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Shoshoni Oral Narratives- Impacts of Narrative for Cultural Preservation and Language Learning

by

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A thesis

Submitted in partial fulfillment

Of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in the Department of Anthropology

Idaho State University

Summer 2014

## **Committee Approval**

To the Graduate Faculty:

The members of the committee appointed to examine the thesis of Karee Garvin find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Chris Loether and Liz Cartwright for all of the knowledge, patience, support, and guidance throughout my thesis and thesis project. I also owe much of the success of my thesis, and especially my thesis project to Drusilla Gould who shared her insights into Shoshoni language and Shoshone culture with me, as well as helped to produce the material for the Shoshoni Oral Narrative Project. Along with Drusilla, I would also like to thank Delphina Gould for her assistance with the illustrations for the Narrative Project, and the Ghost Canyon Singers for providing the music for the audio-visual portion of the project. Another major asset in the creation of the narrative project was Jake Dixon, who taught me what I needed to know to produce the video, as well as his extensive help with the production itself. Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their support and their patience with me as a graduate student, which, at times, caused me to be not the best human.

The Shoshoni Oral Narrative Project was made possible through grants from eISU at Idaho State University and the Sven and Astrid Liljeblad Endowment Fund.

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## **Abstract**

Narratives can be anything that we, as a species, give meaning to. Once we begin to interact with something, whether it be text, numbers, an object, etc., it becomes narrative. This means narratives are a central part of human existence. They exist in every culture in the world and have likely existed as long as the species has had language. Narratives are so pervasive, it is likely that they are linked to our brain structure. Humans use narratives to house and transmit knowledge. Therefore, a great deal of culture is reflected within a narrative. However, once this knowledge is passed on, narratives help to mold new identities and subsequently function to create culture. This cyclical relationship defines our day-to-day interactions and ultimately what it means to be human.

This thesis approaches narrative from an interdisciplinary standpoint, exploring narrative in regards to Linguistics, Anthropology and English. First, the thesis seeks to define narrative, as the definition of narrative can be broad. Next, it seeks to explore the relationship between narrative and culture to determine how narrative can be used to better understand communities and individuals. The thesis then defines specific approaches to analyzing narrative with an interdisciplinary appeal. This analysis looks at both the content of the story, as well as the linguistic features of the story, as both are key to human existence and identity. Finally, a Shoshone oral narrative is analyzed to demonstrate the appeal of narrative analysis and the implications of this analysis for defining culture and identity.

“There may be some truth in that story, that tale, that discourse, that narrative, but there is no reliability in the telling of it. It was told you forty years later by the ten-year-old who heard it, along with her great aunt, by the campfire, on a dark and starry night in California; and though it is, I believe, a Plains Indian story, she heard it told in English by an anthropologist of German antecedents. But by remembering it he had made the story his; and insofar as I have remembered it, it is mine; and now, if you like it, it’s yours. In the tale, in the telling, we are all one blood. Take the tale in your teeth, then, and bite till the blood runs, hoping it’s not poison; and we will all come to the end together, and even to the beginning; living, as we do, in the middle.”

—*Ursula K. Le Guin*

## Introduction

As an English major during my undergraduate studies, I had the idea that stories were pervasive. Inspiration could be found everywhere, and as a species, we were obsessed with narrative. However, I had narrative packed into a neat little box. Stories were things like books and television shows, but I did not look for them outside of the expected genres. During my graduate studies, while sitting in an ethnography class, we were discussing the importance of narrative in understanding culture. It seemed that to really understand a culture, it was necessary to understand the narratives that they were tuned into. This idea was enough to spark an interest in narratives for my thesis. However, I truly had no idea what I was getting into. I knew that narratives were something that utilized my background in English and linguistics, as well as my current areas of study, linguistics and anthropology. I also knew that studying narrative would utilize the strengths of my department. What I did not realize is how big the idea of narrative would become.

Over the next several weeks I began researching narratives. However, the first problem that I encountered was defining narrative in the first place. Even I was not completely sure if I was looking for information on discourse, stories, or worldviews—let alone how to approach them. Definitions ranged so drastically from one scholar to the next that it was difficult to tell whether a book was going to be relevant at all until I could get part way through the book. Therefore, the first task of my thesis was to define narrative in a way that seemed to capture the magnitude of narrative, while still meeting the needs of my own research interests.

The more I read about narrative, the more overwhelmed by narrative I became. Early on, I latched on to the idea that narratives were everything. Any perspective I had, or anyone else had, was narrative and my immediate response to this was to find some way to overcome narrative. However, the harder I tried to reject narrative, the more I realized all I was doing was creating a new narrative. I



was determined to find some sort of genuine perspective that could somehow supersede narrative. It made it impossible to step back and analyze narratives because I felt so entrapped by my own. However, I eventually realized that this need to reject narrative was part of a cultural narrative we subscribe to, especially within academic culture, to reject narrativity to obtain objectivity. In reality, narrative is something we need as a species and it really does not matter whether it is right or wrong, true or false, it is true for our own perspective and yields impressive power within our daily lives. This new outlook on narrative made me feel more connected, rather than isolated as my previous outlook had, to the human race which allowed narratives to become beautiful, rather than some mutation of Pandora's box. I had really come full circle. As an English major, narrative really came down to portraying the human condition and finally, narrative was, once again, the human condition. This realization was really the beginning of my project and has remained at its core throughout my research.

This thesis looks at Shoshoni<sup>1</sup> oral narratives to define the impact of narrative within culture. The goal of this thesis is to focus on a specific Shoshoni oral narrative to demonstrate specific cultural insights housed within the narrative. The secondary goal of this thesis is to demonstrate that because narratives carry so much cultural weight and house both lexical and grammatical complexities of the language, narratives should be a central focus in language preservation and revitalization efforts.

The Literature Review of this thesis is divided into four sections. The first section, which is entitled "Introduction to Narrative Theory," introduces narrative theory and defines narrative itself. This describes some of the process I went through in understanding narrative, and ultimately explains how narrative is defined for the purpose of this thesis. Though Hayden White (1980) was a major influence in my definition of narrative, this section provides an overview of perspectives from multiple scholars on narrative across the field and throughout multiple disciplines. The next section, "Narrative and Culture,"

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<sup>1</sup> The current trend among Shoshoni speakers is to use Shoshoni, with an "i," to refer to the language, and Shoshone, with an "e" to refer to the culture and heritage. Additionally, since I am approaching narratives from a linguistic stand point, I use Shoshoni to in reference to narratives.

begins to narrow in the idea of narrative in regards to culture. The predominant goal of this section is to demonstrate the cyclical relationships between narrative and culture. Because the interaction between culture and narrative is a feature of the species, not any specific culture, this section looks at the dynamic between culture and narrative at large. However, this section then establishes the specific relationship between preliterate communities and narrative, as preliterate communities are the area of focus for this study.

The third section of the Literature Review, “Specific Approaches to Oral Narratives” establishes specific methods of analysis relevant to this type of narrative. This section does not claim to cover all possible methods of analysis for oral narratives, but rather focuses on the ones relevant to the course of this study. The main theorists discussed are Dell Hymes (1972, 1981), Dennis Tedlock (1983), Anthony C. Woodbury (1987), and Thomas C. Blackburn (1980). Though not all of the theories by these scholars find their way into the final analysis, the outline provided by this section should allow further research on this topic.

The final section is “Considerations for Endangered Language Learning and Preservation,” which discusses the theory behind endangered languages, in general (i.e. what is lost when a language dies, what are the first features to be lost as a language dies, etc). Next, this section looks at important considerations for working with endangered languages such as differences between communities and the effects of community collaboration. Finally, this section considers at specific approaches to preserving and revitalizing endangered languages. The purpose of this section is to demonstrate how narratives can be used in language preservation and revitalization in the field.

The Methods chapter follows the Literature Review. This chapter is predominantly an overview of the thesis. The chapter highlights theories important to final analysis and outlines the scope of the thesis. In addition to this outline, the Methods chapter also discusses the Shoshoni Oral Narrative

Project which was created in conjunction with this thesis. Because I chose to work with a Native American community and its language, I felt it was important to give back to the community in some way. It did not seem fair to the community, or productive, to generate research that could only exist within the realm of academia. Therefore, alongside my thesis, I worked to create language learning materials out of the narrative analyzed within my thesis. The central focus of this project was to create audio visual materials that could provide opportunities for community members to interact with the language and narrative, whether it be inside or outside of a classroom. This project is explained at length within the Methods section, leading to a further analysis in the discussion section.

The Discussion chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section provides information about the Shoshone culture and language, as well as the Shoshoni Language Program at Idaho State University. This information helps place the narrative within the context of the community. The second section provides a summary of the narrative and the analysis of the narrative itself. This analysis works predominantly with Blackburn's theory, as well as the theories of Hymes and Woodbury. Using Blackburn's theory, the narrative is analyzed in layers beginning at the surface with the material content of the story, then working its way through social structures and on to worldviews. This section establishes the cultural information that can be gleaned from the content of this story. The analysis then moves on to linguistic features within the text based on Hymes's and Woodbury's theories. This section provides insight into the content of the story, as well as establishes linguistic values of the Shoshone community. The third section of the Discussion chapter explains how narratives can be applied in language learning, specifically within the Shoshoni community.

The final chapter is the Conclusion, which summarizes the overall project, as well as both the successes and shortcomings of the project itself. This chapter also discusses possibilities for future

research related to this thesis. As a whole, this thesis aims to demonstrate both the linguistic and cultural importance of narratives and the impact of narrative analysis.

## Introduction to Narrative Theory

Narrative is a wide ranging subject—spanning across multiple disciplines and ranging from text, to film, to conversation. Michael J. Toolan states that narrative can be anything “from making breakfast to making love” (1988:xiii). Storytelling is an integral part of all cultures and has likely existed as long as we have existed as a species with language (Lacey 2000). Narrative is how we make sense of things and how we learn (Toolan 1988). Narrative is also how humans create meaning (White 1980). It is pervasive, and therefore, there are a broad range of definitions for narrative and approaches for analyzing it.

The definition of narrative is equally as vast. There are essentially two camps of definitions: inclusive and exclusive. Toolan (1988) defines narrative as anything, once we begin to give it a beginning, middle, end, moral, characters, setting, and drama. Other scholars believe that a narrative must have a narrator (Abbott 2008). While a fair amount of scholars only view narrative exclusively as stories, as Toolan does, most narrative scholars seem to define narrative in broader terms. Nick Lacey (2000) defines narrative as a sequence of events—meaning that grammatically speaking, a narrative must contain at least two clauses. Similarly, H. Porter Abbott (Abbott 2008) defines narrative as any subject followed by a verb (e.g. “I fell down”) (1). Abbott goes on to explain that narrative must represent an event. Therefore, “my dog has fleas” is not a narrative (12). However, these definitions are still somewhat exclusive compared to other definitions. For instance, Hayden White (1980) explains that narrative is how we, as a species, make sense of things. Therefore, once we begin to interact with something, whether it be a set of statistics, a painting, or story, it becomes narrative. For instance, sitting on a page, the following set of data may not appear to be narrative:

709. Hard winter. Duke Gottfried died  
710. Hard year and deficient in crops.  
711.  
712. Flood everywhere.  
713.

714. Pippin, Mayor of the Palace, died.  
715. 716. 717.  
718. Charles devastated the Saxon with great destruction.  
719.  
720. Charles fought against the Saxons.  
721. Theudo drove the Saracens out of Aquitaine.  
722. Great Crops.  
723. 724.  
725. Sacrens came for the first time.  
726. 727. 728. 729. 730.  
731. Blessed Bede, the presbyter, died.  
732. Charles fought against the Saracens at Poitiers on Saturday.  
733. 734. (White 1980: 7)

However, when we begin to interact with this data, it becomes a narrative because we begin to interpret the data in a meaningful way. White explains that when we begin to put things into a story format, that this is to *narratize*. Abbott takes this a step further explaining that when stories have a narrator, this is referring to their *narrativity* and is to *narrativize*. White's definition is a much more inclusive definition of narrative as it encapsulates nearly everything. Additionally, both Hayden and Abbott provide useful definitions for phenomena within narrative. Jean Paul Sartre takes the definition of narrative a step further, explaining that there is no such thing as a true story—that even nonfiction is subject to individual perspectives and interpretations. These broad ranging definitions help us to understand the importance of narratives within culture and the mind. Abbott explains that because narrative is so pervasive, it must be related to structures within the brain.

Much like the variety of definitions for narrative, there are also a wide variety of approaches for narrative analysis. Abbott explains that narratives consist of stories, which consist of events and entities, as well as narrative. He goes on to explain that historically, discourse exists before the story because there is no way to create a story without discourse. Discourse is malleable. It is possible to change the discourse of a story and have the events and entities remain intact. Furthermore, stories can appear in different versions. For instance, there are many different forms of Cinderella, but the story remains the same. However, when the narrative discourse changes, the interpretation of the story may change with

it. Abbott calls stories like Cinderella *masterplots* because they can act as a skeleton to a story. Often, masterplots carry greater interpretive weight because of the history that they carry (Abbott 2008).

Not only does narrative discourse affect meaning, but plot events (i.e. events that take place in the narrative) also influence meaning. Constituent and supplementary events both are important to the meaning of the narrative. Constituent events are the main actions within the story, and supplementary events are the supporting actions of the story. These terms tie into the idea of causation: what causes what? Analyzing this relationship can shed light on the overall interpretation of the story. Normalization is another type of analysis important to events. Normalization deals with the idea of what is normal inside the world of the text. Furthermore, normalization is an important component of narrative analysis, not only within the world of the text, but also the community that the narrative exists within. All narratives carry cultural ideas and judgments with them (Abbott 2008). This means that when analyzing narrative, it is important to look at the narrative community as well as the narrative itself (Abbott 2008; Herman 2009). Additionally, it is important to analyze the narrative both from an insider perspective (emic) of the narrative, and an outsider perspective (etic) to fully understand the implications of the narrative (Herman 2009).

Overall, narrative can be defined in many ways and can be approached from a number of perspectives depending on the field of analysis. Regardless of the analytic perspective, it is important to remember that everything within a narrative, and its narrative community, impact the interpretation of the narrative (Abbott 2008). Therefore, it can be useful to break down narrative analysis into a single level or genre to pull apart the meaning (Toolan 1988).

## **Narrative and Culture**

Narratives are a central aspect of culture. Wherever there are humans, there are narratives (Cobley 2001). However, narratives function as more than a source of entertainment; they provide framework for experiencing the world (Cruikshank 2000). Narratives are both shaped by the culture in

which they reside, as well as help to shape this culture (Gubrium and Holstein 2009). Furthermore, they demonstrate ideas, attitudes, ideals, and philosophies of a culture both by conveying them and by reinforcing these belief structures (Green, Strange, and Brock 2003). Narratives are specific to a culture because they act as a history of the people and place of a narrative community (Cruikshank 2000; Schneider 2008). This history is not only a way of preserving the past, but understanding it (Crowell and Oozevaseuk 2006).

Because narratives are such an integral part of culture, it is likely that they are also an integral part of our brain structure. Narratives are how we store and retrieve memory. This means that stories have a greater impact than abstract ideas; stories give ideas context, which helps to solidify understanding as well as to improve the formation of schemata within the brain (Schank and Berman 2002). We are wired to be sensitive to narratives (Green and Brock 2002). This is likely why narratives are so influential (Schank and Berman 2002). Furthermore, Green et al. (2003) explain that the line between fact and fiction is blurred within the mind as the narrative structure is no different (Green, Strange, and Brock 2003). They go on to demonstrate that narratives which society regularly interact with occupy a significant amount of daily thought (Green, Strange, and Brock 2003). This means that narratives are the lens through which we view the world and are strongly linked with culture.

In addition, narratives are especially significant in oral cultures as these cultures use narratives to house and transmit knowledge (Cobley 2001). Western cultures, which are centered more around the written word, utilize narrative equally, but tend to value narrative less; whereas oral cultures rely on narrative as a central way of conveying meaning, relaying social ideals, and are key to how information is retained as well as what is remembered (Schneider 2008). The tie to narratives is stronger in an oral community because the relationship is more conscious. Furthermore, oral narratives are a social activity that are a part of the communicative process. In these communities, oral narratives are told for a



particular reason and often over and over until the listener knows the story. Then, these narratives are continuously referred to in everyday life as a way of conveying layers of meaning (Cruikshank 2000; Schneider 2008; Schank and Berman 2002; Cusack-McVeigh 2008; Basso 1992; Basso 1996). The more exposure a listener has to the narratives of the community, the better the overall understanding of the individual narratives, as well as the culture overall, because one narrative influences another narrative creating a complex web (Olorik 1992; Cruikshank 2000). Often, the meanings of the narratives can shift depending on the teller, the listener, and the environment of the performance (Cruikshank 2000; Gluck 2008). Jaber F. Gubrium and James A. Holstein write that “[stories] are presented in particular settings, perform different functions, and have varied consequences” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009: xv). This dynamic becomes more complex within highly established narrative communities. Additionally, narratives adapt to their physical and social environments causing them to shift over time to align with community values and belief systems (Olorik 1992).

Not only do these narratives act as a social practice, but they are also influential in relationships among community members. Relationships are a primary reason for sharing narratives (Schneider 2008). They are often shared among family members and friends. Narratives create shared knowledge within a community (Cruikshank 2000; Schneider 2008); this means that narratives are often a way of establishing solidarity and creating bonds (Cusack-McVeigh 2008; Schneider 2008). This serves as a way to demonstrate who is and is not a member of the group (Cobley 2001). Furthermore, narratives can be used to bridge differences and social fractures (Cruikshank 2000; Schneider 2008). These social dynamics intensify the importance of narrative within a community and culture.

In preliterate communities, performance is an important aspect of an oral narrative because it influences the meaning of the narrative (Cruikshank 2000). Not only can meaning change depending on the teller, audience, and environment, but performance itself can help to create meaning within the

narrative. In addition, these communities often speak minority languages and the narrative reintroduces linguistic domains for the language as a whole, as well as certain types of language use (Schneider 2008). The linguistic importance of these narratives creates a crucial bond between the community and these narratives that is not present in western communities.

Because narratives are such a central part of culture, narrative communities have a significant impact on the shaping of a narrative. We construct narratives to teach what we know and tell us what we think about the world (Schank and Berman 2002). We pass these narratives on to children which then shapes the way children perceive the world (DeFattore 2002). Furthermore, the environment in which a narrative is told influences the setting and plot events within a story (Ollrik 1992). Julie Cruikshank (2000) explains that narratives intersect with the social, political, and historical realms of a community. This means that as the environment--social or physical—changes, the narrative will often change with it (Ollrik 1992). Furthermore, narratives provide a way for current beliefs to be transmitted within the community. Therefore, because narratives reflect the alterations of the community itself as well as present ideology, they can be used to explain both past and current issues within the community (Cruikshank 2000). Communities create narratives, and therefore, play a key role in the way narratives are shaped and transmitted.

The relationship between narratives and cultures is cyclical. Therefore, not only do communities play a significant role in shaping narratives, but narratives are highly influential in the shaping of culture. Because narratives are shaped by the community, they provide an in-depth view of the lifestyle, as well as the belief system of the community in question (Gubrium and Holstein 2009; Ollrik 1992). This means that narrative provides a way of understanding culture down to the environment the community resides in (Ollrik 1992). Jeffery Strange (2002) explains that this is true not only of non-fiction, but also of fictional discourse. Often stories confirm, both through agreement and disagreement, our existing

beliefs. Narratives can even cause us to shift our attitudes and beliefs to fit the morals within the story (Schank and Berman 2002). This means that narratives can both cause social change, or resist social change within a community (Green and Brock 2002; Jacobs 2002). Furthermore, identity is shaped around narrative, both at the individual level, as well as at the community level (Radway 2002; Green, Strange, and Brock 2003; Coble 2001). This cultural resonance helps to create a shared understanding that is central to the culture (Mulcahy 2008). Carol Lee et al. (2004) explain that narratives encapsulate “cultural models of human agency, cultural schemas for relationships, culturally appropriate goals, and actions to fulfill those goals” (39). This means that narratives demonstrate what is significant in the subtleties of human behavior (Lee et al. 2004; Cruikshank 2000).

The link between culture and narrative is strong, and therefore, narrative analysis can yield significant data for better understanding a given culture. There are countless ways to analyze narratives depending on the type of narrative, goals of the analysis, and culture of the community. However, in terms of defining cultural aspects within a narrative, it is important to consider both the content and context of the story (Gubrium and Holstein 2009). Jarmilla Mildorf (2010) argues that the content of oral narratives should be analyzed from a literary standpoint. She argues that narrative can be viewed both in terms of its literal content, as well as its form, and also from a holistic point-of-view and a categorical point-of-view. Strange (2002) expounds on this explaining that settings, events, characters, values, morals, etc. are all reflections of the world in which the narrative resides, and can therefore be broken down as a means of understanding culture. Stories consist of goals, plans, expectations, expectation failures, and explanations (Schank and Berman 2002). The way each of these aspects operates, as well as their connection to one another, provides an important observation about the culture of the narrative. In addition, the way the narrative is linked together, such as transitions, is also significant to the culture of the narrative (Gubrium and Holstein 2009). The more a narrative is broken down into levels of meaning, the more information can be extracted to better understand its cultural context.

