05:14.7 ?Uwa ?at'iyi nayiniji,  
And those offerings,

05:16.7 nadats'iyisnií gudinish, ?at'iya nishina ?uwa tlaat'a dina  
they always place offerings, those Cree and everyone

05:21.7 xayíla-t'i,  
passing by,

05:23.3 dił-, giyits'i nadayisni gudinish.  
they always place offerings there.

05:26.0 Sinajuna ?at'a, ?at'iya Más Mik'átùní.  
That's my relative, that Broken Knife.

05:29.7 ?Ut'i ?at'iya na-,  
And then,

05:31.4 ?ach'a, [.] gá, k'aguja(g)-la.  
well, it (so happened that it) was over.

05:34.4      ʔUt'i ʔat'iya nishina-ʔi xatlisgini-la:  
And those Crees told each other:

05:37.3      “ʔIyi ʔakina-ʔi, gá, [.] dagimisaáláh-da?”  
“Well, what are we going to do with those (other) two?”

05:41.1      “ʔAkina-ʔi niduwah," gusgini-la.  
“There are two missing," they told them.

05:43.6      ʔI-, *uh*,

05:44.7      ʔAkadi-yina-zo  
Only twenty people

05:46.6      doo  
here

05:47.3      gugidiyistoy-la.  
they counted them.

05:49.9      ʔUt'i  
And then,

05:50.6      ʔat'iya-ʔi: “Gá, ʔidaagu,” ʔisni-la, ʔiyi guxakija.  
that one (said): "Well, nevermind" he said, that chief of theirs (did).

05:54.0      “ʔIdaagu,”  
“Nevermind,”

05:55.3      “nuwit'iyi nish-, nuwit'iyi Tsuut'ina-ts'i...”  
“over there to the Tsuut'ina...”

05:58.9      “ʔIdaagu, gu-, nuwit'iyi gunoghaginii,”  
“It's alright that they tell them over there”

06:01.6      “naani-at'a, diní”  
“that it was us”

06:04.0      “Más Mik'átùnì zisaàyinì.”  
“who killed Broken Knife.”

06:07.8      ʔUwa xaguja.  
And that's how it happened.

06:09.0

ʔUwa ʔakuusa.  
And that is all.

4. “Súní ʔáts'isʔini (Making dried meat)” (2011-04-12-srs-DR-Wetaskiwin-Edirol-11)  
Doris Roan, narrator  
Doris Roan and Christopher Cox, transcription and translation

- 00:07.4 Sín'-aat'a.  
It's me (again).
- 00:10.5 Súní ʔáts'isʔini [...] ʔogha gusnáh yinissin.  
I want to talk about making dry meat.
- 00:15.5 Dzáná-gu, ʔinoo  
A long time ago, my mom
- 00:17.7 súní ʔáts'isʔini ʔaiyashi gúdinish;  
always participated in making dry meat [*at Calgary Stampede – DR*];
- 00:20.4 ch'aghagushdashi gúdinish.  
she always used to win.
- 00:22.9 ʔAt'iya guts'i midosi,  
Since then, because of her,
- 00:25.3 súní ʔáts'isʔini [...] ʔágushishot,  
I learned how to make dry meat
- 00:28.6 ʔinoo guts'i.  
from my mom.
- 00:30.7 ʔUwa ʔitoo-ʔi  
And my dad,
- 00:35.4 ʔiya, nahogha, xat'a,  
um, for us, just
- 00:38.0 ʔats'ida zisya-it'i,  
when he killed something
- 00:40.1 dóní kúnáláh-gu.  
he would bring in the meat.
- 00:43.2 ʔIt'ookuwa-zó [...] gimigo.  
They only had girls.

00:46.3      ʔIt'ookuwa-ʔi mim[.]oya [.] disiits'í-gu,  
 (Us) girls would sit around him,

00:49.7      xat'a, ʔiya, dóní[.]-ʔi gujá ʔádàsiiʔí-gu, gujá nàsiláh.  
 we'd just work with the (pieces of) meat, we'd lay them out well.