The context in which the story is told is equally as important to understanding the importance of narrative. Axel Olrik argues that “the primary task of oral narrative research is to understand the narrative as a part of human intellectual life. The second task of oral narrative research is the use of narrative as evidence of external conditions such as social structure, worship, and political events” (1992:5). This quote not only demonstrates the importance of narratives for understanding culture, but the need for contextual information within the community of the narrative. In order to achieve this, the meaning of narrative must go past textual analysis to be studied in practice. Gaining contextual information about the community allows the analysis to determine not only what is being said, but what the story can do within a community. Furthermore, because the teller, listener, and setting can all change the meaning of a story, it is necessary to establish each of these components beforehand in order to fully understand the meaning of a particular narrative telling (Cruikshank 2000).

A final component significant in narrative analysis is the language itself. Understanding the community context of a narrative means understanding the language used by the people (Gubrium and Holstein 2009). Different languages have unique ways of expressing ideas that give their speakers a unique outlook on the world. Therefore, the linguistic choices in a narrative are culturally significant. Analyzing the linguistic details of the text will yield important information about the cultural identity of the community (Lee et al. 2004). Furthermore, the linguistic data provided by the language serves as an asset to language and cultural preservation. Because of the significance of narratives within a community, recording narratives in exchange for language lessons, can be a great way to gain vast amounts of cultural and linguistic data for language learning and preservation. Furthermore, even translated narratives provide cultural insight that is useful to researchers and communities (Cruikshank 2000).

## **Specific Approaches to Oral Narratives**

There is a wide variety of specific approaches for analyzing narrative. One specific subset of oral narratives is Ethnopoetics, which analyses the aesthetics of a particular language that often include the performable elements of a text in oral cultures. Ethnopoetics is a useful means of analyzing text as it helps the narrative analysis delve into linguistic analysis. Understanding performance helps to better comprehend the text as well as the culture. Additionally, preserving the performable aspects of the text helps to better preserve the narrative, which preserves both language and culture. A few researchers who work in Ethnopoetics are Dell Hymes, Dennis Tedlock, and Anthony C. Woodbury. Much like these researchers, Thomas C. Blackburn also works with oral narratives. However, Blackburn provides content analysis specific to preliterate communities rather than linguistic analysis. It is important to analyze both content as well as performance in order to fully understand the cultural implications of a narrative. The following section details the methods of these researchers to demonstrate the importance of the various approaches.

Dell Hymes is one of the first and most influential researchers in the field of Ethnopoetics and verbal art. Hymes explains that “performance is central to the study of folklore as communication” (1981:79). In other words, while performance may vary between different communities, it is a central part of all verbal art. His research looks at the structure of the narrative to demonstrate linguistic patterns. He then uses these linguistic patterns to demonstrate the boundaries between acts, scenes, stanzas, verses, and lines within the narrative. To bring these structures to the surface, Hymes explains that it is necessary to work extensively with narratives, but as the researcher does so, these patterns become evident. One major feature that Hymes uses to create this internal structure within the text is recurring sentence initial particles. Hymes claims that the use of this repetitive structure indicates a line break. Other forms of parallelism are used throughout the text to form stanzas, and content can be used to divide between acts and scenes (Hymes 1981). These patterns in speech can be applied across

languages, meaning this mode of analysis can be applied in a variety of narrative settings and communities. Breaking down these structures can help to uncover previously unnoticed meanings and themes within the text (Hymes 1981).

Another of Hymes' (Hymes 1972) theories, which steps away from text itself but is still central to narrative, is his SPEAKING model. Hymes developed this model to make descriptions of speech events comparable across cultures. In the SPEAKING model, "S" stands for *setting* and *scene*. Setting looks at the physical setting of an event (i.e. the time and place in which the event occurs). Scene takes into account the psychological setting of the event, or the cultural aspects of setting. "P" stands for *participants*. Participants can include both listeners and speakers that are in both essential and non-essential roles. "E" stands for *ends*. The idea of ends refers to both the intentional and the unintentional outcomes of the speech act (e.g. what is supposed to happen, and what actually happens). "A" stands for *act sequence*. This is a play by play description of what happens during the speech act. "K" stands for *key*. The *key* is the tone or manner of the speech act. This helps to establish whether the event is serious, casual, lighthearted, etc. "I" stands for *instrumentalities* which refers to the channels and methods of communication both verbal and nonverbal. For example, instrumentalities could refer to whether the speech act is written or oral, and what dialect or language the speech act is given in. "N" stands for both *norms of interaction* and *norms of interpretation*; in other words, what is expected by the members of the group, and what is expected by those who are not in the group. How do the in-group participants view the speech act, and how do the out-group participants view the speech act? And are these two aspects the same? Finally, "G" stands for *genre*: is the speech act a speech, a ritual, a joke, etc. (Hymes 1972). The SPEAKING model is important because it describes the environment of the speech act. If the culture that the oral narrative carries is to be preserved, it is important to understand not only what is said, but how it is said, where it is said, who says it, to whom it is said, etc. This is the goal of the SPEAKING model.

Another researcher who works in the field of verbal art is Dennis Tedlock. Tedlock's (1983) theory looks primarily at the pauses taken by the teller to establish the delineation of the narrative. Tedlock also works to document the prosodic features of the text to create a performable text. For oral narratives, this includes not only the words, but how the words are said. Tedlock explains that oral narratives are more like poetry than prose; they are meant to be spoken and how they are spoken is an important aspect of preserving them. He goes on to discuss certain features that he feels are important to the oral narrative. The first is pause phrasing. As in poetry, Tedlock explains in his published stories that the reader should pause between the end of one line and the beginning of the next, pausing slightly longer (at least two seconds) when there is a dot between the two lines. The reader should not pause if the following line is indented because this indicates that it belongs to the previous line but space constraints caused the line to bleed onto the next line.

Pause phrasing is important because, as Tedlock explains, it can help to create suspense or demonstrate a transition. However, there are several criticisms to Tedlock's theory. For instance, Tedlock's notations do not sufficiently indicate the length of the pause. The variables are larger than a slight pause to a two second pause and some pauses may be longer. Furthermore, it is difficult to establish which pauses are an intentional part of the narrative, and which are due to the needs of a speaker (e.g. taking a break, swallowing, etc.) Additionally, Tedlock does not take into account the conventions of poetry that are already established. Tedlock does note the length given between lines; but there are also breaks between stanzas which are too similar to the dot provided, as well as a whole host of theories on the types of line breaks and the effects thereof. Utilizing these established conventions may help to create a text that is more natural to read and accounts for more aspects of the speech act.

Another feature that Tedlock takes into account is intonation. One feature of intonation is the loudness of the voice (i.e. the emphasis on certain words within the text). Tedlock uses capital letters to

indicate an increase in the loudness of the voice. Softness can be demonstrated like so: (*softly*). Other types of tone such as sharpness etc., as well as nonverbal acts, can be demonstrated through parentheses. This is much like a play, which indicates intonation, stage direction, etc., when necessary. Tedlock goes on to explain differences in tone with the following: "Chant split lines, with an interval of about three half-tones between them. Draw out repeated letters (and hold vowels followed by long dashes) as long as it would take to say the words occupying an equal amount of space. Spilling letters indicate a glissando" (1983:20). These types of indications are important because the intonation, such as tone and length, can greatly affect the meaning of the sentence. However, Tedlock's way demonstrating these variables will likely come with varied success. Unless the reader is familiar with music, the concept of "3 half tones" will be fairly abstract, as will the term glissando. In addition to this, the difference in tone is likely to change depending on the language. It is also somewhat abstract to know how long each vowel followed by a dash should be held.

Furthermore, Anthony Woodbury (1987) points out that Tedlock does not indicate intonation across a sentence. Intonation across a sentence is a crucial aspect of intonation and if other aspects of intonation are indicated, intonation across a sentence should be included. Finally, some of Tedlock's notations are not easily produced on a computer. The falling letter notation, for example, would take special know-how to create. While there are several criticisms of Tedlock's notations, his work still brings up an important point: preserving vocal features of a speech is an important part of preserving oral narratives. Though some improvements can be added to Tedlock's work, it is unlikely that there will ever be a perfect way to represent an oral narrative through a script. One solution may be to incorporate Tedlock's work with conventions in poetry and theater, as oral narratives take on features of both.

Tedlock also discusses the importance of translation through a discussion of the history of translation. He explains that the Boasian school of thought on translation was to create, as much as



possible, a word for word translation of the original. This type of translation often resulted in works that sounded unnatural and foreign in English. Tedlock goes on to explain that this type of translation was a natural reaction against the previous trends in translation, that often did not even consult the original language or text—working only off other translations. Translation has evolved to become a balance between direct translation (word for word) and a more artistic translation (idea for idea). Tedlock goes on to explain that certain expressions should even be left in the original language as there is no way to capture the effect or the meaning of the original language. It is important for the translation to sound natural in English as many community members may only interact with the translation. However, it is also important to stay as true to the original as possible to preserve the cultural aspects that it carries. Ultimately, the art of translation is about balance and about meeting the expectations and needs of both language (i.e. majority and minority) communities.

Another approach in analyzing verbal art is established by Woodbury (1987). Woodbury builds off both Hymes and Tedlock establishing five different areas of analysis of verbal art. These are *pause phrasing*, *prosodic phrasing*, *syntactic constituency*, *adverbial-particle phrasing*, and *global form-content parallelism*. Woodbury calls these aspects the rhetorical structure of a language. Pause phrasing, as Tedlock explains, uses pauses within speech to establish lineation. Prosodic phrasing analyzes patterns in rhythm and intonation within a language. Woodbury, as previously mentioned, believes that the ideas of pause phrasing and prosodic phrasing are much more complex than is demonstrated in Tedlock's work. However, by combining these features with other modes of analysis, the researcher is able to paint a more accurate picture of the language. Syntactic constituency looks at syntactic features within the language, and adverbial particle phrasing looks at the repetition of initial adverbial particles. These are aspects developed within Hymes' research. The final feature that Woodbury considers important is global form-content parallelism which looks at patterns and parallel structures across the narrative as a whole. Woodbury explains that these features are used strategically within the language to convey

meaning. Even when these features are absent, it is strategic and represents specific goals on the part of the teller (Woodbury 1987). Understanding the overall effect of all the given aspects helps to create an understanding of the narrative overall, which is an important aspect of preserving oral narratives.

Another approach is to analyze the content of the narrative. Blackburn (1980) analyzes Chumash oral narratives, explaining that oral narratives reflect cultural beliefs and practices if analyzed properly. He goes on to explain that no single interpretation of a narrative is right or wrong but should be analyzed in layers and from multiple perspectives because each analysis can yield important data about the culture. Furthermore, multiple analyses are more likely to be accurate than a single analysis alone. Blackburn proposes looking at the following aspects, or layers, when approaching oral narratives: *material content; social organization; interpersonal relations; sanctions, postulates and world views*; as well as *inversions, distortions and fantasies*. Material content can include aspects such as setting, and objects like clothing, containers, tools, etc. These types of items likely reflect the setting and objects from the culture of the community. This can yield important information about daily life. Social organization can include issues such as hierarchy, family structures, gender status, and political structure (i.e. depictions of people in power). These structures are likely the same as the cultural social organization and can help explain the dynamics of people within the culture. This is also true of interpersonal relations that demonstrate interaction between men and women, parents and children, siblings, as well as grandparents and grandchildren. All these elements help establish routines and daily life within a culture (Blackburn 1980).

Blackburn also discusses the analysis of sanctions, postulates and worldviews, as well as inversions, distortions and fantasy. Postulates are both normative and existential. “Existential postulates are statements about the nature of things,” whereas, “normative postulates are concerned with desirable states and goals” (Blackburn, 1980: 64). Both postulates can be derived from texts by 1) explanatory statements and elements of the narrative, 2) characteristic features of the plot, and 3)

positive and negative outlooks within the dramatic action of the story. Blackburn explains that positive norms are more difficult to identify than negative norms because they are more ambiguously represented and their significance can be difficult to assess. Together, these issues can help demonstrate cultural outlooks within the community. Blackburn then lists the following topics that can be analyzed in relation to world view: assumptions about beings, the universe, good and bad, danger and unpredictability, time and space, as well as beliefs, knowledge, age, prudence, self-constraint, moderation, reciprocity, honesty, industriousness, dependability and responsibility, self-assertion and self-respect, pragmatism, etiquette, and language. These are all important aspects of culture that are reflected within narratives. Blackburn goes on to explain that inversions of these ideals are significant in the same sense. Both these issues, as well as the aforementioned aspects dealing with material items and social structures, help to fully represent the culture. This layered analysis helps to fully exemplify the culture of the narrative community.

The research conducted by Hymes, Tedlock, Woodbury, and Blackburn all demonstrate potential ways of analyzing verbal art. Each of these techniques can yield important cultural information. By utilizing these techniques in conjunction with one another, researchers can create a clearer picture of a given culture through analysis of a community's narratives.

### **Considerations for Endangered Language Learning and Preservation**

It is difficult to estimate the total number of languages that are spoken around the world because it is challenging to draw a line between dialects and languages. However, it is clear that the majority of the world's languages are spoken by a minority of people. In order for languages to thrive, they need thriving communities. These communities create the necessary domains for various language uses. However, minority languages often exist in a diglossic relationship to a majority language. This means that majority languages are usually used in official capacities—which may include government and school—while minority languages are spoken at home. Diglossic relationships can be stable;

however more often than not, the relationship is not stable—meaning languages are competing for domains and speakers. Furthermore, the majority language usually possesses greater linguistic capital meaning that it is viewed as having greater acquisitional worth. This relationship between languages then begins to affect not only official public domains of languages, but also private home domains. If a minority language is viewed as having little worth, speakers may not speak the language at home and may not pass the language on to their children. When a language is no longer passed from parent to child, the language is at high risk of extinction because this is the most effective means of language learning. As majority languages gain more domains and greater linguistic capital, minority languages are dying at a rapid rate (Nettle and Romaine 2000).

Because minority languages are rapidly declining, there is a general push among linguists to document and preserve these languages because of their cultural and linguistic importance. Currently, there are over 270 languages in the US and Canada that are not mutually intelligible. These languages stem from approximately 50 different language families. Each of the language families brings vast amounts of diversity both linguistically and culturally. Languages are highly adapted to both their physical and cultural environment and help us to understand people and therefore culture (Mithun 1998). This means that minority languages are like a “living museum” to their cultures (Nettle and Romaine 2000). Therefore, as linguistic diversity decreases, cultural diversity decreases. Not only does diversity make the world a more interesting place, Nettle and Romaine explain that there are moral, ethical, and aesthetic reasons for language preservation stating that “the right of people to exist, to practice, and reproduce in their own language and culture should be inalienable” (2000:173).

Languages not only help us to understand culture, but they also give us greater insight into how languages work, and therefore, how the mind works. Because Native American languages are so diverse, they give us great insight into the possibilities for language structure and how the mind processes not

only these specific structures, but language in general. Linguistic diversity provides a means of understanding language and language within the mind. Part of the reason why there is so much linguistic diversity among Native American languages is because the languages function in smaller communities, which allow more opportunities for linguistic complexity, unlike Indo-European languages, which are mostly grammatically streamlined because they are spoken by such large numbers of people (Nettle and Romaine 2000). This same phenomenon can be seen in social networks as well. In a close group of friends, there are certain jokes, phrases, etc. that are shared between members of a social network. As the circle broadens, features such as inside jokes diminish. This kind of linguistic complexity is an invaluable asset for linguistic study.

Additionally, languages begin to lose their complexity the less they are used. This occurs for many reasons. First, when there are fewer opportunities to use a language, the language begins to lose the vocabulary that was previously used in these domains. Second, as the language begins to give way to the more dominant language, the minority language begins to borrow more words from the majority language as the language stops evolving with social needs. Third, only fluent speakers utilize the full extent of grammatical complexities within a language. Finally, the last things to be learned by speakers are the first things to be lost as a language transitions and the last things to be learned are the complex subtleties of the language (Dorian 1989). When fluent speakers have fewer opportunities to speak in the minority language, these features begin to be lost. Unless these features are documented, they will disappear and the knowledge they encapsulate, as well as the uniqueness in speech from individual languages, will disappear with them. Fluent speakers, especially L1 speakers, play a significant role in maintaining linguistic features not only because they are the only type of speaker to fully utilize the grammatical and lexical features, but also because they have the ability to make up words, phrases and sentences on the spot; whereas semi-speakers rely on previously established features of the language

(Nettle and Romaine 2000). Without fluent speakers to help the language evolve, the language will stagnate and continue to submit more and more conversational domains to the majority language.

Types of language speakers are an important aspect of language preservation. Rosa Vallejos (2014) defines four different types of speakers: fluent speakers, semi-speakers, ghost speakers, and neo-speakers. Vallejos defines fluent speakers as speakers who have the ability to speak spontaneously with minimal borrowings. She goes on to define semi-speakers as those who have the ability to understand the language but have limited production abilities within the language. Ghost speakers are those who clearly have some knowledge of the language, but deny this knowledge. Vallejos explains that this is often due to embarrassment about the language itself. Finally, neo-speakers are those who have learned the language due to revitalization efforts; however, their exposure to language has usually been minimal (Vallejos 2014). Nettle and Romaine define another type of language learner: rememberers. Rememberers are speakers who remember bits of the language but never learned or utilized the language in its full extent (Nettle and Romaine 2000). Charles Voegelin (1977) also defines different levels of language speakers. Like Vallejos, Voegelin defines fluent and semi-speakers. However, Voegelin also lists inserters and non-speakers as types of speakers. Inserters can understand culturally significant words within the language but have no structural or peripheral vocabulary knowledge and non-speakers cannot speak the language at all. Different types of speakers have a dramatic impact on the overall success of language preservation because their ossified forms are what the next generation will learn. If speakers are not fluent and only pass on a simplified form of the language, the complexities of the language will be lost (Hinton 2011).

In her article “The significance of diversity in language endangerment and preservation,” Marianne Mithun (1998) explains that diversity includes not only the languages themselves, but also the diverse communities in which these languages are spoken—the attitudes and goals of the speakers, and

the resources available to these speakers. Some communities were severely impacted by boarding schools which discouraged the use of native languages. As a result, many families today are unwilling to put their children through the same thing, and are therefore unwilling to pass on the language. Furthermore, many communities are highly integrated with western culture because of their location. These communities depend on Anglo culture for resources and education and are highly impacted by other western influences like television. In these situations, the language has often struggled as minority language domains give way to the majority language. On the other hand, other communities, such as the Inuktitut, the Navajo, and the Cree have been extremely isolated with less western influences and therefore the language has had greater success. Communities, such as the Mohawk, have also been successful at passing on their language despite their lack of isolation. Mithun (1998) attributes this success to the value among tribal members for tribal relations and skillful language use. Communities vary in their sociolinguistic contexts, but what is important to the researcher is the idea that each of these communities is unique and has a unique relationship with their language. Therefore there is no one-size-fits-all solution to language maintenance.

Various communities have different attitudes about their language and what should be done in terms of preservation. Some communities believe that humans should not interfere with the death of the language because death is a part of the natural course of the language. Furthermore, some communities believe it is wrong to write down the language. The act of writing a language is seen as violence because it destroys the natural state of the language. Other communities hesitate to work with outsiders because they feel that an outsider will not care, or have the knowledge, to be respectful of the language itself. Within these communities, parents also believe that passing on the language is not in the child's best interest both because of boarding schools, and because it is not economically productive (Mithun 1998). However, through her research with Kokama, an endangered language from the Peruvian Amazon, Vallejos found that by working with the community on language, attitudes toward

language and overall cultural self-esteem improved over time. Furthermore, there are also many positive attitudes towards language preservation. Many cultures value bilingualism and are enthusiastic about language preservation and language learning. They also understand that certain aspects of the culture, such as jokes, ceremonies, stories, and modes of interaction cannot be translated and work hard to preserve the language so that these culture aspects, as well as others, may also be saved (Mithun 1998). Any given community likely has a mix of these attitudes, which create a need for a unique approach to language preservation and learning.

Different communities also have different resources available to them. Mithun explains that a community that has large numbers of speakers has an advantage because there are more opportunities for language learners to use the language. However, if there are very few speakers, there may be difficulty, not only in creating opportunities to speak, but also in creating materials and staffing language classes, especially if these speakers are very elderly. Also, different language communities have different access to resources such as language workshops and pedagogical tools. Language workshops are a great opportunity for speakers to access other speakers and have generally been on the rise among endangered language communities over the past several years. Mithun (1998) goes on to explain that a good language program should play to the strengths of the language and the community to utilize what resources are available to the community.

Finally, different communities will likely have different goals for language learning and preservation. Some communities may choose, by choice or by default, to allow nature to run its course even if the consequence is language death. Other communities may be highly motivated to preserve their language and create a bilingual community; some of these communities may not even need outside assistance to maintain their language. Other communities may have no goals at all, which makes creating a language preservation program difficult and often leads to language decline by default



(Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998). However, most communities will likely fall somewhere in between and may need help setting language goals. In these instances, it is important that linguists help these communities to set realistic goals for language preservation and learning (Mithun 1998).

Because each language community is so different, there are a variety of approaches to language learning and preservation. However, certain aspects of language preservation hold true across communities. First, in order for a language to thrive, it needs a community to thrive within. Therefore, it is necessary to preserve both the habitat and the culture of the language. Furthermore, languages need different domains to produce different styles of discourse. The more domains a language can acquire, the more it will flourish. Second, minority language use at home can greatly affect the health of the language. Languages passed on through traditional transmission—from parent to child—are more likely to be successful. Moreover, while it is not always possible to control what language is used within public domains, most speakers will not experience government interference when deciding what language they use within the home. In addition to this idea, global languages function as a way of communicating as a “global citizen,” while local languages are a way of expressing identity and culture (Nettle and Romaine 2000). Fostering a minority language at home can be a good way to develop this relationship between languages.

Language preservation and learning strategies should be tailored to their community and can be divided into two categories: bottom up strategies and top down strategies. Bottom up strategies include work done at the community level and language transmission within the home. Community work can range from social ties that encourage language, to establishing language workshops. Top down strategies stem from official entities that help promote language usage. This can include laws protecting language, the right of parents to choose how children are educated, policies that promote the language, as well as the creation of agencies for language preservation and maintenance. Both bottom up and top

down strategies have their advantages depending on the specific approaches to these strategies (Nettle and Romaine 2000).

Specific approaches to language learning can differ immensely to meet the needs of the language and its speakers. Language programs within the schools are one effective method of language teaching. These programs can include language immersion schools, summer immersion camps, and language classes taught at English speaking schools (Hinton 2011). When minority languages are taught at school, especially in combination with home use, the domains for the language increase, which helps the overall success of the language. According to Nettle and Romaine (2000), languages that are not taught in school struggle to survive because of the lack of domains in which to use the language. However, in communities where there are few speakers, especially when the language is only spoken by elders, school programs can be difficult because of the lack of teachers. In these situations, there are a few options. First, intensive programs for adults can help to generate teachers for the younger generation. Second, the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program has demonstrated great success in language learning. These programs pair learners with native speakers. As the native speakers are often elderly, the language learner helps the native speaker with their needs, and in return, that native speaker passes on the language. These programs have been especially successful as they provide an immersion-like setting in which to transmit the language. The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program can also be used as a supplement to classroom learning. A third type of language learning program is training for parents. In these programs, teachers provide language training for parents who then pass the language on to their children. Finally, if the language is dead, documentation of the language can be used to revitalize the language (Hinton 2011). This approach also demonstrates the necessity for language documentation.

The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (MALLP) was developed in 1992 by Leanne Hinton. Hinton's book *How to keep your Language Alive* (2002) proposes a variety of components for language learning that are useful not only for MALLP, but also for the classroom setting. The goal of the program is to spend anywhere between 10 to 20 hours per week speaking the language. This kind of immersion is important for the successful transmission of a language. It is important, especially when learning an endangered language, to speak about both traditional issues, and modern issues and topics. If the language is to survive at all, it must also be able to adapt to modern language situations. Without modern lexicon, the language will stagnate and die because there is no longer productivity. However, language is culture and if a language is to truly survive, it must carry the customs and values of the culture with it. Narratives are one good means of cultural communication. In most cases, elders are familiar with traditional narratives, but in cases where they are not, they may be able to refer to other elders, or written material. Hinton goes on to explain that while written language does have its uses, in terms of language learning, the most important aspects are listening and speaking. This predominantly concerns working with a fluent speaker, but audio-visual materials can also be a great asset as they provide opportunities for interaction when the learner is away from the speaker. Furthermore, audio-visual materials provide a good record of the language for preservation (Hinton 2002; Vallejos 2014).

The more immersed in the language the learner can become, the more successful the language learning process will be. This means rejecting English, or another majority language, as much as possible. Pictures, objects, gestures, and expressions are all ways of conveying meaning without using English. Hinton also explains the importance of using full sentences when teaching. Though the learner may sometimes only retain one target word in the sentence, exposure to the full grammatical structure of the language is crucial for long term language learning success. Narratives are significant to these two components as well. First, narratives provide exposure not only to culture, but also to the full grammatical structure of the language and a wealth of lexical items. Second, though in general the

learner should strive to reject English, an English translation or summary may be useful in the case of narratives. Access to some English provides learners with an opportunity to understand the narrative. Once the learner understands the overall meaning, they can begin to pick up simple words and phrases. Over time, the learner can begin to pick up more complex aspects of the narrative. It can be useful for the learner to try to tell bits of the story back—growing in grammatical and lexical complexity over time. Additionally, the narrative provides an excellent way for the learner to hear the language. The learner can also try to say the narrative along with the speaker as a way of learning correct pronunciation and speed of fluency. This technique is called shadowing (Hinton 2002). Overall, these are crucial skills to successful language learning.

In addition to language learning, Vallejos (2014) focuses mainly on the documentation and preservation aspects of endangered languages; these findings can then be used for language learning strategies. First, Vallejos explains interaction styles between linguists and community members that help to improve relations and overall results for language preservation and learning projects. The most important component of interaction is collaboration. Collaboration between community members and linguists helps to improve the relationship between the two parties. Furthermore, it allows the community to lead the project. This makes them more invested in the project, creating a more positive attitude about themselves and their language, and towards the linguist. Collaboration also yields better data. This is true not only in language preservation, but in language learning programs. Vallejos explains that the interviews and material were collected by community members who were fluent speakers, which lead to a more accurate representation of the language, and therefore, better data. If Vallejos had conducted these interviews herself, the community members likely would have simplified their speech patterns. Community members also felt more comfortable sharing information with other community members, which allowed greater insight into the culture. Finally, collaboration helps to provide checks

and balances for accuracy. Community members have a say in the way the language is portrayed, which ensures that the portrayal is accurate.

Vallejos also discusses the types of data that should be collected. Typically researchers focus on the speech patterns of fluent speakers as this represents the full complexity of the language. However, Vallejos argues that researchers should look at interactions between other types of speakers, and across types of speakers, as well. Speech patterns across different types of speakers, e.g. fluent speakers and semi-speakers, can demonstrate important patterns within the language. Furthermore, these patterns can help linguists to better understand the process of language acquisition and de-acquisition within the mind. This is also true of interactions between other speakers including neo-speakers. Neo-speakers are also significant to understanding language learning within the community as they display cultural trends within language learning. Neo-speakers tend to be the most aware of the language status and are highly involved in language revitalization efforts. Furthermore, neo-speakers often have a well-respected position in the community and have a greater sense of accomplishment in their language learning efforts. This is good in terms of language attitude and is in opposition to ghost speakers who have negative attitudes towards language learning and the language itself; however, this can also be negative for language learning as it may cause language learning to stagnate and fossilize earlier.

The data produced by research like Vallejos helps to generate material as well as methods for language learning. Materials can differ greatly from dictionaries and grammars to materials produced from narratives. Vallejos (2014), Hinton (2002), as well as Nettle and Romaine (2000) all explain that grammars and dictionaries are important resources for a language, but cannot be the only material used for language learning, preservation, or actual use because they only translate a fraction of the language. Grammars and dictionaries isolate language from culture and are often not the best tool for language learning; however, they also provide important data for the language and can be a helpful resource for

all speakers. Narratives are an excellent way to demonstrate the language and grammar at use within its cultural context. Vallejos argues that ultimately, language preservation must go beyond narratives as this is only one linguistic domain and there are many genres of narratives; however she still notes the value of narrative as well because they help capture language as a practice rather than a system by capturing the culture of a language.

Overall, there are a number of considerations for language learning and preservation programs. Teaching and preserving endangered languages is different than any other type of language learning because the accuracy and fluency of the speakers affect the way the language will be spoken in the future. In majority languages, the fluency of individual speakers has no impact on the survival of the language. Furthermore, each community differs in its context, attitudes, resources, and goals. This means that each community must develop language learning and preservation programs that suit the community needs. Communities with many speakers may be successful at establishing school programs. However, smaller communities with few speakers may need to start smaller with programs like the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program. In the end, it is important to maintain the community and the culture along with the language. Narratives are one step toward preserving and learning the language in its cultural context.

## Methods

This thesis looks at Shoshoni oral narrative to demonstrate the importance of narratives in cultural preservation and language learning. The idea for this thesis really began while reading *Red Tape* by Akhil Gupta (2012). In the text, he explains that narratives are more powerful than statistics citing the famous quote attributed to Stalin—“*one death is a tragedy, a million is a statistic.*” This sparked a discussion on the importance of narratives within a culture. This section details the process I underwent to establish a theoretical background for building my thesis, the creation of the thesis project itself, and the methods of analysis that will be discussed in the next section. Along with my thesis research, I have also been working to create language materials using narratives for the Shoshone community. I will describe and discuss this project towards the end of this section.

I felt to truly understand the significance of narratives, I first needed to define narrative itself. As discussed in the Literature Review, there are both inclusive and exclusive views for approaching narrative. While I believe all of the definitions of narrative are helpful at demonstrating the academic dynamic of narrative, I found the broader definitions to be more useful in understanding narrative impact. The more narrow definitions, such as the presence of a narrator, fail to capture the magnitude of narrative and exclude important exchanges that operate similarly to narrative. For instance, Toolan (1988) explains that narrative must have a traditional story structure including a beginning, middle, end, moral, characters, setting, and drama. However, in reality, narratives may not be this neat. Sometimes our interactions are messy, disjointed, and not always with a purpose as specific as a moral. This does not mean that these exchanges are not a part of narrative. Despite this, understanding terms such as *narratize* and *narrativity*, which describe these two phenomena, can help to classify narrative and understand how it fits within discourse or community (Abbott 2008; White 1980).

I also found the definitions that included grammatical structure to be less useful for my purposes, because they really did not lend any significance to the importance of narrative. Furthermore, like the other narrow definitions of narrative, the grammatical definitions often eliminate exchanges that fit into larger narratives. For instance, Abbott (2008) explains that a description such as “my dog has fleas” does not fit within the confines of narrative. However, this statement likely fits into a larger context, which is in fact, part of a narrative. This becomes even more apparent in descriptive statements that carry more social significance. For instance, descriptions of political or cultural ideals fit into a larger internal narrative for perceiving different ideas and cultures. Overall, the definitions describing grammatical features failed to acknowledge situational context implications concerning narrative. Furthermore, while understanding these definitions of narrative can help to classify narratives and explain certain phenomenon within narrative, definitions that limit the scope of narrative fail to incorporate the larger implications of narrative within culture.

The more inclusive definitions proved to be more useful because they are more successful at extending narrative across disciplines, mediums, and types of discourse. White’s (1980) interpretation, which defines narrative as how we interact and give meaning to things, demonstrates the real reaches of narrative impact. If the definition of narrative can be anything involving human perception and interaction, it is clear that narrative is not just an integral part of culture, but a part of the species. This is further supported by Abbott (2008) who explains that narratives are so pervasive they must be a part of our brain structure. Though I ultimately chose to analyze a narrative that fits within a more traditional definition of narrative, this integral link between all humans and narratives described by the more inclusive definition of narrative was really the basis for my project.

Despite this strong connection between humans and narrative, we tend to reject narrative within western culture. White (1980) explains that our value on objectivity causes us to reject



narrativity. This is especially well demonstrated by the words *anecdote*, and *anecdotal*. While the word *anecdote* has a positive connotation and means a short, usually humorous, story, *anecdotal* has a negative connotation and calls into question the legitimacy of a claim because it is not based on factual evidence. Furthermore, within western culture, we tend to set ourselves above other cultures which place more value on narrative than on objectivity. However, when we accept that narrative can really be anything, this practice comes into question. White's more inclusive definition of narrative helps to level the playing field between cultures as we really are each just perceiving the world through different narratives.

Initially, I was concerned with whether or not a narrative was factual, at least in the context of the community. However, as my research progressed, I realized that this really did not matter as the effect of the narrative within the community was the same. Therefore, the definition of narrative may not need to extend as far as Sartre (1938), who questions whether any narrative can be factual as everything is experiencing some level of interpretation. Ultimately, I found this distinction to be another way to minimize the scope, and therefore, impact of narrative. Thus the inclusive definitions limit *otherization* between cultures and help to show just how important narratives are to culture, worldview, and ultimately the species.

This understanding of narrative impact became an important brick in the foundation of my project. While cultivating my understanding of narrative, I read *Life Within Limits* by Michael Jackson (2011). Jackson describes the people of Sierra Leone and much of the ethnography focused on relating narratives from the culture. These narratives played a clear and crucial role in daily life in the community. However, throughout the book, Jackson makes a point of rejecting these narratives in terms of his own beliefs. This made me question how close the link is between narrative and culture and could we really claim to understand a culture without tuning in to their narratives? Whether or not it is

necessary to adopt the beliefs conveyed by the narrative is up for debate. However, given that these people structured their lives around these beliefs, it seems crucial to become a part of these narratives in order to truly understand the culture. This is true not only of preliterate communities, but all cultures because we all use narrative in some regard.

While defining narratives helped to expand the possibilities of narrative, it did not fully explore my initial question on the relationship between narrative and culture. The definition helped to clarify the importance of narrative, but how a narrative operates within a culture remained somewhat vague. Therefore, I began specifically exploring the relationship between narrative and culture itself. I first began looking at narratives within cultures in general. While there is very little consistency in narrative form across cultures, it is clear that cultures use narratives as a way of transmitting knowledge and beliefs (Green, Strange, and Brock 2003). This idea then grew into the cyclical relationship between culture and narrative. We first store our knowledge and beliefs within a narrative; then these stories are transmitted, and others shape their own knowledge and beliefs through the narrative (Gubrium and Holstein 2009).

This initial perspective on narrative and culture gave me the information I needed to start building my own project. I chose to work with Shoshoni narratives because of my previous work with the culture and language through the Northern Shoshoni Dictionary Project. Furthermore, Idaho State University has a large inventory of narratives on tape, which were collected by Sven Liljeblad and Wick Miller. Though many of these narratives have been transcribed and translated into English by Drusilla Gould, little else has been done with these narratives. My first goal was to analyze a narrative to show its potential for cultural and linguistic importance. My second goal was to use this narrative to create language learning material for the Shoshone community. This project will be detailed toward the end of this section.

In preliterate communities, narratives are told both as a way of transmitting and storing knowledge, as well as a form of entertainment. As previously discussed, narratives are told over and over within a community until the listener knows the story by heart (Cruikshank 2000). Bits of the story are mentioned as a way of reminding the listener of a certain moral within day to day contexts. On the other hand, stories are also used to pass time. This is no different in Shoshoni culture, which restricts storytelling to winter, where communities need ways to occupy the long nights. Furthermore, narratives operate as a social practice. This means that narratives are a central part of social interaction and different narratives may take on different meanings depending on their context as well as the teller and audience (Cruikshank 2000; Gluck 2008).

The dynamic between teller and audience led me to my initial plan for analyzing Shoshoni narratives, which was to analyze the performance of the narrative for cultural importance. I first wanted to use Tedlock's (1983) theory to create a performable text for a Shoshoni narrative. I planned to combine Tedlock's ideas with my own background in poetry to recreate Tedlock's approach keeping in mind criticism such as Woodbury's (1987) to create a more accurate textual performance. I then wanted to use Hymes' (1972) SPEAKING model to analyze the speech act itself. Through these methods, I had hoped to demonstrate the importance of performance in creating meaning, as well as the importance of performance within the culture.

While I think this would yield interesting information about the community, narrative, and culture, in the end, this approach did not suit the dynamic of the community, nor the thesis project for a variety of reasons. The main problem was that if I planned to utilize the materials created by Miller and Liljeblad, it was difficult to access an authentic performance. First, I did not have access to any authentic narrative performances within the community. Second, even if I had, this did not really utilize the material that was already available, as it would likely be a different story and a different telling. Had I

had access to both a new telling, and the telling collected by Lilljeblad or Miller, it may have been interesting to look at the differences between performances. However, this was not the case. The performance that I had access to had first been recorded by Lilljeblad or Miller. Second, the narrative was translated by Drusilla Gould that she then translated from Western Shoshoni, to Northern Shoshoni. Finally, the performance of the narrative was in a sound booth where Gould read the transcribed narrative. This meant that not only was the initial telling somewhat inauthentic as it was synthesized, the same is especially true of the end result. Ultimately, I felt that the narrative telling that I would have access to had been through too many processes to accurately analyze performance. I believe in a different community, this method would be an interesting way of looking at narrative.

Because performance analysis was not conducive to the dynamics of the project, I chose to focus on textual analysis while working closely with Gould to gain perspective on the community. Drawing on theories from Blackburn, Hymes and Woodbury, this thesis will break down a traditional Shoshoni oral narrative into layers to show the potential of narratives for cultural preservation and language learning.

Once I had chosen a method of analysis, I began searching for a specific narrative to analyze. Gould and I worked together to decide which narrative to use. We first talked about the possibilities between oral histories and traditional narratives. Once we had agreed on traditional narratives, we decided to use an animal story as these are some of the more traditional narratives. Our next step was to begin looking through the list of available narratives recorded by Sven Liljeblad and Wick Miller. Drusilla Gould selected the stories she felt best captured the culture and language of the Shoshone people. From this list, I then found the narratives that had been translated and were accessible for use. After that, I perused the available narratives to choose a narrative I felt had some interesting cultural

and linguistic points for analysis. I ultimately chose the Buffalo Story, originally told by Maude Moon<sup>2</sup>, which Gould agreed had some unique linguistic features and important cultural topics for discussion.

The first method of analysis I will explore for this text is based on Blackburn's theory. Blackburn analyzes Chumash narratives primarily through layered contextual analysis. These levels of analysis include *material content; social organization; interpersonal relations; sanctions, postulates and world views*; as well as *inversions, distortions and fantasies*. These aspects are all available in Shoshoni Oral narratives for analysis—each providing interesting insight to the people and culture. These are the main areas of analysis that will be explored throughout the course of the next section. I intend to break down each of these topics to demonstrate their presence and significance within Shoshoni oral narrative.

Following the textual analysis, I will discuss options for linguistic analysis using theories by Hymes and Woodbury. Both Hymes and Woodbury call for an organization of structural and linguistic details throughout the text. Though Hymes predominantly focuses on sentence initial particles, Woodbury has a more inclusive linguistic approach to analyze features of the language across the narrative. This analysis offers interesting insight into the text by demonstrating patterns of speech that can illuminate cultural issues. A number of linguistic features are present in the Buffalo text chosen for this thesis; I will discuss several of these features in depth throughout the Discussion section.

The options for contextual and linguistic analysis of narratives is infinite, and this thesis only claims to look at a sampling of these features. The main goal of this thesis is to demonstrate the possibilities for analysis through this sampling. Though I could focus solely on a single feature and provide a more in depth analysis, this type of analysis is unlikely to be as accurate, as the lens for discussion is too narrow to fully understand the culture. By approaching the narrative in layers, I hope to

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<sup>2</sup> Maude Moon was born in 1888 near the present location of the Gosiute reservation. Her dialect of Shoshoni shows influences from the Skull River Valley, Fort Hall and Wind River. She has contributed significantly to the preservation and documentation of the Shoshoni language.

find reoccurring themes across the text that are more likely to be significant within the actual culture. To help create checks and balances within the analysis, I will also incorporate interviews with Drusilla Gould to show how the emic and etic views of the narrative come together.

Because there are so many approaches to narrative, there is a wide variety of further research to be done on narratives in general, and specifically Shoshoni oral narratives. As previously mentioned, I believe performance analysis could offer interesting cultural insights for the community. Furthermore, if this project were to continue, I would like to survey the features observed in this text across Shoshoni narratives to gain a better understanding of the Shoshone culture. Additionally, a more in depth analysis could be done on any number of the features I will discuss. There are also other methods of analysis that are not broached in this paper. As narrative is such a broad topic, it is necessary to focus on only a few features at a time for analysis, especially for a project of this size. Though this thesis does not claim to provide a complete analysis of even the Buffalo narrative, it still provides useful insight into Shoshone culture and the relationship between Shoshone culture and Shoshoni narratives.

### **Shoshoni Oral Narratives Project Description and Details**

I began the Northern Shoshoni Narrative Project in the 2013-2014 academic year. It is aimed at creating language learning materials for Shoshone community members and Shoshoni language learners. The materials produced by this project will be utilized by the Shoshoni language program at Idaho State University and the Idaho State University Anthropology department. The project will include both a video and a reader using a traditional Shoshoni oral narrative. Both the video and the reader will provide opportunities for language learners to interact with the Shoshoni language outside of the classroom.

The video portion of the project will have two segments—one with the narrative in Shoshoni and the other with the narrative in English with both Shoshoni and English subtitles available for each.

Additionally, video footage and illustrations will accompany this audio to help the reader follow along. Having a variety of language options in the text and audio allows the viewer to customize their experience based on the language learner. New learners can listen to the video in English with or without English subtitles to interact with the culture and familiarize themselves with the story. An intermediate learner can combine English audio and Shoshoni text, or Shoshoni audio and English text to interact with both the culture and language, while still having English to refer back to. An advanced learner can listen to the Shoshoni audio with Shoshoni text to be sure they can hear and understand each word in the narrative. Finally, a fluent speaker can listen to the narrative in Shoshoni with or without text as a way of interacting with their language and culture, regardless of proximity to other Shoshoni speakers.

The reader portion of the project will be a small book complete with side by side English and Shoshoni texts of the narrative as well as illustrations. These types of readers are extremely beneficial to language learning because they allow the reader to work with the text based on their individual needs in much the same way the video does. However, unlike the video, the reader allows learners to work at their own pace. Moreover, while the video provides easy accessibility to areas with internet availability; the book provides maximum accessibility where there is not easy access to technology. Furthermore, the book can easily be simplified to accommodate different ages and reading grade levels to further increase the range of speaking levels that utilize the material.