00:55.2      Dzán'da, [.] ʔinoo,  
 Already, my mom,

00:57.8      ʔits'ina-iso, [.] mogha  
 somebody, for her,

01:00.2      ʔiya,  
 um,

01:03.4      ʔaso-china ʔáláh-it'i,  
 makes a tripod,

01:06.1      dzán'da [.] yik'a  
 already on it

01:08.0      chì dádàyiitʔ'uw-it'i, yimodaatʔ'uw-it'i.  
 she'd tie on branches, she'd tie them around.

01:12.1      ʔUt'i tlik'i ʔist'aa, yimonaatʔ'uw-it'i, [.] xayisʔí-gu.  
 And she'd tie another one around again, she'd do that.

01:17.5      Took'i-ʔiso  
 About three of them

01:19.0      ʔastʔik'ida [.] ʔágishʔish.  
 they'll do on top of each other.

01:22.4      ʔUt'i ʔat'iya dóní-chu [.] gustiya [.] xat'a mágunilini-chu-zó ʔinoo nádiʔosh,  
 And that big meat, my mom will always take only the good one,

01:28.4      nichowi.  
 a big one.

01:31.3      ʔUt'i ʔat'iya guts'i,  
 And then, from there

01:34.4      ts'idit'os-it'i, xat'a, ʔiya...  
 she'll cut it, just, um...

01:37.5	Más-ju The knife, too,
01:39.0	ʔágunilini-zo only a good one,
01:40.6	migo-ígúdinish, milò-t'o yiicho-gu. that's what she always had, that fit in the palm of her hand.
01:44.0	Dújú, [.] dújú nichow, It was never big,
01:46.5	dú nitsit'a, it wasn't small,
01:48.2	xat'a milò yiicho-gu. it fit right into her hand.
01:51.0	ʔAt'iya yis, With that,
01:52.5	xat'a <i>Dad</i> yogha, ʔiya, my dad would just, for her, um,
01:54.8	diyich'ał goghayilah-it'i. make it sharp then.
01:57.8	ʔUt'i And then
01:59.7	yisxila dóni k'at'òs. she's start cutting the meat with it.
02:01.3	ʔUwa, And,
02:03.1	ʔuwa L... and L...
02:04.9	ʔUt'i ʔinoo And then mom
02:06.7	dzán'da already

- 02:08.3 dóní-ʔi [.] nàdit'os-gu,  
she'd be cutting into the meat,
- 02:11.0 xayisʔín-gu, yimonáátl'ásh-gu, xat'a yimonáátl'ásh-gu, k'aazi-gu.  
she does it that way, she keeps going around it, she just keeps going around it  
carefully.
- 02:16.8 Xat'a-zo, [..] ʔi-, ʔinoo, ʔiya, ʔinoo-tsina,  
But, my mom, um, mom,
- 02:20.0 tiya g-, nàgut'ini, ʔiya,  
she works hard, um,
- 02:22.1 dú dzáná [..] k'ayishʔish, dóní-chu-ʔi.  
before long, she'd be done it, that big meat.
- 02:25.8 Xat'a tàl goghayishʔish, 'tàl' giyishnish.  
She just made it into a blanket, they called it a 'blanket'.
- 02:30.2 ʔIyí nichow-gu, xayit'ul-gu,  
It was big, and it was about yea long,
- 02:33.1 yit'at'gu, dújú mik'ach'uł-gu.  
she kept going, and it never ripped.
- 02:36.3 ʔAt'iya-zo ʔát'a,  
That's the only thing
- 02:37.7 mágunilini, gini,  
that's good, they say,
- 02:39.7 ʔat'iy' dóní ʔáts'isʔini  
making (dried) meat
- 02:41.6 dú mik'ach'úł-gu.  
so it doesn't rip.
- 02:43.3 Mik'ach'uł-da ʔats'ida,  
If it rips somewhere,
- 02:45.8 dzán'da ʔat'iy' giyik'at'os-it'i,  
already they'll cut it there;