A central consideration for creating language learning material is the community in which these materials will be utilized. As explained by Mithun (1998), different communities have different contexts, resources, attitudes, abilities, and goals. Material should be suited for individual community needs. Collaboration is often the best way to be sure that these needs are met. The materials, in this case narrative materials can be used in a variety of ways. Narratives are especially useful as they capture

both the linguistic complexities as well as the culture complexities of the language. These materials can then be used in speaking, listening, and comprehension activities outlined in the next chapter.

Currently, there is an inherent lack of learning materials in the Shoshoni language making it hard for language learners to interact with their language. This project should help to create materials and open the door for similar projects to be completed in the future. Additionally, they will make an excellent tool for both the Shoshoni Language Program and the Anthropology Department at Idaho State University. The following section will demonstrate the uses for this material, as well as the textual analysis, in preserving and teaching Shoshoni culture.



## Discussion

Narratives and culture have a cyclical relationship—each existing as a product of the other. Therefore, analyzing narratives can provide important insight for a community. In order to understand the context of the narrative, it is necessary to understand the context of the community. The following section will provide information on the Shoshoni language and culture, as well as the Shoshoni language program at Idaho State University. The subsequent section breaks down a Shoshoni oral narrative, a buffalo story, to demonstrate the cultural information housed within a narrative. Though there are an infinite number of ways to approach this analysis, this section looks at the content of the narrative by breaking the narrative down into layers using Blackburn's model. At the surface, there is the material content of the story, next the social organization and the interpersonal relations, then the sanctions, postulates, and worldviews; finally, the inversions, distortions and fantasies. Next, this analysis looks at the linguistic features of the text as discussed by Hymes and Woodbury. The findings of this analysis will then be used to demonstrate the uses of narrative for language preservation and language learning with specific attention to the Shoshoni Oral Narrative Project.

### **Language Family and Location**

Shoshoni is a member of the Uto-Aztecan language family in the Central Numic Branch. Comanche and Timbisha are also a part of the Central Numic Branch. Shoshoni breaks down into three dialects: Western Shoshoni, Northern Shoshoni, and Eastern Shoshoni. These dialects are spoken in Idaho, Wyoming, and Nevada as well as parts of Oregon, Utah, and California (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2014). This project focuses on the Northern Shoshoni dialect, and works specifically with members of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation. This reservation borders three cities: American Falls to the West, Blackfoot to the North, and Pocatello to the South. There are approximately 5000 members of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes living both on and off the Fort Hall reservation (Personal

Communication, Drusilla Gould, May 12, 2014). Bannock, a dialect of Northern Paiute and a Western Numic language, is also spoken in this area, but is not within the scope of this thesis.

### **Sociocultural Context**

The Shoshone-Bannock Tribes have a high level of interaction with western culture and have had for quite some time. According to Drusilla Gould (Personal Communication, May 12, 2014), this is primarily for two reasons: 1) the reservation closely borders the cities of American Falls, Blackfoot, and Pocatello and the two communities are highly integrated. Tribal members often hold jobs off the reservation as well as rely on the social infrastructure. 2) Many children within the tribes attend western schools off the reservation. Because of this integration, while the tribe maintains many cultural practices and ceremonies, many of these are modernized.

Gould explains (Personal Communication, May 12, 2014) that one traditional cultural practice that has been altered due to western influence is the Pow-wow. This modernization is manifested in a number of ways. First, the fabrics and feathers are often synthetic, rather than being made from traditional materials such as eagle feathers and buckskins. Modern costumes are much flashier because of the use of shinier and more sparkly fabrics. Another manifestation is in the music and musical instruments used in Pow-wows. The instruments are often synthetic, much like the costumes, rather than being hand made from traditional materials. Also, the music has become more modern and many of the lyrics, such as the lyrics of many Pow-wow love songs, are in English. Finally, many of the dance moves have also become more modern. However, the dance moves are least impacted because the culture works to encourage dancers to express themselves through dance, and the dancers usually maintain this self-expression, which keeps the style more traditional.

While there are many negatives to the modernization of traditional practices, there are also several benefits. Pow-wows began as a way of celebrating American holidays, and therefore, have

always been a practice meant for public gatherings, whereas traditional ceremonies are practiced privately (Personal Communication, Christopher Loether, May 30, 2014). The changes in more public traditions can protect the more sacred ceremonies. Pow-wows are a more inclusive events whereas ceremonies are practiced exclusively among certain tribal members. Therefore, using synthetic feathers in the Pow-wow keeps the use of a real eagle feather, which carries great cultural significance, limited to ceremonies, and thus, sacred. When real eagle feathers are used for Pow-wows, certain traditions are observed to help maintain the sacredness of the eagle feather. If, for instance, a feather is dropped, certain measures must be met to protect the cultural importance of the feather (Personal Communication, Christopher Loether, May 30, 2014). This ensures that the eagle feather is used in the proper way with respect to the culture and narrative of the community.

Furthermore, Gould (Personal Communication, May 12, 2014) states that despite high levels of western integration within the tribe, many traditional social aspects remain intact. For instance, family structures, norms of communication, and community expectations differ significantly from Anglo-American culture. Ceremonies and ways of worship are another aspect that has remained more traditional. These practices are carefully monitored to be sure they maintain their traditional form. When ceremonial practices, such as a ceremonial dance, begin to alter, often an elder will step in and correct the change. The elders teach the meaning behind the dance movements so that the dancer can understand the importance of the movement and execute the movements correctly.

According to Gould (Personal Communication, May 12, 2014), some traditional practices have been completely lost. One example is a courting dance called *Wehe'negi'pe*, which is danced in pairs. Many other traditional songs and dances have been lost as well. This is often due to a change in the environment. Pollution and other influences of westernization have changed the environment, resulting in the loss of some plants and animals necessary for certain ceremonies, meaning the ceremony can no

longer be practiced. Many of the elders still retain this knowledge; however, the knowledge will soon be lost without social environments to pass this knowledge on to the younger generation. The necessity of these materials for the ceremony can be compared to baking and the use of ingredients. If certain ingredients are not available, the recipe cannot be completed properly (Personal Communication, Drusilla Gould, May 12, 2014). Many believe that this disruption in the environment is one of the most hurtful and harmful results of westernization.

Historically, much of the integration between the two cultures, both culturally and linguistically, stems from the American Indian boarding schools, which began in the 1800s. Boarding schools have played a major role in the integration of Native American cultures into Anglo-American society throughout the United States, and Shoshoni is no different. Boarding schools produced a variety of attitudes both toward Shoshoni, as well as American culture. Gould (Personal Communication, May 12, 2014) explains that some Native Americans believe that boarding schools had a positive impact because they taught the native people good organization, accountability, and hygiene, as well as gave native people new perspectives and prepared them for the future. Furthermore, boarding schools increased appreciation for native life and their language (Personal Communication, Drusilla Gould, May 12, 2014). However, boarding schools also produced negative attitudes among tribal members towards both the language and the culture. Boarding schools also impacted the trust between the Native American and western communities, which has diminished the willingness of community members to work with linguists or other outsiders. Additionally, boarding schools made many tribal members feel ashamed or embarrassed of their culture and language, making them reluctant to pass the language on to their children. Moreover, while in boarding schools, many native speakers forgot their language. These attitudes have led to a great deal of loss of language and culture. Although there are both positive and negative attitudes associated with boarding schools, the effect of integration between these two cultures is undeniable.

Negative attitudes towards the Shoshoni language and culture also stem from economic considerations. There are a greater number and variety of jobs for which it is necessary to speak English. Children are also more likely to be successful in school if they embrace English and western school as many Anglo-American expectations clash with Shoshoni culture. For example, it is taboo in the Shoshone culture to talk about oneself. Yet, in western culture, it is expected that children will share their accomplishments. Furthermore, a successful job interview is usually dependent on the interviewee's ability to brag about themselves and their accomplishments. Because of these considerations, many tribal members feel that there is a greater chance for economic success if they embrace western culture (Personal Communication, Drusilla Gould, May 12, 2014).

### **Sociolinguistic Context**

It is difficult to estimate the number of Shoshoni speakers as there are no reliable figures for this information. Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig, 2014) reports 1000 speakers, and the 2010 census (Moseley 2010) reports 2800 speakers. However, the number is likely somewhere closer to 4000 or 5000 speakers with a native population of 12,000 (Loether 2006). A vast majority of these speakers are elders. In Fort Hall, it is estimated that less than 5% of the speakers are under the age of 18 (Loether 2006). Because of the uneven distribution of speakers, UNESCO (Moseley 2010) lists Shoshoni as severely endangered, and Ethnologue (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2014) lists Shoshoni as threatened.

The language has three different orthographies in use. These include the Wick Miller orthography, ISU orthography, and the Tadzump Orthography. The Wick Miller orthography is phonemically based and originated at the University of Utah. This orthography was named after the late Wick Miller and it is the most widely used orthography in publications. The ISU orthography is phonetically based and was created by Drusilla Gould and Christopher Loether at Idaho State University. The Tadzump orthography originated in Wyoming and is predominately used in that area (Personal

Communication, Christopher Loether, April 3, 2014). This is an important factor in language learning and preservation of the language; and since there is no standardized orthography, it limits the universality of materials in the language.

While the opportunities to learn Shoshoni are limited, several schools still teach Shoshoni, and resources are available to speakers. There are programs geared toward children in both Wyoming and Idaho. In Wyoming at Fort Washakie, an elementary school program teaches the language. Additionally, classes are taught at the Wyoming Indian High School in Ethete, Wyoming. In Idaho, the Shoshone-Bannock tribe of the Fort Hall Reservation recently started an elementary immersion school. The school is in its first year with grades K-6. At the Kindergarten level, 90% of the curriculum is taught in Shoshoni and 10% in English. At the first grade level, 80% of the curriculum is taught in Shoshoni and 20% in English, and so on and so forth, until the ratio becomes 50/50. Courses are also being taught at Sho-Ban High School, which is also in Fort Hall (Personal Communication, Christopher Loether, April 3, 2014; Personal Communication, Drusilla Gould, April 30, 2014).

There are some written materials for the Shoshoni language; however, these resources are limited. Some of the materials include Shoshoni grammars by Wick Miller (1972), Beverly Crum and Jon P. Dayley (1993), Drusilla Gould and Christopher Loether (2002), as well as David Shaul (2012) Quite a few authors have also contributed to the other materials in Shoshoni (Personal Communication, Christopher Loether, April 3, 2014; Personal Communication, Drusilla Gould, April 30, 2014). Written materials can be an extremely useful way for speakers to interact with the language if they are not near other native speakers. They can also be a useful tool for language learning, specifically within the classroom. Additionally, written materials are crucial for language learning and can provide a way for the language to be revived if it is lost.

Another type of language resource is media material. Media material is also limited in the language. Wind River has a radio station, and there are a few films including *Wind River* (2000), *Comanche Moon* (2008), and *Maverick* (Personal Communication, Christopher Loether, April 3, 2014). As technology progresses, more and more materials are starting to be available online on sites such as YouTube (Personal Communication, Drusilla Gould, April 30, 2014). Much like written materials, media materials provide ways for speakers and learners to interact with the language. Media materials are especially useful because they allow speakers and learners to hear how the language sounds. This is not only an important aspect of language learning, but also provides greater accuracy in the preservation of the language.

Speaker certification, another type of language resource, can help maintain the language and encourage proficiency in speakers. Jobs can also be created around this certification, which can be an incentive for language learning. However, this resource is not widely utilized among Shoshoni speakers. Wind River is the only reservation to have a speaker certification program. Fort Hall has talked about implementing the same program, but currently, the program has not yet been initiated (Personal Communication, Christopher Loether, April 3, 2014; Personal Communication, Drusilla Gould, April 30, 2014). Without this resource, it is difficult to know the proficiency of speakers and whether they are qualified for certain language teaching and other language usage occupations, as well as titles within the community. This can impact the language and can even result in language loss if speakers claim to be fluent but are in fact only semi-speakers.

While language-centered activities in the community are limited overall, they are increasing as the push for language preservation increases. Some of these programs include Shoshoni Youth Language Apprenticeship Program (SYLAP), Wyoming Summer Culture Camp, and the Shoshoni Reunion (Personal Communication, Drusilla Gould, April 30, 2014). These activities are great opportunities for community

members to interact and collaborate because these programs provide an environment for speakers to speak and work with one another and provide additional environments for language use. Moreover, the events provide a place for speakers to work together on language learning and preservation techniques. Creating environments for language use is crucial if the language is to survive.

### **Shoshoni Language Program Context at Idaho State University**

Drusilla Gould and Christopher Loether are the co-directors of the Shoshoni Language Project at Idaho State University. Gould, who is a fluent Shoshoni speaker and an enrolled member of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes, has been teaching Shoshoni at the university since 1988. The university offers beginning and intermediate Shoshoni with an average of 10 students each semester. In addition to the language courses, Gould also teaches classes on traditional indigenous parenting, Native American arts, Native American women, and Shoshoni folklore. These courses work to teach both the language and culture to students and to raise awareness for the language and culture itself.

In addition to the courses offered by the university, Gould and Loether have produced the Online Shoshoni Dictionary (OSD) ([www.shoshonidictionary.com](http://www.shoshonidictionary.com)). I have been assisting with the dictionary project since 2012. Gould and Loether have also created a variety of other pedagogical and language materials to give learners opportunities to read and write in Shoshoni.

### **Summary of the Buffalo Narrative**

The Buffalo Story, originally told in Western Shoshoni by Maude Moon, and retold by Drusilla Gould in Northern Shoshoni, tells of a young lady who is a member of the Buffalo Eater band of Shoshoni. The young lady is the favorite wife of the leader of the band. The people lived next to a river and every day the young lady would go out to retrieve water from the river. On her way, she would pass a pile of bleached buffalo bones. Each time she passed, she would kick the bones and wish to herself



that the bones were a human being, so then she could marry him. She told the bones that she loved them. One day, the buffalo bones were gone. The young lady continued to the place where she retrieved water, looking in the water as she ran. Suddenly, she saw a reflection in the water of a handsome young man. When she turned around to see the young man, he spoke to her, which made her very shy. The young man asked the girl if she remembered the words she spoke to him. She said, “Yes,” and so she climbed up on to the young man’s back who, the story explains, is still a buffalo.

The young man carried her to the place where there were deep holes dug into the ground. This is where the buffalo herd lived. The buffalo placed the girl into one of the holes. The story explains that the buffalo had taken the girl as his wife and he began licking her genitals to cleanse them. He licked them so much that they became raw and infected. At midday, the buffalo left to the river, leaving the girl in the hole. All the other buffalo followed the commands of this buffalo, which showed that he was the leader of the herd. Therefore, when the lead buffalo left to the river, all the buffalo followed, and when he returned, all the buffalo returned. Each time he returned he began to lick the woman again.

The band of the young lady thought they had lost her and her husband wondered what had become of her. He searched for her but eventually began to give up hope—crying as he searched. One day, the men in the band went to hunt for buffalo and came to the place where the young lady was. One of the men saw her in the hole and returned to tell the chief what he had seen. The men discussed that the pile of bones was no longer along the river and, that the bones must have become a buffalo and the buffalo must have taken the girl. The men thought that they should all go to see the young lady, but the chief protested that he did not want the other men to see her in that condition and decided to go alone.

After observing the buffalo and making a plan to retrieve his wife, the chief gathered his horses and left. When he found his wife, he saw that she was very thin and frail. The young lady explained that the buffalo was the leader of the herd and could not be harmed. The chief explained his plan and told

the young lady to get on the horse. She said no and explained that the buffalo would kill him because the buffalo had special powers. The chief told her she must come with him, and so the young lady finally agreed.

When the buffalo returned, he went to check on his wife, but she was no longer there. The buffalo began to cry as he ran to look for her. The other buffalo joined him and they quickly caught up with the horses that the chief and the young lady were riding. The story begins to describe the lead buffalo as a spirit rather than a real animal to show that he is a special being. The chief told the young lady they should climb a tree to escape the buffalo, but the young lady explained there is no way to escape the buffalo. She then said the only tree that could possibly withstand the power of the buffalo is the cottonwood tree. They climbed the trees and the young lady once again explained that the lead buffalo could not be harmed because he has special powers. She explained that he does not have a heart and the only way to harm is to aim for the tip of his tail where his soul is.

When the buffalo herd arrived at the cottonwood, they passed the trees at first. However, as the lead buffalo walked under a tree, the young lady's infected skin dripped onto the back of the buffalo. The lead buffalo called to the others and they charged the tree where the chief and the young lady were hiding. The tree was able to withstand the blows of the buffalo. This gave the chief time to aim an arrow at the tail of the buffalo and the lead buffalo died. The chief and the young lady climbed out of the tree and the young lady began to cry over the buffalo. Suddenly, the lead buffalo began to stir. The young lady began helping the buffalo to breathe, and she placed dirt in her eyes as she continued to cry over him. The young lady then stood up and turned into a buffalo. The lead buffalo also stood up and together they charged the chief. The chief jumped into the tree and began to plea with the sun for help. The sun came and explained there was nothing that could be done to the lead buffalo because he was a special being. The sun also explained that now the young lady, who had once lived a

good life as a human, was now a special buffalo as well, and that there was nothing the sun could do to help the chief. The man was angry with the sun and cursed it. Just then, the two buffalo broke the cottonwood and the man fell to the ground. The lead buffalo tossed the man through the air with his horns and tore him to pieces. The two buffalo then left together—and the rat's tail fell off<sup>3</sup>.

## **Material Content**

In his book *December's Child*, Blackburn (1980) explains that material content can often yield interesting information about the environment and life style of the narrative community. Material content deals with the most surface level elements of the story, which may include setting, and objects such as clothing, containers, tools, etc. There is also another important consideration at this level of analysis—daily tasks and habits. Daily routines demonstrate the lifestyle of the community. These aspects of a story can yield important information because they likely reflect the community of the narrative. Therefore, this information can provide a portrait of life within the community—where and how they live.

The material content of this buffalo narrative can be broken down into two main categories—the setting and the objects. In general, neither of these items is given much attention or detail. First, there is very little description given of the setting. In the beginning of the story, we get a little information about the setting such as the description of the small stream that flowed next to the encampment of the tribe and the small hill next to the stream. However, these details are not especially descriptive of the land in general. Further on in the narrative, the story describes the holes that were dug into the land by the buffalo. Once again, this does not give very much information about area of the land as nearly any environment could meet these criteria. The final bit of setting we are given in the narrative is at the end of the story when the cottonwoods are described. Much like the other details of

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<sup>3</sup> "The rat's tail fell off" is the traditional way of ending a story in Shoshoni.

the story, this does not provide much information to the audience about the environment in which the story takes place.

There is also little information given to the audience in terms of objects. Though the story mentions the homes of the people, it does not describe these homes. Furthermore, later in the story, the young lady is said to give the young man water, and though it is clear some sort of vessel is used to retrieve this water, once again no information is given about the type of container. This remains true throughout the story. Though the story talks of the hunt the men are on, almost no information is given about the types of tools used. There is also a lack of information about clothing, or other daily tools.

In the end, only two small details of objects are described in a way that can provide some information about the community. First, we are given a description of the lead buffalo's hair when he appears as a man, which is indicated to be long. This is a very small bit of information; however, it does show the hair styles of Shoshoni men, which indicates community values. Second, horses function similarly to a tool within this narrative. This shows a few dynamics that can be discussed more in the following section; however, even from a surface level analysis, we are able to deduce that horses are an important aspect of daily life within the culture. This information helps to orient the community within a certain time and place. While these details provide some insight into the community, they are admittedly small and seemingly insignificant. It is likely that other anthropological evidence could be used to deduce not only these tidbits of information, but could also provide greater insight into the environment and life style of the community.

However, the presence of information is not the only important aspect of analysis within narrative. Often, the lack of information can provide just as much insight as the presence of information does. Therefore, the lack of setting and material objects provides two important observations for the culture of this narrative community. The lack of setting and material objects, even when the narrative

has a clear opportunity to provide this information--such as the vessel used for serving water--indicates the knowledge of the intended audience of this narrative. The lack of information implies that the audience must already have an understanding of these aspects within the story. This supports both the claim made by Cruikshank (2000) that narratives are told again and again within a certain community as a way of understanding day-to-day life, and the claim made by Cobley (2001) that narratives often indicate who is and who is not within the group. From an outsider perspective it is difficult to fully imagine the life and setting of the people. However, within the group, these items are taken for granted as an assumed aspect of daily life. This relationship between material objects and culture, and the way it is manifested within the narrative indicates the symbiotic relationship between the Shoshone community, and narratives.

Another important aspect of analysis is the daily routines described within the narrative. The narrative begins with a daily routine of the young lady. The story explains that every day, the young lady goes to retrieve water from the river. This information places the community in time as modern communities are unlikely to retrieve water in this way. Later, the buffalo are also described as going to the river daily for water. This is in some ways less significant as buffalo are animals and must retrieve their water in some similar way. However, it is still significant for two reasons: first, the buffalo in this story seem to take on higher powers and are in some ways similar to human communities. Therefore, this habit still likely reflects the community of the narrative. Second, the attention to this particular detail signifies that is important in the community in which the narrative is being told. Another important task among the people is the hunting. The narrative portrays hunting in a way that suggests that it is an integral aspect of day to day life within the community. Both the hunting and the water routines suggest that the community is a hunter-gatherer community. While the community telling the narrative may not be a hunter-gatherer community at the time of the telling, it still suggests that the traditions of the people lie in hunting and gathering.