- 02:48.0      ʔisduwa [.] ʔist'-, ʔán'ts'ishʔish.  
they'll start another one.
- 02:50.0      ʔAt'iya-ʔi nik'ozhaa-ʔi dú giyogha m-, [...] moghadilí-gu,  
That one, the short one, they never bothered about it (weren't proud of it),
- 02:53.6      dú giyogha m- [...] moghadilí-gu.  
they weren't proud of it.
- 02:55.8      ʔIyí, ʔiya,  
That, um,
- 02:57.7      nichowi, ni-, xayitʔ'uli-zo ʔát'a,  
it's just the big ones, the long ones that are yea long
- 03:01.1      mágunilini.  
that are good.
- 03:03.3      ʔUt'i  
And then
- 03:05.1      k'ayiláh-it'i,  
when she finished it,
- 03:06.6      xat'a tayis[.]taʔ-it'i,  
then she just lifted it up,
- 03:09.1      ʔiya,  
um,
- 03:11.0      giya kuhk'a n'diilash-gu, xat'a dú dzána-gu,  
they'd keep making fire under it; gee, in no time,
- 03:14.7      dzán'da dàsigon.  
it'd be drying already.
- 03:18.4      Dzáná-gu, [.] dóní ʔáts'isʔini ʔágunilin-áat'a.  
A long time ago, making meat was really good.
- 03:21.6      Tłaat'a ʔit'ookuwa  
All the girls
- 03:24.0      tła-ʔi ʔástsáa gustiya  
right away, the very first thing:

- 03:26.1      dóní [.] ?áts'is?ini [..] máguch'ishosh.  
you learn to make meat
- 03:30.9      Tats'idistsihí máguch'ishosh.  
You learn to wash.
- 03:33.9      Ts'idotsa ts'ilini-t'i, tiya  
When you're a girl, really
- 03:38.5      nàguts'it'in-gu-zó.  
you only work.
- 03:40.9      ?At'iya k'òt'ini,  
That man,
- 03:43.0      ?ats'ida ts'idootsa ?istsa-it'i:  
when he sees a girl somewhere:
- 03:45.4      ”Gee, ?iyí ts'idootsa xat'a mágunilini,”  
“Gee, that's a real nice girl,”
- 03:49.4      “tadistsihí, chas?ini, nàgut'ini-zó ?ás?i.”  
“she washes, she cooks, she's always working (that's what she does).”
- 03:54.2      “Ts'ika mágunilini ginisho-zo,” dàts'inish.  
“They're raising a real nice woman,” people say.
- 03:58.9      Dahi-isì,  
Look at it now,
- 04:01.0      ?at'iya tlaat'a yiduwahi.  
that's all gone.
- 04:03.5      Dahi-isì,  
Look at it now,
- 04:05.3      dú dáata xagut'a-?i.  
there's no such thing any more.
- 04:08.4      Xat'a-zo, [.] ?at'iy' dóní  
But that meat,
- 04:11.8      ?áts'is?ini,  
making it,

- 04:13.2      ʔastsaa gustiya ʔát'a.  
that's the very first thing.
- 04:15.1      Ts'ikuwa,  
(For) women,
- 04:16.5      ts'ikuwa [.] ʔat'iya ʔastsaa.  
(for) women, that's the first thing.
- 04:19.9      Giyisgas-na,  
The ones who are good at it,
- 04:22.0      mágunilin-aat'a,  
that's a good thing (in a woman),
- 04:26.0      tʔasi tal ʔats'ilah-it'i.  
especially when you make a blanket.
- 04:29.5      ʔUt'i mits'isno-it'i,  
And then when you eat it,
- 04:31.3      xat'a,  
gee,
- 04:32.5      giyidiiz-gu, nuwa  
they roll it up, over there
- 04:34.8      xadàgi-, k'anáh-it'i,  
when it's done,
- 04:37.0      sigon-t'i, dàgyidiiz-gu.  
when it's dry, they roll them up.
- 04:39.6      ʔAt'iya dit'o giyilah-it'i  
When they put it in (the bag),
- 04:41.8      xayijoni-chu, ʔinoo xat'a yidishi gúdinish.  
it was really (yea, so) big, that mom used to just roll it up.
- 04:46.2      Midónà ʔágunilini.  
She had good meat.
- 04:48.8      Dáhi  
Now

- 04:50.0      ?ich'íduwah.  
                 there's nothing.
- 04:51.4      *But* [...] dóní ?it'ookuwa [...] ?ás?ini ?águnilin-aat'a.  
                 But girls making (dried) meat is good.