## Social Organization and Interpersonal Relations

The social organization of a narrative is important because these values demonstrate values within the community. Blackburn explains that social organization can include hierarchy, family structures, gender status, and political structure. Social structures are an important component of any culture. Therefore, they are key to understanding the daily dynamics of individuals and daily life within a community. The dynamics of the social organization are often portrayed through the interpersonal relations within the narrative. Interpersonal relations deal with the way different members of the community interact with one another. This means that observing the interpersonal relations can yield information about the social organization of the community.

The Buffalo Story is rich with social interactions. One of the most apparent aspects of social structure within the narrative is the family structure. The story explains that the young lady is *one* of the chief's wives and that she is the favorite wife. This demonstrates that this community is not a monogamous community. Furthermore, it is clear that this community is much more communal than most Anglo-American communities, because of the way they interact within the day-to-day routines. For instance, the men from the band go out together to hunt to bring back food for the community, rather than each man for himself. This is very different from modern Anglo-American culture, which is generally based on the individual where there is very little interaction within a community—especially in terms of survival.

Next, gender status is an interesting topic throughout the narrative. First, there is a fairly clear labor division between genders within the narrative. The women hold jobs such as retrieving water, as is demonstrated by the young lady, and the men have tasks such as hunting. Though this information is not expressly stated in the narrative, no women are mentioned in the hunting group, and the narrative explains that retrieving water is always the task of the young lady. Furthermore, throughout most of the

story, the young lady is clearly subservient to the men in story. This is demonstrated on a number of occasions in the interpersonal relations in the narrative. First, when the young lady first meets the young man, or lead buffalo, she follows his requests without question (e.g. giving him water and climbing on his back). Furthermore, the story explains that the buffalo controls all of the interactions between himself and the young lady. Later, when the chief, her human husband, makes a request of her, though she initially objects, in the end she complies with her husband's wishes despite the fact they are not her own. These details suggest that the community of the narrative is a patriarchal based community.

In addition to the patriarchal hierarchy, other hierarchical structures are portrayed by the narrative. The most apparent is the power structure of the band. The highest rank within the band is the chief. This is demonstrated not only in title, but also in interpersonal interactions. The other members of the tribe willingly comply with the orders of the chief, as shown in the interaction between the hunters and the chief while discussing the whereabouts of the young lady. Though one member of the tribe suggests they go together to look for the young lady, the chief objects and subsequently goes to look for her alone. This same structure is demonstrated within the buffalo herd. All of the buffalo follow the commands of the lead buffalo. This interaction not only shows the parallel structure of the buffalo community, portraying the elevated status of the buffalo, but these interactions also demonstrate that while the culture is community based, there is also a clear respect for hierarchical structure. This illustrates not only the value of the community in terms of respecting positions of power, but it also establishes that there is not an undercurrent to overthrow these structures because the dynamic of the interactions are so stable and clear. In a community where the positions of power were in question, there would likely be some aspect of tension within the power dynamic. However, no such undercurrent is present within this narrative. This means that the community not only has hierarchical structures, but values the dynamic these structures provide the community.

## **Sanctions, Postulates, and Worldviews**

The next level of analysis breaks down sanctions, postulates, and worldviews. Sanctions postulates and worldviews deal with the values and beliefs evident within the narrative. These values and beliefs can manifest in a variety of ways within the narrative. For instance, the material content-- setting, tools, tasks, etc. -- of the buffalo narrative demonstrate not only a relationship with nature within the community, but also a value for nature at large. Moreover, the social structure and interpersonal relations also demonstrate values within the community, including patriarchy, communal living, hierarchical structure, etc. However, other worldviews are also demonstrated within the narrative beyond these layers. These range in depth from values in day-to-day interaction, to worldviews within the larger picture that impact the narrative as a whole

A number of beliefs are evident within day-to-day interactions, which have not yet been discussed. Blackburn lists the following aspects that may be apparent within a narrative: assumptions about beings, the universe, good and bad, danger and unpredictability, time and space, as well as beliefs, knowledge, age, prudence, self-constraint, moderation, reciprocity, honesty, industriousness, dependability and responsibility, self-assertion and self-respect, pragmatism, etiquette, and language. While not all narratives deal with each of these issues, many of these values are apparent within the text. For instance, though these values are subtle, it could likely be said of the community that they value industriousness, as well as dependability and responsibility based on their quotidian life. The community depends on each member of the community doing their part. Therefore, the young lady retrieving the water and the hunters going out to hunt demonstrate these ideals. Thus, the way the hunter reports back to the chief likely demonstrates a value for honesty and authority. Further reading may bring out other topics within this narrative, and it is likely that other narratives would also



demonstrate not only these values, but may do a better job of addressing other worldviews present within the community.

Larger ideals are also demonstrated that carry more weight within the narrative. For instance, there is a clear belief within the narrative of the supernatural powers within the universe—especially in relation to nature. For instance, the buffalo is described as a supernatural being on a number of occasions. Furthermore, he seems to drift between a human and a buffalo, and a natural and a supernatural being throughout the narrative. Another instance of the supernatural powers concerning nature is in the interaction with the sun towards the end of the narrative. The chief calls upon the sun for help, and the sun speaks with the chief. This demonstrates the assumption that nature is not only alive, but can take on human and even superhuman characteristics.

Often comparing elements of the narrative with an outside culture can help to uncover values within the community. In the examples above, the personification of nature is not common in the current western worldview, which helps it to highlight its significant value among the Shoshone people. Additionally, the interaction between the buffalo and the young lady stand in stark contrast to Anglo culture. A central action within the narrative is the buffalo licking the young lady's genitals. This topic is generally taboo within Anglo culture; however, the narrative describes the action without any sign of tension. This demonstrates a different taboo set within the Shoshone culture and likely means that sexual topics are openly addressed within the community and part of daily life. While the sanctions, postulates, and worldviews can yield vast amounts of information, they are often subtle observations about the community and lack complexity.

### **Inversions, Distortions, and Fantasies**

By looking at the inversions, distortions, and fantasies within the community, the analysis is able to delve in at a deeper level to better understand the culture of the narrative. Inversions, distortions,

and fantasies look at the way the narrative breaks positive postulates established by the text, and what this change in patterning means. In other words, when the action of a text goes against a worldview demonstrated throughout the text, what is the significance of this action?

One of the main examples of an inversion within the text deals with the topic of humans and animals. There are a variety of interactions between animals and humans throughout the narrative. In many ways, the animals seem to fall below humans within the hierarchical structure. For instance, horses seem to function much like a tool, and are not given much attention throughout the narrative despite the frequency of their appearance. However, the dynamic between the buffalo and the humans is much more complicated. First, the young lady is said to love the buffalo bones and wishes that they were alive so she can marry them. This fantasy in and of itself shows an elevation of the buffalo to somewhat human-like status or potentially a special ability of the girl to see into other realms of life. However, the buffalo then takes on special abilities and is able transform from a human to a buffalo form, and between a natural and supernatural being. Throughout the text, the buffalo is also referred to as a special being. Towards the end, in the climax of the action, the buffalo seems superior to humans and is unable to be killed as a normal buffalo would. Though at first the chief is able to kill the buffalo, the woman brings the buffalo back to life, and ultimately the lead buffalo kills the man. This tension within the narrative demonstrates the sacred and reverent relationship of the community with nature—especially in relation to the buffalo, which are sacred to the Shoshoni, as well as the ability of humans to access this power.

Despite the dynamic between the buffalo and humans, there are other times when nature cannot take on supernatural powers. For instance, in the personification of the sun when the chief calls out to the sun for help, the sun explains that there is nothing that can be done because of the buffalos' supernatural powers. In this instance, supernatural elements of nature cannot interfere with the course

of action. This break in the supernatural paradigm of nature, even when the object is personified, paints a very complex dynamic between nature and man. This complex dynamic first demonstrates the belief in the power and importance of the natural world, and second, either shows that there are limits to power and inexplicable complexities in the world, or that there is a hierarchy in the power dynamic of the natural world. This dynamic would likely yield interesting results if analyzed across multiple Shoshoni narratives.

Another example of an inversion is the dynamic between man and woman. Throughout much of the story the woman is subservient to the male figures in the story. However, in the end, she becomes more powerful than the chief and takes on supernatural powers. After the lead buffalo is killed, the woman begins to cry over the buffalo and wipes dirt over her eyes. The buffalo is then healed through the woman's aid, and the woman is also transformed into a buffalo. She is then described as a special being like the lead buffalo. Together, the two buffalo then knock the chief out of the tree and the lead buffalo kills the man. In this sequence of events, the woman becomes superior to the chief once she becomes a buffalo. This chain of action first demonstrates the power of the woman as she is able to heal the buffalo and transform into a buffalo herself. It also further emphasizes the importance of the buffalo as there is a clear change in the social structure once the woman is transformed.

A further instance in the text that reveals important information concerning the social structure between men and women, is the scene where the men are discussing finding the young woman with the chief. The chief expresses his wish to go alone because he does not want other men to see her in her condition. While this may indicate a value for privacy, it also demonstrates a certain respect for women in general, and also demonstrates the special status that the favorite wife of the chief possesses. This is significant because it shows the value of women within the community. Though the society is a patriarchal one, women are still valued within the community. This is further supported by the sadness

expressed by the chief when the young woman disappears, and the extensive efforts of the band to locate the young woman. These small details invert the simple patriarchal paradigm to show complexity within the community and the social structure in the relations between men and women. This is also a more realistic social structure than demonstrated by the sanction, postulates, and worldviews, as most communities have a complex dynamic between genders.

One final interesting element within the story is the dynamic of marriage. Though it is clear that the community likely practices polygamy, it is not clear exactly how this dynamic works. Within the social structure of the humans, the dynamic seems relatively clear. The woman is described simply as the chief's wife. There does not seem to be any debate about the fluidity of her status as his wife. In other words, the wife does not seem free to take on any other husband, nor does any man seem to have the right to take the woman as his own wife. However, the introduction of the buffalo complicates this dynamic as it is possible for the buffalo to take the woman as his wife, despite her previous marriage. This new marriage between the buffalo and the young lady seems to supersede the marriage between the chief and the woman because the woman refers to the buffalo as her husband, rather than the chief. Furthermore, the young lady's initial attention to the buffalo bones may indicate a tension within the marriage outside the scope of the narrative. Yet, at the same time, she still seems bound to her human husband as she eventually must go with him per his request. The tension between the buffalo marriage and the human marriage seems to push and pull throughout the rest of the action. At times, the woman is loyal to the human husband (e.g. when she tells the chief how to kill the buffalo), and at other times she seems loyal to the buffalo (e.g. when she cries over him and brings him back to life). Though ultimately the young lady remains married to the buffalo, there does not seem to be real closure to the previous marriage outside of his death. This tension in the narrative may reflect the importance of the buffalo, but it may also reflect a tension on marital views within the community. Alternatively, it

may reflect the tension between the needs of the human world and the spirit world. Further analysis across other narratives may help to demonstrate this point.

There are a number of other interesting details throughout the story that may also yield interesting cultural information. For instance, the genital licking is such a significant aspect of the story, it indicates that this must tie into a larger theme within the story. It could potentially indicate a need that the buffalo meets that the human husband does not, which may explain the woman's choice to be with the buffalo; however, it may also be a part of the transformation the young lady makes in becoming a buffalo. Additionally, it seems that the cottonwood<sup>4</sup> holds cultural significance because of the power it holds within the story. To fully understand these details, it would first provide useful to look for these features in other Shoshoni oral narratives. However, analyzing the context of the telling may also provide insight. For instance, this story might be told in relation to domestic abuse as a way of warning men what will happen if they do not treat women well. These types of contextual clues are why performance analysis is such an important feature of narrative analysis, and should be analyzed in future projects, where possible.

Ultimately, there are a variety of interesting points for analysis throughout the context of this narrative. Each layer of analysis brings up important insights to the Shoshone culture and lifestyle. The material content provides basic information about day to day life, but as the analysis delves deeper, we can begin to understand the worldviews of the people and tensions within the belief system. As these issues continue to be explored within this text and within other Shoshoni oral narratives, more information can be uncovered about the beliefs, values, and daily interactions within the community.

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<sup>4</sup> Cottonwoods are often valued for their medicinal uses.

## Linguistic Features

In addition to the information that can be provided by the content of the story, the linguistic features of the narrative can also provide information about the culture that the narrative reflects. Syntactic constituency, adverbial-particle phrasing, and global form-content parallelism are all methods of analysis discussed by Hymes and Woodbury. Syntactic constituency and adverbial-particle phrasing can be used in conjunction with one another to analyze the repetition of the narrative. Global form-content parallelism helps to identify other rhetorical features across the narrative. Identifying these aspects of a narrative can be helpful in better understanding the content of the narrative, as well as understanding linguistic values within the community.

One feature that is especially prevalent in the Buffalo text is repetition. In Western storytelling, we tend to prefer stories that are more concise. However, the Buffalo Story, as is true with other Shoshoni Narratives, tends to be highly repetitive as a stylistic preference. For instance:

**(3) Sunni nahade sudeen deichi' u huunu' baihku, su gupandi baaduudee', ogwaide sudee'.**

*That become they little it ravine have that in getting.water flowing that*

As the people lived in that area, a small stream of water flow next to the encampment, that is where they would go to get their water.

**(4) Sudee wihyu un noo' ba'i, sutu u maangihwainde, baaduum bidegwainde'.**

*They then it hill over there it cross water.through arrive*

The people crossed the small stream of flowing water, walking along the river bank and then through the water to the other side.

**(5) Deasen guchun tsuhnipe, sude suku gu'aigadeedee', noo'bita debanaa ga, huunu' habiden ga.**

*And cow bone that there pile hill side at ravine lay at*

There was a small hill next to the river, where a buffalo had died, leaving its bones along the hillside.

**(6) Suku sudeen gu'aigadedee'.**

*There that pile*

The pile of bones lay in a pile there along the river.

In this section, each line repeats information at least from the previous line, sometimes stretching back to earlier lines. From an outside perspective, this style might be somewhat frustrating as it significantly slows the pacing of the story. However, in Shoshone culture, the practice of storytelling is not simply about getting a point across; it is about the enjoyment and the process of the story. Often narratives were used to fill time during the long winter nights. Therefore, getting to the end of the story quickly meant they would need to find another way to fill time. This elongating of stories through the use of repetition fulfills a cultural function of the community. Additionally, using repetition in a Shoshoni narrative is a sign of a skilled story teller because this style of language use is valued within the community itself. This repetition also helps to make the imagery of the story more vivid. Though there is not a specific description of the imagery, such as the way the water looked, we get a better idea of how the people and animals interacted with the water. This type of detail may seem strange from a modern Anglo perspective; however, it demonstrates that the value of the Shoshone people is with the interaction with the land not with the image itself. This makes sense given the symbiotic relationship they have with nature.

The story also repeats action sequences within the story. For instance, the girl walks past the bones and kicks them multiple times before the buffalo turns into a human. Not only does this help prolong the narrative, this kind of repetition is likely used to show that this action took place over an extended period of time. For instance, the first time the story states:

**(8) Sude suku baaduunukimi'ade ai mam ben nambai ma u seekwetihwaide.**

*That there get water this with it's foot with it kick*

Each day the young lady went after water from the river and each time she passed the pile of bleached buffalo bones, she kicked at them with her foot.

However, a few lines later the story states:

(12) **"Nanna ne debizhaa e suangenna" mai sude.**

*Any I good you think said that*

The young lady would tell the pile of bones "I have sincere love, deep inside, for you".

(13) **Mai yegwide u seekwetihwatsi, nukimminna.**

*Said say it kick run*

As soon as the young lady said those words, she would kick the pile of bones and run to do her task.

This repetition is continued across lines 8-22 before the buffalo changes form beginning on line 24. This description is much more poetic than saying that, "She kicked the bones and wished for them to be human x number of times." It allows the reader to become more submerged within this actional sequence of the story. Additionally, the phrasing of the story, though repetitive, is slightly different each time. This allows the story to remain interesting and shows a more realistic interaction between the girl and the buffalo over time. Furthermore, repetition is a feature of oral narratives, which is an important component of Shoshoni oral narratives and culture.

Another example of repetition is chaining. Chaining repeats clauses or phrases from the previous line and then adds to this repetition in the second line. Chaining is different from the other styles of repetition mentioned, thus far, because it is a stylistic device rather than influencing meaning.

For instance:

(157) **Bungu ba'andu u doweï'.**

*Horse on it throw*

The young man picked up the young lady and tossed her atop his horse.

(158) **Bungu ba'andu u doweichi, u wenangwahti date'gwahkichi, u binnoonnukigii'.**

*Horse on it throw it front jump it carry*



As soon as the young man tossed her atop his horse, he jumped on his horse in front of her and rode off with her riding, she rode behind him.

In this example, the first line “*bungu ba’andu u dowe*” is repeated exactly in the second line except for the addition of the suffix “*-chi*,” meaning after. This chaining is used to smooth a transition in the text and is viewed as a trait of a skilled story teller (Loether 1991). Not only does this repetition help the teller to remember the story, it also helps the listener to follow along. Because these narratives are oral, it is not possible to go back and refer to a point that the listener may have missed, as a reader can with a text. Chaining provides a way for the audience to better follow along with the action of the narrative.

Another rhetorical structure that deals with repetition is parallelism. Parallelism repeats aspects of the syntax from one line to the next. For instance:

(137) “**Em baikadu’ihkande” mai sude’.**

*You kill said that*

The young lady told her human husband “the young lead buffalo will kill you”.

(138) “**Gai em beadu’ihkande” mai sude’.**

*Not you leave said that*

The young lady told her human husband “the young lead buffalo will not let you live”.

In these lines, syntactic features of the first line are repeated in the second. This type of structure is another trait of a skilled storyteller. Much like chaining, repetition in syntactic structure helps the audience to follow along with the story, and makes the information easier to process. Furthermore, it is not only important to tell a story—it is important how the story is told because it affects the audience’s ability to understand the narrative. This is why skilled storytellers are so highly valued within preliterate communities.

In addition to features of repetition, there are also other rhetorical features in Shoshoni oral narratives. One important feature throughout the text is the difference between the original Shoshoni and the English translation. Often, the Shoshoni sentence is very short without providing much information. However, the English sentence must go into extensive detail in order to convey the same meaning as the Shoshoni. This is because of the relationship between the narratives and the culture. Within the culture, there would be a vast amount of shared knowledge among community members that would not need to be explained. However, from an outside perspective, the story needs to give significantly more information in order to be clear. For instance:

(14) **Sude wihyu, semmai yegwi'ii'yu.**

*That then that say*

Each time the young lady came by the pile of bones, she would always say the very same lines. Literally, the Shoshoni gives almost no information to the audience in this example. Though the two words “*sude*” and “*semmai” have two different meanings, “*sude*” meaning the same as the pronoun *that* but in relation to something out of sight,<sup>5</sup> and “*semmai” meaning “the one” in the accusative case, there is still very little context for this sentence. In order for an outsider, or English speaker, to understand the meaning of this sentence, the translation must add extensive information. This happens continuously throughout the story. The lack of information provided in Shoshoni demonstrates the insider information shared by the community, which allows the narrative to make sense. Without access to this shared knowledge, extensive information is needed in order to explain the meaning. This dynamic between the Shoshoni and the translation shows how closely connected the community is to the narrative and to one another.**

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<sup>5</sup> Shoshoni has five different forms of *that*, depending on the distance of the object in question.

Another similar example is the use of the phrase “*maj sude*,” which is significant in two instances. First, this example is similar to Hymes’s and Woodbury’s concepts of particle phrasing. The phrase “*maj sude*” occurs on 98 of 309 lines, which is a significant portion of the text. This indicates that this phrase can be used to break the text down into lines. Literally, the line means “it said” and serves a reportative function in the text, as well as a way to distinguish between the action of the story and the narration of the story. Furthermore, it does not actually refer to a specific speaker, which means that the audience must carefully follow along with the telling to distinguish who is speaking. This level of involvement with the narrative shows the close relationship of the audience to the narrative itself.

Both the content of the story and the linguistic features of the narrative provide interesting insight into the community. Beyond the content features and linguistic features discussed here, there are a myriad of other approaches to analyzing this narrative. For instance, Shoshoni is a morphologically rich language. By breaking down the words at a morphological level, it is likely that there would be extensive information provided by the lexemes that cannot be easily translated into English. These features are not only significant culturally but also linguistically. Furthermore, there are always other perspectives that may result in different conclusions about the significance of various aspects of the text. However, ultimately both the cultural information and the linguistic information are important elements of language learning and preservation. The next section will demonstrate the functions of narrative for language learning and language preservation within a community.

### **Implications of Narrative for Language Preservation and Language Learning**

Thus far, this section has discussed insights into Shoshone culture that can be provided by narrative. These insights show the importance of language learning in preservation. As previously explained, if a language is truly to be preserved, as much culture as possible must be preserved along with it. Narratives not only house a wealth of grammatical and lexical features, as demonstrated by the

discussion, they also house a wealth of cultural information. Furthermore, narratives provide unique speech settings that are crucial to the language. Therefore, not only are narratives important to language preservation, they are imperative to successful language learning. This section will discuss the use of Shoshone narratives in teaching the language.

Though there are a number of contributing factors to the decline of the Shoshoni language, one of the biggest challenges facing the revitalization of the language is a lack of material. Because of the influences of Anglo-American culture on all fronts, there are a limited number of domains in which to use the language. It is difficult to re-create these domains naturally; however, language material can often help synthesize domains until they can become a natural domain within the community. Narratives are one traditional domain that can be synthesized. Storytelling does occur naturally within the Shoshone community. However, these tellings are often in English because of the lack of speakers, and the Shoshoni tellings are too infrequent to be really useful in language revitalization. Creating audio-visual materials of these narratives provides opportunities for speakers and learners to interact with the language outside of the current language domains. The Shoshoni Oral Narrative project aims to create materials in order to provide speakers with new opportunities to interact with the language and culture.

Speaking, listening, and comprehension are the most important skills of language learning. Narratives provide opportunities to develop each of these skills. First, listening to the narrative, even in English, helps the listener to interact with, and understand the culture of the target language. Second, even before a learner can understand the language, hearing the language spoken in its full complexity and at a fluent speed is useful because it exposes the learner to the language and helps build pathways necessary for fluent speaking later on. Many studies argue that reading to children from infancy helps to build pathways that improve the ability to read, write, and speak later on (High et al. 2000). This theory can also apply to adults as any language learner must first build pathways within the brain. Third, as the

learner begins to understand the language, they can repeat bits of the narrative back to the teller. This not only helps to develop speaking skills, but both comprehension and listening skills are important components to successfully completing this task. This process can be repeated over and over, building in grammatical and lexical complexity as the learner's abilities increase. Fourth, comprehension questions can be created either by the speaker, the learner, or another learner. These questions can also build in complexity depending on the skill level of the learner. The learner can also shadow the speaker by saying the narrative along with the speaker (digital or live). This helps the learner to practice correct pronunciation and fluency speed.

Narratives, such as the Buffalo Story, also provide cultural context for the language. While grammars and dictionaries are important tools for the language, they do not encapsulate the culture of the language. If the culture is not passed on with the language, it is ultimately still being lost. Narratives act as a supplement to this material. Using a combination of these tools can help learners to interact with the language on multiple levels.

Narrative materials can be especially useful to a community because they can be used in the classroom, in a master-apprentice setting, and individually. In a classroom, the narrative can be used to supplement other classroom material. Teachers can give students assignments based on the narratives by using the aforementioned activities on those listed above. Other activities, such as role-play, may also be based off these narratives. The narrative activities previously listed also work in a master-apprentice program. In this scenario, the audio-visual material may be different than the narratives known by the speaker, or the speaker may be able to help the learner interact with the narrative. Narrative audio-visual material is especially useful because it can be used either alongside a classroom or master-apprentice program, or individually. Ideally, the material will be used in conjunction with other material in order to increase overall exposure to the language. However, if no other opportunities to interact

with the language exist, the material created by this project will allow at least one means of interaction. In a classroom, this material can be uploaded to the web or sent home with students for further study. In a master-apprentice program, the learner can use this material to interact with the language during the time spent away from the speaker. These extra opportunities for interaction with the language are crucial to successful language transmission.

The Shoshoni Oral Narrative Project helps to create material using traditional narratives. This material will include a film and a book. The film will include Shoshoni and English audio as well as both Shoshoni and English subtitles. The speaker can then interact with this material depending on their individual circumstances and needs. The book will be targeted at younger audiences and will include both English and Shoshoni text to once again allow speakers to work with the language at their own level.

The material created by this project will be used at Idaho State University by the Anthropology department, and specifically the Shoshoni Language Program at Idaho State University. The material will be used both in the classroom and uploaded to the web so that students may interact with the language outside the classroom. These activities will be guided by Drusilla Gould and integrated into classroom discussion. The material also provides more complex interaction with the language for more advanced speakers. This means that the material can also be used to build curriculum for intermediate and advanced Shoshoni classes.

Ideally this material will also work its way into the community. There are a number of groups and programs that need Shoshoni material for language learning. This material is meant to fulfill that need. Furthermore, the material can be used by individuals in their own homes to provide opportunities to interact with the language by a maximal amount of people. Ultimately, I hope this material, and other

similar types of material, will be accessible throughout the community to help revitalize the Shoshoni language.

## Conclusion

Narratives are expansive—extending across genres and disciplines. This nature is both the allure of studying narratives and its difficulty. The first task of this thesis, as it likely is for any narrative study, is to define narrative for the scope of the project. Many definitions work to create a narrow scope of narrative, whether it be through grammatical constraints, or confining narrative to traditional story structure. However, ultimately I found it necessary to define narrative as inclusively as possible in order to capture the magnitude of narratives. Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis, I define narrative as anything with which humans interact and give meaning to. This definition may seem confusing given that the narrative this study chooses to analyze fits within a fairly traditional definition of narrative. However, this definition proved useful for two reasons. First, once narrative is defined as anything, it prevents the typical otherization that often comes with the terms folklore and myth. All cultures interact with narrative on a daily basis; all cultures do not embrace myth and folklore as a basis for lifestyle. Thus, an inclusive definition provides a validation for narratives within minority communities. Second, while this thesis looks at a single traditional oral narrative, this method of narrative analysis can be extended not only across traditional narratives, but also to nontraditional narratives including daily discourse.

Narratives are a central driving force of culture. When we view narratives as a way of housing and passing on knowledge, whether this be through folklore or some other narrative form, it is easy to see the value of narrative beyond entertainment. Though narrative is entertaining, this is not the root of its function. As we perceive the world and give it meaning, we transform this perception into narrative. This alone demonstrates the cultural significance of narrative. However, the cycle does not end there. This narrative is then passed on to another person who then shapes their own perceptions and worldviews based on interaction with this narrative. This can happen through a variety of processes. Sometimes a narrative affirms beliefs but in other instances, narratives contradict beliefs. The receiver



of the narrative must then either actively reject the narrative, or adjust beliefs to suit this new perspective. This shows that not only do narratives encapsulate culture, but the impact of narrative is profound. Therefore, narrative analysis can result in significant findings for understanding culture.

This thesis worked specifically with oral narratives and preliterate communities. Preliterate communities often have an even more elaborated relationship with narratives simply because they actively embrace narrative and understand its importance. In these communities, narratives are a means of social interaction. Members of the community are so familiar with a given narrative—that referring to a single aspect, word, or phrase of a narrative can convey meaning and influence behavior. Furthermore, narratives seem to be a living entity within these communities because their meaning can change based on the context, teller, and audience. This dynamic relationship between narratives and community means that narratives can hold special significance for understanding culture.

Furthermore, narratives operate as a linguistic domain for many communities whose language is at risk. Because narratives are a type of social interaction, preserving narratives not only preserves culture, it also helps to revitalize a domain for language use. Though traditional narratives are only one domain, this step is an important one to language revitalization. Additionally, because of the grammatical and lexical complexity, as well as cultural dynamics within a narrative, they provide an excellent means of language learning not available through grammars or dictionaries. Narratives also provide a wealth of opportunities for speaking, listening, and comprehension within the language.

This thesis analyzed a buffalo story told in Northern Shoshoni by Drusilla Gould. The story tells of a young lady, the chief's favorite wife, who comes across bleached buffalo bones and wishes they were human so that she could marry them. The bones then transform and the young lady leaves with the buffalo who takes her as his wife. The buffalo licks the young lady's genitals until they become raw and infected and the young lady becomes very frail. Meanwhile, the chief, her human husband, wonders

what has become of her and begins to search for her. When he finds her, he insists she come with him. Though she initially objects, eventually she complies. The young lady and the chief hide in a cottonwood tree to escape the buffalo who is described as a special being. The chief kills the buffalo and the young lady cries over the buffalo's body. Suddenly, the buffalo begins to stir and the young lady helps him to breathe. When the buffalo comes back to life, the buffalo and the young lady arise and the young lady turns into a buffalo herself. The lead buffalo then charges the chief and kills him.

The original plan to analyze this narrative was to use Dell Hymes's SPEAKING model and Dennis Tedlock's performative text model to analyze that performance of this narrative. However, this did not meet the dynamics of the community or the project. Therefore, this analysis uses Thomas C. Blackburn's content analysis theory and Dell Hymes's and Anthony C. Woodbury's linguistic analysis theory to analyze the text of the narrative.

Blackburn's theory analyzes narrative in layers beginning at the surface with the material content of the story. Material content includes elements such as setting, tools, and daily routines. By analyzing these elements of the buffalo story, the analysis established the symbiotic relationship between the Shoshone people and nature. Though this analysis in and of itself does not lend any great insight into the culture, further layers of analysis begin to yield depth to this observation. The next layer of observation is social organization and interpersonal relations. This includes the interaction dynamic between characters in the story to demonstrate the social organization of the community. This observation establishes that the Shoshone community within is not monogamous and is patriarchal in its hierarchical structure. It also demonstrates that elements of nature fall at a similar rank in hierarchy, and are viewed with a certain power and reverence. These observations can be translated to the worldviews of the people, which is the next layer of analysis.

The final layer is the inversions within the text, which allows the paradigms of the community to take on complexity. Once the patterns are established to define the worldviews within the text, the places where the narrative subverts these worldviews are important points for analysis. By analyzing this layer, it is clear that though nature is viewed with reverence for its power, there are also limits to this power. Also, the dynamic between male and female characters becomes much more intricate and demonstrates the value of women within the community as well. Together, this analysis helps to illuminate Shoshone tradition and culture.

The linguistic features of the text both help to provide insight into the content of the story, as well as demonstrate the linguistic values of the community by establishing the rhetorical features of the text. One main feature within the text is repetition, which manifests in descriptive repetition, repetition of action, chaining, and parallelism. Descriptive repetition and repetition of the action establish meaning and values within the text. On the other hand, chaining and parallelism are rhetorical devices. These devices are not only valued in storytelling, but help the teller to remember the story and the audience to follow along with the telling. Additionally, the repetition shows that the process of the story is as valued as the outcome of the story.

Another linguistic feature within the text is the difference between the original Shoshoni and the translation. Much more detail must be provided in the English than in the Shoshoni. This is because within the Shoshone community, there is a shared knowledge and it is therefore not necessary to explicitly explain certain aspects of the narrative. Furthermore, because Shoshoni is agglutinating, words can house much more meaning than what is possible in an English lexeme. However, in order for an outsider to understand, it is necessary to provide extra details in order for the meaning to be clear. This demonstrates how central these traditional narratives are within preliterate communities.

Along these lines, narratives are useful tools in language learning and preservation because they house both the complexities of the language and the complexities of the culture. A number of pedagogical methods can utilize narrative both inside and outside the classroom. Furthermore, these narratives hit each of the target areas for language learning: listening, speaking, and comprehension. Using narratives to preserve and teach the language ensure that the language is captured in full because it encapsulates both the language itself, and the culture of the community.

Because narratives are such a useful tool in language learning, I created the Shoshoni Oral Narrative Project to create language learning materials using traditional Shoshoni oral narratives. This project creates audio visual material for language learners to interact with both at home and in the classroom. This material will be used by the Anthropology Department and the Shoshoni Language Program at Idaho State University. Ideally, this material will eventually be used by the Shoshoni community as a way of interacting with the language outside of already established language domains. Though the project has currently only produced material off the Buffalo Story, more material using other narratives could be created in the future.

Overall, I feel that the results of this thesis have provided interesting insight into culture in general, and specifically into the Shoshoni culture. However, this thesis is truly just the beginning of this research. While my methods of analysis have uncovered interesting features of Shoshone culture, this same analysis could be applied across Shoshoni narratives. Furthermore, each of these topics could be explored in further depth. Additionally, there are an infinite number of ways to approach narratives and any of these methods could provide interesting insights. Personally, I am specifically interested in the relation of the community to performance and I hope to be able to study this in more depth in the future. I hope this research can stimulate other similar research within the Shoshone community as well as other communities. Furthermore, I hope the narrative project I have created at Idaho State University

can continue as well as be implemented for other communities. I believe these materials will prove to be a valuable resource to the community and language.

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## Appendix

WICK MILLER COLLECTION

University of Utah

Maude Moon

WRMC\_031\_2

TT-24:57

### BUFFALO

(Learned from Wayuhatecci, her kennu)

(1) Usee soon neweneen sudeen gahni ba'i, debizhi soo'.

They many people they house have true many

Once, there were many people, who had homes, many.

(2) Ah... guchun deka'nee'.

Ah cow eaters

Ah... these people were of the Buffalo Eater band of Shoshoni.

(3) Ah... sunni nahade sudeen deichi' u huunu' baihku, su gupandi baaduudee', ogwaide sudee'.

Ah that become they little it ravine have that in getting.water flowing that

Ah... as the people lived in that area, a small stream of water flow next to the encampment, that is where they would go to get their water.

(4) Sudee wihyu un noo' ba'i, sutu u maangihwainde, baadium bidegwainde'.

They then it hill over there it cross water.through arrive

The people crossed the small stream of flowing water, walking along the river bank and then through the water to the other side.

(5) Deasen guchun tsuhnipe, sude suku gu'aigadeedee', noo'bita debanaa ga, huunu' habiden ga.

And cow bone that there pile hill side at ravine lay at

There was a small hill next to the river, where a buffalo had died, leaving it's bones along the hillside.

(6) Suku sudeen gu'aigadedee'.

There that pile

The pile of bones lay in a pile there along the river.

(7) Sude wihyu wa'aipe'en dai'gwahni'an gwehe', nai'bi, un tsaa gwe'he, nai'bi.

That then woman leader wife young.lady it good wife young.lady

There was a young lady among the people, whom was the wife of the leader of the band, a beautiful young lady, the leader's favorite wife.

(8) Sude suku baaduunukimi'ade ai mam ben nambai ma u seekwetihwaide.

That there get.water this with it's foot with it kick

Each day the young lady went after water from the river and each time she passed the pile of bleached buffalo bones, she kicked at them with her foot.

(9) Ooyo su wa'i u meekwainde, u seekwetihwainde.

Always it like it do it kick

This was a daily routine for the young lady, to kick at the pile of bones.

(10) "Enne wizha noo, ennem bozheena, enne wizha neewe nahammaa..."

You should any you buffalo you should people become

The young lady always made a comment to the pile of bones "if only you, buffalo, would become a human being..."

(11) "Ne wizha noo wihyu e... en guhape' baimmaa, en neeween naahku" mai sude'.

I should any then you you husband have you people live said that

The young lady would tell the pile of bones "...then I would... I would have you as my husband, if only you were a human being".

(12) "Nanna ne debizhaa e suangenna" mai sude.

Any I good you think said that

The young lady would tell the pile of bones "I have sincere love, deep inside, for you".

(13) Mai yegwide u seekwetihwatsi, nukimminna.

Said say it kick run

As soon as the young lady said those words, she would kick the pile of bones and run to do her task.

(14) Sude wihyu, semmai yegwi'ii'yu.

That then that say

Each time the young lady came by the pile of bones, she would always say the very same lines.

(15) "Gaihage' ennen noon neewe na'hammaa..." mai sude'.

Not you any people become said that

The young lady would say "if you were to become a human being..."

(16) "Ne wizha emmai guhape' bai" mai sude, tsu'hnipeha niigwinde.

I should you husband have said that bones tell

The young lady would tell the pile of bones "...then I would marry you".

(17) Ha tsuhnipe.

(question.particle) bone

Was this just a pile of bones?

(18) Debizhi abai'aishe nanna bozheennan deyaibe, sukan tsuhnipe.

True a.long.time.ago any buffalo died that bone

The pile of bones belonged to a buffalo that had died a very long time ago.

(19) Sude subai'ni, sutu wihyu nukimi'ade, sude u seekwetihwa'.

That then there then running that it kick

From that time forward, each time the young lady ran through there, she always kicked at the pile of bones, as she did on this day.

(20) "Enne wizha noon tsaan neewe nahammaa'" mai sude'.

You should any good people become said that

The young lady said "it would be great, if you were to become a human being".

(21) "Tsaan neewe nahade, ne wizha subai' emmi daaga guhadu" mai sude'.

Good people become I should then you only marry said that

The young lady said "if only you were to become a human being, I would marry only you and no one else".

(22) Sunnishe u nahaagu, sudem binnangwa deasen nukimi'a.

That it become that later and run

While that pile of bones remain there, the young lady continued to run through there.

(23) Neeweneen guchu yegwigwapehnee, guchu magwahyimmape aikite.

People cow hunters cow chase here

This band of Shoshoni were buffalo hunters, they chase the buffalo all through here.

(24) Bem, bemmeen daaga wa'aipe'anee naade suden nukii'a, baazayaanukimi'a.

They they only women live that run get.water.run

This one time, there were only women left at the encampment, so the young lady went to do her task of getting water from the river.

(25) Sunnishaen nahade sude, sukuhyunde, gaihaiwa'i sude, tsuhnipe gaihaiwa'i.

That do that there not.there that bone not.there

As the young lady was running along the river bank, she passed the area where the bleached buffalo bones had been, but there was nothing there.

(26) U gaihaiwaku, suku sudem baa ga, baa gati buinukimi'a.

It not.there there that water at water at see.run.walk

When she could not see the piles of bones anywhere, she continued to run to the place where she got her water, looking in to the water as she was running.

(27) Haganni binna'uka, neewe suku wenne, duibichi'.  
How what people there standing handsome.young.man  
Much to her surprise, she saw a reflection in the water of a handsome young man standing there.

(28) Ondengaidi ba'mbi gande, aibai'gandi ba'mbi gande.  
Brown hair have this.have hair have  
The handsome young man had hair, this long, that flowed over his shoulders.

(29) Suku wenne'.  
There standing  
A handsome young man stood there.

(30) Sude semmai u niigwinna'.  
That that it told  
The handsome young man spoke to the young lady.

(31) U nasu'wainge, i wa'i, mai'.  
It shy this like said  
It is told by the old people, that the young lady became very shy.

(32) U nasu'wai'.  
It shy  
The young lady was acting very shy.

(33) "Haganni hatu enne" mai sude'.  
How (question.particl) you said that  
The handsome young man asked "what is wrong with you".

(34) "Mandi baa mandi ne baa' wennia" mai sude.  
That water with me water dip said that  
The handsome young man said "get some of that water for me".

(35) Innishen naakande, bai wenniatsi, u utu'.  
This live water dip it give  
The young lady, still looking at the handsome young man, dipped into the water and handed it to him.

(36) Sude u hibikwa.  
That it drink  
The handsome young man drank the water.

(37) U hibimaahwatsi, sude semmai u niigwinna, "ne ba'an do'ai" mai sude u niigwinna.  
It drank that that it tell me on go.up said that it tell

The handsome young man told the young lady “climb on my back”.

(38) Sude u ba'an do'ai.

That it on go.up

The young lady climbed up on the handsome young man's back.

(39) “Uka ha ennen nasundawahka, nea en niigwinna” mai sude'.

That (question.particle) you remember me you told said that

The handsome young man said “do you remember the words that you shared with me”.

(40) “Haa” mai sude'.

Yes said that

The young lady answered “yes”.

(41) “Ne u nansundawahka” mai'.

I it remember said

The young lady said “yes, I remember those words I shared with you”.

(42) “Ne ba'an demmahan do'ai” mai sude.

Me on then go.up said that

The handsome young man said “well then, you must get up on my back”.

(43) U ba'an do'ai wihyu, sude'.

It on go.up then that

Then the young lady climbed up on the handsome young man's back.

(44) U noonnuki'.

It carry

The handsome young man ran off with the young lady riding on his back.

(45) S<sub>ai</sub>den guchu u noonnuki.

This cow it carry

The handsome young man, who was actually still a buffalo, carried the young lady, as he ran.

(46) Uden noha' neewen naiya suku wenne'inna.

That use.to.be Indian young.lady there stand

This was the young lady who would come to the river and stand there.

(47) Sunni nahade sude u noonnukichi', a<sub>i</sub>tu u noonnuki, a<sub>i</sub>tu.

That doing that it carry here.through it carry here.through

And so the young buffalo carried the young lady and ran with her, all through here.



(48) U noonnukimi'ade, suden guchuna bengahenna un dehoda'inna, u wepa'ainna, sogope aiki dadawenna, bia waigi dadawendee'.

It carry that cow where it dig it hitting soil here with.holes big side with.holes

The young buffalo took the young lady to a place where the buffalo herd dug deep holes into the ground, the holes were large and wide.

(49) Suku suden dainde, so gopa dainden gupa u deginnu.

There that hole that in hole in it placed

The young buffalo went to one of the holes and placed the young lady inside it.

(50) U gwee ba'ai.

It wife have

The young buffalo had taken the young lady as his wife.

(51) Saika u siipeha, suden guchumbungu saika gwinnai', aika.

This it urine that buffalo this spoon this

The young buffalo started to lick the young lady, her genital area was cleansed of urine.

(52) Saide un ge'epe, saide aingado'aihki'i'i.

This it genital.area this red

The young lady's genital area was becoming sore and turning red.

(53) Gai (unclear)

Not (unclear)

It was not (unclear).

(54) Nanna baaduu wenne'.

Any water stand

The open rash was draining.

(55) Sunni u nahaka.

That it become

This was because of the constant cleaning by the young buffalo.

(56) Sude oyosen daga sunni yegwi'ide', baa gatum mi'annu.

That always only that do water to walk

The young buffalo was always there with the young lady, cleansing her, then he finally went to the river.

(57) Dogwai-dabai'yi u nahaagu, bozheena yagaitegi'.

Noon it become buffalo cry

The young buffalo started to call out right at midday.

(58) Baa gatu mi'annu.

Water to walk

The young buffalo and his herd all left for the river.

(59) Baa gati hiibiyengatsi, bidennu.

Water at drink arrive

The entire buffalo herd went to the river, took their drink, and came back.

(60) Usen dugu udeen dai'gwahni'.

That must their leader

The young buffalo must have been the lead buffalo for the herd.

(61) Sude suka wa'aipe'a noope.

That that woman carry

That young lead buffalo was the one who took the young lady.

(62) Usen dugu udeen dai'gwahni'.

That must their leader

That young buffalo must have been the lead buffalo for the herd.

(63) Noo haganni udei nahandu'ihka, yagaitegindu'ihkandee'.

Any how they do.will cry.will

Each call from the young lead buffalo was a command to the rest of the herd.

(64) Mi'ahteegi, subai'ni.

Walk then

Once the command is heard, the buffalo herd would begin to move towards the river.

(65) U yagaitegihka dease yegwidu'ihnee'.

It cry and sit

When another command is given, the buffalo herd all start sitting down.

(66) Yeegwibidegwatsi, yegwikandu'ihnee'.

Sit.arrive sit

The buffalo herd would go to a specific area, along the river, and each of them would sit down and just sit there.

(67) U yagaitegihka dease yoodichi, miakwatsi, dekadu'ihnee'.

It cry and arise walk eat.will

When the young lead buffalo made another command, the herd would all get up, walk to another area where they would graze.

(68) Sunni nahadee’.

That do

That was how the buffalo herd lived.

(69) Suka dease wa’a<sub>i</sub>pe’a, sude wa’a<sub>i</sub>pe’ waga bide’ide suka ben gwehi sunni yegwi’ide.

that and woman that woman at arrive that their wife that do

And there was the young lady, the young lady who was now the young lead buffalo’s wife, who waited for the herd and upon the return of the young lead buffalo, she knew that he would cleanse her each time he came back to her.

(70) A<sub>i</sub>ka u a<sub>i</sub>gota’i.

This it lick

The young lead buffalo licked the young lady, to cleanse her.

(71) U a<sub>i</sub>go, a<sub>i</sub>ka seewese...

It tongue this entire

The young lead buffalo’s tongue had entirely...

(72) Seewese sunni u yegwi’ide.

Entire that it do

The young lead buffalo would do this to the young lady each time he returned.

(73) Neewenee bea<sub>i</sub>she u wazingennu.

People already it lost

The young lady’s people had lost her.

(74) Un guhape’ “haganni binna sude nahape” ma<sub>i</sub>’.

It husband how could that become said

The young lady’s human husband wondered about her whereabouts, he would say “I wonder what become of her”.

(75) Use u debizhi wazingennu.

That it true lost

The young lady’s human husband had lost his wife.

(76) Ga<sub>i</sub> akuhku u da’oda wa’i nahannu.

Not there it find like become

The young lady’s human husband gave up looking for her.

(77) U wa<sub>i</sub>kii’yu.

It look

The young lady’s human husband looked for her.

(78) Suden dai'gwahni', aitun doya gabai newide, yagainneinna.

That leader here.through mountain through walk cry

The young lady's human husband walked about looking for her, he cried as he walked.

(79) Bennen gwehi wazingetsi, yagainneinna.

It's wife lost cry

The young lady's human husband had lost his wife and he walked about crying for her.

(80) Noon nanna sunniku neewe ma'ain guchum magwahyi'ai'yu.

Any any that people with cow chase

The young lady's human husband went to buffalo hunts with the other men.

(81) Neewenee' sukuhti bengahiti un naakahti guchum magwahyi'ai'yu.

People there at it live cow chase

The young lady's people went to the place where the buffalo lived and hunted them.

(82) Guchu magwahyide, sude, guchu magwahyide semme' dugu neewe situse, daindendu.

Cow chase that cow chase one must.have person here.through hole.through

As the hunters hunted the buffalo, one man may have gone to where there were holes in the ground.

(83) Su gupandun daitu, un gewadun guhnai'ki'.

That in hole.to it next.to ran

One of the hunter ran very close to the holes in the ground.

(84) Bungu ba'an gadekande, guhnai'ki.

Horse on sit ran

The hunter was riding atop his horse.

(85) Haganni binna uka udeen dai'gwahni'an gwehe su gupa dainden gupa gateH.

How then that their leader's wife that in hole in sitting

The man came very close to the hole that their leader's wife was sitting.

(86) Su gupa gateH, sude'.

That in sitting that

The young lady was sitting inside one of the holes.

(87) Sude wihyu semmai nadegwinna, yeika beemmi bidehungwahka.

That then that tell.story evening they arrived

When the hunt was over and the hunters went back to their encampment, the one hunter told the others about what he had seen.

(88) “Sude en dewazingepe, saku guchunnan dehodapeh gupa, u sogo wepa’ai’aika, sude so gupa gateH” mai’.

That your lost there cow hole in it soil hit that there in sitting said

The hunter said “the wife that you lost is sitting inside one of the holes that the buffalo have dug up”.

(89) Mai u nadegwiyaangenna.

Said it tell.story

This is what the hunter told their young leader.

(90) Sode wihyu, unni hagai u nangasuangenna.

That then that how it think

The young leader of the encampment didn’t quite know if the hunter was telling him the truth.

(91) “Hagai nahade, su wa’i nahannu” mai sude’.

How do that like become said that

The young leader said “why did she do this, what happened to make her go there”.

(92) “Haganni nahade” mai’.

What do said

The young leader said “what was she doing”.

(93) Sude wihyu semme’ neewe semmai u niigwinna “udesai’ dea uku baaduuh bo’ai ga do’aigadeeden tsuhnipe, gaihaiwa’i” mai sude’.

That then one person that it tell that and that water.get road at pile bone not.there said that

The young hunter said “have you noticed that that pile of bones are no longer there”.

(94) U nanadegwinna.

It telling.stories

The hunters were talking about the pile of bones.

(95) Sudee wihyu bem ma’ai u naamminna, nai’yanee semmai’ “suden neai bem ma’ai naagu, sukan guchunan tsunipeha, suka sekwetipehkande” mai sude’.

They then them with it become young.ladies said that I it with do that cow bones that kick said that

One of the young ladies that had the same task of getting water for her home said “each time I would go with her to the river to get water, she would always kick at that pile of bones”.

(96) “Gai hagen noo siden debizhizaa duibichi’ nahammaa” mai yegwide, suka seekwitihkupehkande, mai sude’.

Not who any this true.good handsome.young.man become said say that kick said that

The same young lady was telling the hunters “if only this pile of bones would become a very handsome young man”.

(97) “Ne wizha noo subai’ wihyu ma dehimbe baimmaa” mai yegwipehkande, mai’, sude’.

I should any then then it friend have said said said that

The same young lady said “when you (pile of bones) become a handsome young man, then I would make you my boyfriend”.

(98) “Dogwain gia sude...” mai sudee’.

Right perhaps that said they

The hunters agreed, they said “maybe that is what has happened...”.

(99) “Dammee wizha u bunni” mai sudee’.

We should it see said they

The hunters all agreed, they said “we should go and see for ourselves”.

(100) “Gai” mai sude’.

No said that

The young lady’s human husband told the other hunters “no”.

(101) “Memmeen gai u buide” mai sude’.

You not it see said that

He said “I don’t want you to see her in that condition”.

(102) “Haiyatsa’ ne daaga... daga u bunninnuhi” mai sude’.

right me only only it see said that

The young lady’s human husband told the hunters “I feel that it is right for me to go and see her, me, by myself”.

(103) “Noo wizha ne, heetei noom bungi hanni’chi” mai sude’.

Any should I some.of any horse do said that

The young lady’s human husband said “I will get several horses ready, those that I will take with me”.

(104) “Noondea wahatehi” mai sude’.

Or two said that

The young lady’s human husband said “or I will take only two horses”.

(105) “Ne dogwaim bungun... suka u... getaan guhnaichi, u wemihyaha’apaigaa, subaiga mana’gwa ne wihyu u tsatamanuhi suka bungui” mai sude.

I right horse that it strong run it less that.much far I then it tie that horse said that

The young lady’s human husband said “I can measure the distance of a horse... how it can... I will measure the length of the buffalo run, tie one horse there”.

(106) “Dowai-dabai, sude, usen ne subai’ goonineichi, un nangannei” mai sude’.

Noon that that I then turn it heard said that

The young lady's human husband said "I have gone there at midday and heard the call of the buffalo".

(107) "Gai haganni memmee suka ne guhape'a meewa'itee, mai ne niigwinna" mai sude'.

Not how you that my husband do said me tell said that

The young lady's human husband said "she told me that there is nothing that any of you can do to harm my husband".

(108) "Use subai'gam mana'gwa" mai sude'.

That that far said that

The young lady's human husband said "I have observed how far the buffalo will run at a quick pace and the place where they eventually slowed their pace".

(109) "Eichi' naakande subai' gimma'aide" mai sude'.

Long.time live then come said that

The young lady's human husband said "the buffalo wait for a long time then they come to the river".

(110) "Osen nanna oyon daaga hinna nihannihkande" mai sudee'.

That any always only what control said they

The hunters talked about the movements of the buffalo and agreed, they said "the young buffalo bull seems to be their leader, all of the others follow his command".

(111) "Suka haganni un nahadu'iha nihannihkande" mai sudee'.

That how it become.will control said that

The hunters said "the young lead buffalo bull seems to control all interactions with his new wife".

(112) "Nedi mi'atsi, bungi subai'ga mana'gwa tsatamatsi, ne wihyu dease semme'a dease, semme' ba'an gadekandu'i" mai sude.

I walk horse that far tie I then and one and one on sit.will said that

The young lady's human husband told the other hunters "I will go and tie one of my horses at the distance where the buffalo slow their pace and I will ride atop the other one".

(113) Use subai' sude u nimmadengatsi, ukuhtum mi'annu.

That then that it finish there walk

After the young lady's human husband planned his strategy to get his wife back, then he left.

(114) Ukuhtum mi'atsi, saaku bungi tsatamannu, andana'ngwa.

There walk there horse tied different.place

The young lady's human husband went to where he figured the buffalo to slow their pace, in case they chase him, he tied one horse there.

(115) Sunni' u... sunni nahatsi sude u wagandum mi'aa'yu.

That it that do that it at walk

That is what the young lady's human husband... as soon as the one horse was tied, he continued to ride the other horse to where his wife was seen.

(116) Suku mai dan niwenepheh gati buninnimmii'.

There said our talk at look

The young lady's human husband went to the place they had discussed, where his wife was spotted by one of the hunters.

(117) Sade su gupa un gwee gate'.

That there in it wife sitting

The young lady was sitting inside one of the holes in the ground.

(118) "Aishe enne hinna buitegiide" mai sude u niigwinna.

This you what see said that it told

The young lady's human husband asked his wife "what are you looking at".

(119) "Gai enne haganni ne guhape'a meewa'ite" mai sude'.

Not you what my husband do said that

The young lady looked up at her human husband and said "there is no way that you can harm my husband".

(120) "Ne guhape' nade'eyande" mai sude'.

My husband strong said that

The young lady said to her human husband "my husband is cannot be harmed".

(121) "Usem baishem baa ga" mai sude'.

That already water at said that

The young lady said to her human husband "he has already gone to the river".

(122) "Usem monnose yagaitegidu'ihkande, use subai' gimmahtegidu'ihkande, baa mannai" mai sude'.

That (?) cry that then come water other.side said that

The young lady said to her human husband "as soon as my husband, the young lead buffalo calls out his command to the others, they will all return along the river bank on the other side of the river".

(123) "Dehan dogwai-dabai dan naannuhka, dease yagaindu'ihkande" mai sude.

And noon our become and cry said that

The young lady told her human husband "and when it becomes midday, my husband, the young lead buffalo will give another command".

(124) "Udeem baa gahtu miakwandu'i" mai sude'.

They water at walk said that

The young lady told her human husband "that is when all of the buffalo will walk towards the river".



(125) "Use sudem benne baa man... baa ga yegwibidegwatsi, hiibimaatsi yegwikande, u yagaitegihka, gimmahtegichi, subai' dekahdegidu'ihkande" mai sude'.

That that self water on water at sit drink sit it cry come then eat said that

The young lady told her human husband "but the young lead buffalo, he will use the water for... all of the buffalo will walk into the river and sit down after they have taken their drinks and when he makes another command the others will come back and when he makes another command all of the buffalo begin to eat".

(126) "Dease u yagaitegihka, dease yeika yegwimbidedu'ihkande" mai sude'.

And it cry and evening sit said that

The young lady told her human husband "and in the evening when the young lead buffalo makes another command then all of the buffalo return back here and they sit down".

(127) "Aaka noo yegwikandu'ihnee" mai sude'.

That any sitting said that

The young lady told her human husband "once they return, then they all find a spot to rest, all through there".

(128) "Daaka dease u yagaitegihka, dease yoodichi, dekami'awandu'ihnee" mai sude'.

Morning and it cry and arise eat.walk said that

The young lady told her human husband "and in the early morning when the young lead buffalo makes another command, all of the buffalo get up and go to the place where they graze".

(129) "Use udeen dai'gwahni'" mai sude'.

That their leader said that

The young lady told her human husband "the young buffalo is the lead for the entire buffalo herd".

(130) "Enne wihyu gai haganni ne mee wa'ihyu" mai sude.

You then not how me do like said that

The young lady told her human husband "that is the reason why there is nothing that you can do to me".

(131) Saide, aide un... un tsuhnipe bajshem maite'nga.

This this it it bone already outside

The young lady had lost so much weight, her bones show through her skin.

(132) Aikan guchuna hanninna'.

This cow do

This was because of the young lead buffalos' interaction with the young lady.

(133) U wewo'nainna, benne aigom ma, benne aigom ma sunni u yegwi'nna.

It crease it tongue with it tongue with that it do

That was because the young lead buffalo licked her so much with his tongue that her skin had become thin.

(134) Nanna u wennai baaweneeden dease.

Any it front water and

The young lady's skin had become raw that was draining on her front side.

(135) "Gai semmai yegwide, ibai gimmatsi, ne bi... ne binnangwa do'ai" mai sude.

Not that saying here come me (bi) me behind go.up said that

The young man told his wife, the young lady "don't be talking like that, walk through here and get on the horse behind me".

(136) "Gai" mai sude u niigwinna.

No said that it told

The young lady told her human husband "no".

(137) "Em baikadu'ihkande" mai sude'.

You kill said that

The young lady told her human husband "the young lead buffalo will kill you".

(138) "Gai em beadu'ihkande" mai sude'.

Not you leave said that

The young lady told her human husband "the young lead buffalo will not let you live".

(139) "Usen nade'eyande" mai sude'.

That strong said that

The young lady told her human husband "the young lead buffalo is very special".

(140) Ah, dease nanna bungui gai hinningande" mai sude'.

Ah and any horse not what said that

The young lady told her human husband "there is no comparison between the young lead buffalo and your horse".

(141) "Ma wete'gwahwatsi ma wekumbahwandu'i" mai sude'.

It hit it kill said that

The young lady told her human husband "the young lead buffalo will hit your horse and kill it".

(142) "Noon dease em bahaingu, en guyaatsi, itun dugumbanaadu e wekuhnaingendu'i" mai sude'.

Any and you fall you carry here.through sky you run.make said that

The young lady told her human husband "or when the young lead buffalo hits your horse and the impact makes you fall from your horse, he will catch you with it's horn and toss you high up in to the sky".

(143) "Ba'annai en bahaigingu, e wete'gwandu'i, dease" mai sude'.

Up.from you fall you hit and said that

The young lady told her human husband "as you are falling from the sky, the young lead buffalo will hit you".

(144) "Use su wa'ite" mai sude.

That that like said that

The young lady told her human husband "that is how the young lead buffalo fights".

(145) "Nade'eyande" mai sude.

Strong said that

The young lady said "the young lead buffalo is a special being".

(146) "Gai semmai yegwide, do'aihki" mai sude.

Not that say come.out said that

The young lady's human husband told her "don't be talking like that, just come on out of that hole and come with me".

(147) Noo sude wa'aipe' u nangabizhiannu.

Any that woman it heard

Finally the young lady understood what her human husband wanted.

(148) Deasentsa u gooni'.

And it turn

Just as the young lady and her human husband were riding away, he stopped the horse and turned it around.

(149) Goonichi, ibu'ishe.

Turn this

The young man turned his horse around in this direction.

(150) "Gai" mai sude.

No said that

The young lady said "no, this is not the way".

(151) Ubuhitu naha'hai, noom bemmee gahti buikapehni nabunni'.

That do any them at see look

As the young lady turned away from the young man, he checked to see if the rest of the young lady's skin was the same on her back.

(152) Nade'eyan nabunni, saide'.

Strong look this

The young lady's back side was just as bad as her front side.

(153) Um bichooga nanna baawenne'.

It waist any water.run

The young lady's skin around her waist was irritated to the point where it was draining.

(154) Use subai' sude u mandu guhnaikwa, suden dainape', gai benni u nangabizhiangu.

That then that it on run that man not self it hear

The young lady's human husband moved towards her very quickly so he could snatch her before she changed her mind because he felt like she did not believe him.

(155) Noha sude u wagandu gimmaagi', ubuhnishe suden gooni.

Use.to that it to come other.way that turn

The young lady had come to where the young man sat then suddenly she turned back to the hole in the ground.

(156) Aibundu u tsangahki'.

This it lead

The young man took the young lady by the hand and walked with her to this side.

(157) Bungu ba'andu u dowe'.

Horse on it throw

The young man picked up the young lady and tossed her atop his horse.

(158) Bungu ba'andu u doweichi, u wenangwahti date'gwahkichi, u binnoonnukigii'.

Horse on it throw it front jump it carry

As soon as the young man tossed her atop his horse, he jumped on his horse in front of her and rode off with her riding, she rode behind him.

(159) Suku noo baa huunu'an debihyaa su'a u nahannoogo, guchu yagaiteegi.

There any water ravine middle there it at cow cry

Just as they had reached the middle of the ravine, they heard the cry of the young lead buffalo.

(160) Sukuhtum bennen gwehe wagatun dunaa'.

There it wife to straight

The young lead buffalo left and went right back check on his wife, the young lady.

(161) Bennen ben gwehem ben noogadengehka'ihka, soko daindenga bidennu.

It it wife it leave there hole arrive

The young lead buffalo went directly to the hole in the ground where he had his wife, the young lady.

(162) Gaihaiwa'i.

Not.there

The young lead buffalo's wife was not there.

(163) Dease yagaitegii'.

And cry

The young lead buffalo began to cry out.

(164) Usen nanna dunaa', nanna dunaa u gimmange', yagaikande.

That any straight any straight it chase cry

Right away, the young lead buffalo went on the trail of his wife, the young lady, crying out as he ran.

(165) Aitun nudaa', semma'ai naaki.

Here ran together happened

The buffalo ran through here, others joining along the way.

(166) Sudem bungu dunaichennukiginna.

That horse run

The young man's horse ran as fast as it could move.

(167) Guchum baishe u datsaihka'.

Cow already it catch.up

The buffalo were gaining on the horse and riders.

(168) Sude wihyu, suka ben bungu tsatamape ba', su ba'an dadategwahkim behwe.

That then that it horse tied on that on jump they

The two riders came to the second horse that was tied earlier by the young man, there they made the trade off with their horses.

(169) Saitun guguhnai'yu.

Here run

They rode atop their horse all through here.

(170) Beaishen nanna udehi datsaihka'.

Already any them catch.up

The buffalo were already catching up to the two of them.

(171) Ude'uka tso'ape.

That ghost

That was because the young lead buffalo was a special being, it was not real, but a ghost.

(172) Beaishe udehi datsaihangu, semmai sude wa'aipe' "aishe huupin nannahtepe, u wagayunde" mai sude'.

Already them catch up that that woman this stick nothing it at said that  
Just as the buffalo were very close to catching the pair, the young lady said to her human husband “the trees plants are no match for the young lead buffalo”.

(173) “Seewe’ooyonde, nannahtepe” mai sude’.

All nothing said that

The young lady said “there is nothing that would compete with the young lead buffalo”.

(174) “Nannahtepe, gai hinni...” mai sude’.

Nothing not what said that

The young lady said “nothing, there is nothing that will...”

(175) “Bem mandi ma wete’gwahkika, ide huupinnanna budu’ihwandu’ihkande” mai sude’.

It on it hit stick break said that

The young lady said “when the young lead buffalo hits the tree plants, they will explode in to many pieces”.

(176) “Aishe su wa’ite” mai sude’.

This that like said that

The young lady said “that is how the powerful young lead buffalo fights his enemy”.

(177) “Usen daaga, haiya so’hoobim” mai sude’.

That only right cottonwood.tree said that

The young lady said “there is only one tree plant that will stand up to the young lead buffalo and that is the cottonwood tree”.

(178) “Use huu gabande, sohoobi’, usem bem ma’aim man nanuhinna” mai sude’.

That wood among cottonwood.tree that it with it play said that

The young lady said “that is the only one tree plant that the young lead buffalo played with”.

(179) “Man nuhinna, bem ma’aim man nannuhi’inna” mai sude’.

It play it with it play said that

The young lady said “the young lead buffalo likes to play with the cottonwood trees”.

(180) “Oyonden daaga bem ma’aim man nanuhinna” mai sude’.

Always only it with it play said that

The young lady said “the young lead buffalo has an agreement with the cottonwood trees, so they have an understanding of each other”.

(181) Sudem biatsi’ sohogaide.

That big tree

There was a grove of cottonwood trees up ahead.

(182) Sukuhtum behwe nunukiginna.

There they ran

The young man and the young lady went directly to the grove of trees.

(183) Sohoogaidenga, sude, unni nanna, seepai'ga sohogai'yu.

Cottonwood.tree that that any level tree

The young man could see that all of the trees in that grove were the same height.

(184) Dease wihyu sesewe' soho tsatsa'ki.

And then sparse cottonwood.tree standing

And there was an area where the cottonwood trees were growing sparsely.

(185) Aku ba' wihyu, unni haganni deasen naaka, su man behwe dodo'aimbide'.

There high then that how and live that on they go.up

The pair on horseback went to an area that looked perfect for a hiding place, they stopped and climbed one of the cottonwood trees.

(186) Su man dodo'aimbiide.

That on go'up

The young man and his wife, the young lady climb up into the tree.

(187) "Ennen gai ma baika wa'ite" mai sude'.

You not it kill like said that

The young lady told her human husband "you cannot kill the young lead buffalo".

(188) "Noom benni huu-bagam mam benni en gwetihkungu, gai deyai wa'ite" mai sude'.

Any it arrow with it you shoot not die like said that

The young lady told her human husband "no matter if you use arrows and shoot them at the young lead buffalo, he will not die".

(189) "Nade'eyande" mai sude.

Strong said that

The young lady said "that young lead buffalo is a special being".

(190) "Gai nanna ha'ka mam bihen nahade" mai sude.

Not any who with heart do said that

The young lady told her human husband "the young lead buffalo does not have a heart".

(191) "Gai bihingande" mai sude'.

Not heart said that

The young lady told her human husband "the young lead buffalo has no heart".

(192) "Asen nade'eyande" mai sude'.

That strong said that

The young lady said "that young lead buffalo is a special being".

(193) "Noo wizha' enne haaganni, tsaan, tsaan demmataihindeH daaga, haiya ma gwashi gazum mangu man gwet'i" mai sude'.

Any should you how good good aim only right it tail end on it shoot said that

The young lady told her human husband "if only there would be one person who had perfect aim would kill the young lead buffalo, because the only part of his body that will bring harm to him is the very tip of his tail, that is where his soul is at".

(194) "Use suku bihingande" mai sude'.

That there heart said that

The young lady told her human husband "that is where the young lead buffalo's soul is".

(195) "Usem mam bihi, suku" mai sude'.

That it heart there said that

The young lady told her human husband "that is where his soul is at".

(196) "Use wizha' enne noo sunni daga ma me'eennu" mai sude'.

That should you any that only it do said that

The young lady told her human husband "maybe you could do that".

(197) Suku sude udehe duka bidennu, guchu.

There that their under arrived cow

The young lead buffalo came right under their hiding spot in the cottonwood trees.

(198) Dunaasen guhnai'kwa.

Straight run

The young lead buffalo ran past them.

(199) Aiki behna sudehwe yegwidehwe, sohoo ma.

Here you see they sitting cottonwood tree on

You see, the young lady and her human husband were sitting there in the cottonwood tree.

(200) Dunaasen guhnai'kwa.

Straight run

The young lead buffalo ran past them.

(201) Aideen guchu, udehe dukai nunnudawenna.

This cow them under running



The buffalo herd were running below them.

(202) Sutu, haiya binnangwa guchunan dagwede'idape, aide um behe gwede'idaadee', aiden nanna aaza' nabuide', sutun gimmaa.

There right behind cow losing.fur this it fur losing.fur this any bad look there come

The very last buffalo that was approaching their hiding place looked he was losing his fur in spots on hid body, his fur looked bad.

(203) Sutum boyokahkinna'.

There trotting

That buffalo was trotting along very slowly.

(204) Nukiginna', ubidangu'.

Running slow

That buffalo was moving along at a very slow pace.

(205) Haiya su duka tseke'imvide'.

Right that under stopped

That buffalo came to a stop right beneath them.

(206) Aiki sudehwe yegwiye'nga.

Here they sitting

The young lady and her human husband sat there.

(207) Udehe duka wennembide'.

Them under stand

That buffalo was right below them, he had stopped.

(208) Subai' daigwategi, sude'.

Then talk that

That buffalo called out to the rest of the herd.

(209) "Usenta' hinnin ne bohangwahaim ba'andum bazokai'nnu" mai sude'.

That what my back on drip said that

That buffalo said "something has dripped on to my back, what is it".

(210) "Bai himbai' sunni noha' nahade" mai sude'.

Already when that use.to.be doing said that

That buffalo said "this is very unnatural, these things do not happen".

(211) "Ne boha gwahaim ba'andu bazokaiku, use hinni" mai sude.

My power back on drip that what said that

That buffalo said “something dripped on my back, which has supernatural powers”.

(212) Sude sikihti bunika, aikihti.

That here look here

That buffalo looked around, all through here.

(213) Saikihti bunika.

Here look

That buffalo looked around all through here.

(214) Sude wa'aipe'a, wa'aipe' mannai, un ge'epe mannai bazogokoginde, sude un gwahaim man gadeku, aibai.

That woman woman from it scar from dripping that it back on sit here

The dripping was coming from the young lady, the infected sores were dripping liquid on to the buffalo's back, here.

(215) Sude uka basagainde'.

That that dry

As soon as the liquid dripped it would dry up.

(216) Saibai un gwahaim man gadeku.

There it back on sit

The liquid from the young lady's wounds landed on that buffalo's back.

(217) “Ide hatu” mai sude'.

This question.particl said that

That buffalo said “or is it this”.

(218) Mai yegwide yagaitegii'.

Said say cry

Just as that buffalo said that to himself, he called out to the rest of the herd.

(219) Aku sudeen guchunee nahami'ade, mana'gwa.

There that cows become far

The rest of the buffalo were moving further away from him.

(220) Gooniyenga, bituse.

Turn back

The other buffalo turned back towards that buffalo that called out to them.

(221) Sude enge'naan nukiginna.

That first running

The young lead buffalo ran ahead of the herd.

(222) Engiyaan nukiginde, u duka wennembiide.

First run it under stand

The young lead buffalo ran ahead of the herd and stopped beneath the young lady and her human husband.

(223) Yagaiteegi, wihyu.

Cry then

Just as the young lead buffalo stopped, he called out to rest of the herd.

(224) U yagaiteihka, sudee, yagaitegitsi sude sa mandu guhnai, ai mandu huu mandu.

It cry that cry that that on run this on stick on

Just as the young lead buffalo made a call to the herd, he charged at the tree, this tree.

(225) Huupita weneedi wetegwa'.

Stick stand hit

The young lead buffalo charged the cottonwood tree and slammed it with his body.

(226) Aibun deasem ma wete'gwa.

This and it hit

The young lead buffalo turned, charged and slammed into the cottonwood tree from a different direction.

(227) Aibun deasem ma wete'gwa, gai'.

This and it hit no

The young lead buffalo turned, charged and slammed into the cottonwood tree from another direction, nothing happened.

(228) Gai yewekihka, saide sohoobi'.

Not move this cottonwood.tree

This cottonNot move this cottonwood.tree

This cottonwood tree was strong enough to endure the impact from the young lead buffalo, it did not move.

(229) Um bo'an daaga gido'aidaginna.

It bark only coming.apart

Just the bark of the cottonwood tree was beginning to flake off.

(230) Gido'aidaginde, u wete'gwakii'yu'.

Coming.apart it hit

Each time the young lead buffalo slammed into the cottonwood tree, this caused the bark to flake off.

(231) Sude u dommabizhiagwainna, wihyu.

That it aim then

The young lady's human husband took aim at the young lead buffalo.

(232) Un dommabizhiagwainde, siki haiya nanna un gwashi ga'ku, sude u gwetii'.

It aim here right any it tail at that it shot

The young lady's human husband aimed right at the young lead buffalo's tail and released his arrow.

(233) Deyaihwah'.

Died

The young lead buffalo died.

(234) Ukuhti wete'gwabideegwa.

There fell

The young lead buffalo fell over there.

(235) Deyaihwa.

Died

The young lead buffalo died.

(236) Deyaihwatsi, u deyaihwaka, sude waiki.

Die it died that get.off

The young lead buffalo died and the young lady's human husband climbed out of the tree, to check it out.

(237) Sudem binna akuhyundesem ba'anna, sakusen nahade, sude wa'aipe yagaitegihkande'.

That then there over there do that woman cry

In the meantime, the young lady began to wail while she was coming down.

(238) Yagaiyu'.

Cry

The young lady was crying.

(239) Yagaideese, haganni gia'uka sude um meembidepe gia'.

Cry what perhaps that it do perhaps

The young lady came off the tree, still wailing and no one really knows what she did to the young lead buffalo.

(240) Yagaiteegi.

Cry

The young lead buffalo started to make sounds.

(241) U yagaitegihka, suka sude haganni gia noo' u mee'.

It cry that that how perhaps any it do

Once the young lead buffalo began to make noise, the young lady's human husband did something to him.

(242) Ah, u degabuhi yegwigwainna, haganni u yegwigwainna sude, u baikahwatsi.

Ah it breath do how it breath that it killed

Ah, the young lady's human husband began to retrieve him by helping him to breathe, after he had killed him.

(243) Sude wihyu wa'a<sup>aipe</sup>' yegaitegi'.

That then woman cry

The young lady began to cry once more.

(244) Wa'a<sup>aipe</sup>'a yagaigu, u ba'andu gwenzihande, u gwabakande, yagai'yu.

Woman cry it on wiggling it caressing cry

The young lady went to the young lead buffalo, caressed him as she continued to wail.

(245) Yaga<sup>idese</sup>, himbeha nahapehni', bem bui gupa sogopeha mannegihkande, yagaiyu, gwenzihande.

Cry what happened it eye in soil place cry wiggling

As the young lady wailed, she did what she had seen someone else do, he took soil from the ground and placed it in her eyes while the young lead buffalo was moving around on the ground, where it lay.

(246) Sunni nahade, sude suka u degawihyugwainde, sude, haganni gia noo wihyu suka wa'a<sup>aipe</sup>'a meepe.

That do that that it (breath?) that how perhaps any then that woman do

While the young lead buffalo was beginning to move, he may have done something to the young lady.

(247) Sude wihyu, sunni benni u meeka, benni u meeka, sude wennahtegi'.

That then that it it do it it do that stand

Then, when the young lead buffalo did that to the young lady, she stood up.

(248) Guchum biabe naade, wennehtegi'.

Cow mother become stand

The young lady had transformed into a young buffalo female, then it stood up.

(249) Wennehtegichi, suka benna bennan guhai gia noo sude haganni meekwan dease.

Stand that it it husband perhaps any that how do and

Just as the young lady had transformed into a young buffalo female, she also did something to the young lead buffalo.

(250) Nahwajhyundesem behwe, tsatsa'kajhtegichi, suka neewe mandun guhnai'.

Both they stood that person to run

Both the young buffalo female and the young lead buffalo stood side by side, then they charged the young lady's human husband.

(251) Suden neewe si mandi dategwa'.

That person this on jump

The young lady's human husband jumped up into a tree.

(252) Si mandi date'gwa, sude.

This on jump that

The young lady's human husband jumped up into a tree.

(253) Sunni u nahaka sude, suden dainape' suka bennen guhnai'iha atun guhnaikwatsi, suka wete'gwa, saika sohoobita wenedii'.

That it did that that ma that it run there run that hit this cottonwood.tree standing

Just as the young lady's human husband jumped into a tree, the young lead buffalo backed up and charged towards the tree and hit it with his body.

(254) Suka wete'gwakii'yu.

That hitting

The young lead buffalo continued to hit the cottonwood tree repeatedly.

(255) Suden noon deihyunde, aibai'gayunde tsi'akii'yu, ba'annai'.

That any little this come.off from.above

Even though that was a small tree, pieces of the bark, about this size were flaking off.

(256) Tsiyu'idaginna.

Chip

The bark from the cottonwood tree was beginning to flake off.

(257) Sudem binna semmai wa'aip'e' u niigwihkande "use, usen gai enne haganni ma mee wa'ite" mai'.

That that said woman it told that that not you what it do like said

The young lady's human husband remembered what his wife had told him earlier "you will not be able to kill the young lead buffalo".

(258) "Usem beaishen nadegwiyaapehnaade, beaishen deyaipenhnaade, gai haka dukugande" mai'.

That already story already dead not who meat said

The young lady's human husband remembered what she had told him "that young lead buffalo is like a story, he is already dead and he does not have a life".

(259) "Gai ennem ma bai'ka wa'ite" mai binna u niigwihkande'.

Not you it kill like said that it told

The young lady's human husband remembered what she told him "you will not be able to kill the young lead buffalo".

(260) Sudentsa' neewe wi<sup>hyu</sup> saku<sup>hyunde</sup> sem<sup>mai</sup>' nanichawai<sup>hundu</sup>'i "ah, enne wizha" uka niigwinde, dab<sup>aim</sup> mo'zootsi'a "enne wizha dab<sup>aim</sup> mo'zoo<sup>H</sup>, ne wagati bunnigi" m<sup>ai</sup> sude'.

That person then there said ask ah you should that told sun whisker you should sun whisker me at look said that

The young lady's human husband remained in the cottonwood tree and he started to ask for help "ah, you should..." he was asking for help from the rays of the sun, he said "sun ray, you should look at me, look at the situation that I am in".

(261) "Ne demazai, biangu" m<sup>ai</sup> sude'.

Me help big said that

The young lady's human husband said "I need a lot of help from you".

(262) "Enne wizha ne demazai', a<sup>ide</sup>, a<sup>iden</sup> guchu ne ba<sup>ikahkinna</sup>" m<sup>ai</sup> sude'.

You should me help this this cow me kill said that

The young lady's human husband said "you should help me, this... this buffalo is here to kill me".

(263) M<sup>ai</sup> sude yekwi'.

Said that say

These were the words that the young lady's human husband used to ask for help.

(264) "Suka ne tsaa suangenna, nea en demazaidu'iha" m<sup>ai</sup>'.

That I good thought me you help said

The young lady's human husband said "I would really appreciate it if you would help me".

(265) "Namasoasi, ne damazai" sudem binna sohoobim ba<sup>ishen</sup> dei<sup>H</sup> nahakinde'.

The young lady's human husband said "get yourself prepared and help me" as the cottonwood tree that he was sitting in was becoming smaller and smaller.

(266) Ba<sup>in</sup> dei<sup>H</sup> nahakinde'.

Already little becoming

The cottonwood tree was getting smaller.

(267) No'u, noon demase u nanichawai<sup>hka</sup>'inneiguse, suden dei nahakinna.

Any any then it ask that little becoming

The cottonwood tree, it was getting smaller and smaller as the young lady's human husband continued to plea for help.

(268) Dab<sup>aim</sup> mo'zoo e'gesem bidennu.

Sun whiskers now arrived  
Sun ray finally came to the young lady's human husband.

(269) E'gesem bidetsi, emmaj u niigwinna, maj' "ennen gai ma bai<sub>a</sub>ka wa'ite" maj'.  
Now arrive you it told said you not it kill like said  
When sun ray came to the young lady's human husband, he told the young man "there is no way that you will be able to kill the young lead buffalo".

(270) "Masen gai guchu" maj sude'.  
That not cow said that  
Sun ray said "that is not a normal buffalo".

(271) "Masen guchunnan tso'ape" maj sude'.  
That cow ghost said that  
Sun ray said "that is the ghost of a buffalo".

(272) "Nade'eyande" maj sude'.  
Strong said that  
Sun ray said "the ghost buffalo has special powers".

(273) "Gai dukugande" maj sude'.  
Not meat said that  
Sun ray said "that ghost does not have flesh".

(274) "Gai debi dukugande, ennen gai ma bai<sub>a</sub>ka wa'ite" maj sude.  
Not true meat you not it kill like said that  
Sun ray said "that young lead buffalo does not have any flesh and you cannot ever kill him".

(275) "Maden dease wa'a<sub>i</sub>pe', dease su wa'ihtese" maj sude'.  
That and woman and that like said that  
Sun ray said "and that young lady, she is also the same".

(276) "Sa wa'a<sub>i</sub>shen nahape" maj sude'.  
That like become said that  
Sun ray said "that young lady has become the same as the young lead buffalo, a ghost".

(277) "Noon demasen tsaan dan nahammaatsi sa wa'ishen nahape sude" maj sude'.  
Any then good our become that like become that said that  
Sun ray said "even though the young lady has had lived a good life as a human, she is now a buffalo ghost just like the young lead buffalo".

(278) "Gai, wihyu enne haganni ma mee wa'ite" maj sude'.



Not then you how it do like said that  
Sun ray said “there is nothing that you can do to the young lead buffalo”.

(279) “Usen ne gai wi<sup>hyu</sup> hingahtu en demazai wa’i<sup>hyu</sup>, dahwe gai haganni ma mee wa’i<sup>hyu</sup>” mai sude’.  
That I not then what you help like we not what it do like said that  
Sun ray said “there is no way that I can help you, there is nothing that either of us can do to the young lead buffalo”.

(280) “Use<sup>m</sup> bajshen ne en nade<sup>g</sup>wiyaangenna” mai sude’.  
That already I you story.tell said that  
Sun ray said “this is all I have to share with you”.

(281) “Gai dahwe haganni u mee wa’i<sup>hyu</sup>” mai’.  
Not we what it do like said  
Sun ray said “there is nothing that either of us can do to the young lead buffalo”.

(282) U buite<sup>g</sup>ide, yeezen<sup>nuh</sup>wa’.  
It look get.up  
Sun ray sat there and looked at the young lady’s human husband, then he arose.

(283) Ibu dabain do’aipaidu’.  
This sun rise  
Sun ray left to the east.

(284) Goonipehkaginna.  
Turn  
Sun ray was sparkling as it left.

(285) “Deche nabai’ nabunni” mai sude’.  
Bad it look said that  
The young lady’s human husband said to sun ray “you are ugly”.

(286) “Gudehipapagi’<sup>nna</sup>, gai neewi demazaide” mai sude u niigwinna.  
Flames not people help said that it told  
The young lady’s human husband shouted after sun ray, he said “you leave with flames, but you didn’t help me”.

(287) Aibai yetekinna buhnii’.  
Here move see  
The young lady’s human husband could see the flames all through here, as sun ray left.

(288) Guchu sude u wepa’ainde, wepa’ainde, na’ahfun gu’hnaikide, u wete’gwakide, u weka’ahwa.

Cow that it hit hit apart run it hit it broke

The young lead buffalo had been hitting the cottonwood tree that the young lady's human husband had been sitting in until the tree broke apart.

(289) U weka'ahwa.

It broke

The young lead buffalo had broken the cottonwood tree apart.

(290) Aakuhtu huupi wetegwabidegwa'

There stick fell

The cottonwood tree fell to there.

(291) U wetegwabidegwahka, sude u, gaishe u wetegwagu, ba'annai u guhnaigingu, suden guchu guhnai'chi, suka neewi wete'gwa.

It fell that it not it fall up it running that cow ran that person hit

When the cottonwood tree fell to the ground, the young lead buffalo, before the cottonwood tree hit the ground, as the young lady's human husband was falling from the tree, the young lead buffalo ran towards the young man and hit him with his body.

(292) Aitun neewe guhnai'kwa.

Here person ran

The young lady's human husband flew in the air, through here.

(293) Ba'annai bahaigingu, gaishe sogo ba'atu u wetegwahkangu, deasem baanishe u weta'hwi'.

Up falling not soil on it hit and north it toss

As the young lady's human husband was falling from the tree, before he fell to the ground, the young lead buffalo hit the young man with his horns and flung him back into the air.

(294) Deasem ba'annai u bahaigi'ngu, sunni u me'EEKIDE, dedeitsi' u wepudu'ihdannu.

And up it falling that it do little it threw

Again, as the young lady's human husband was falling back down, the young lead buffalo kept flinging him back into the air with his horns until the young man was torn to apart.

(295) Deaichi u wepudu'idatsi, sude, su wa'ihku u baikatsi, behwe yuu nabaizhennu.

Little it throw that that like it kill they calm left

Once the young lead buffalo had shredded the young lady's human husband into small pieces, the two buffalo left together.

(296) Mimi'annu behwe.

Walk they

The two buffalo both walked away.

(297) Sunni nahatsi, sudehwe guchun nahannu.  
That do they cow become  
They had both become buffalo.

(298) Usen gai guchunnan tso'ape nahannu.  
That not cow ghost become  
The two buffalo were not ghosts anymore.

(299) Guchun naha'nnu.  
Cow become  
The two had become buffalo.

(300) Su wa'ihku usen guchun nahape, abai'aishe mai dan niigwinna.  
That like that cow became a.long.time.ago said our told  
That is the story of how the ghost buffalo became real buffalo, told by the old people, a long time ago.

(301) Abai'aishe sunni nahape, mai'.  
a.long.time.ago that happen said  
It is told by the old people that that is what happened.

(302) Guchun nade'eyan nahape.  
Cow strong happen  
The story was about a young lead buffalo who had special powers.

(303) Neewi, gai demhan dam baikape.  
Person not then our kill  
The story is about how the young lady's human husband tried to kill the young lead buffalo.

(304) Use su wa'i nahape, mai'.  
That that like happen said  
It is told by the old people that that is how the buffalo made his transformations.

(305) Abai'aishen guchunan deyaipaha, wa'aipe' suden na'ishasuangende, suka tsuhni  
peha ooyom baaduude, u seekwetihkunna.  
a.long.time.ago cow dead woman that lust that bones always get.water it kick  
The story is about what happened a long time ago, when the young lady went to get water for their  
encampment every day and how she always wished for the pile of bones to come back to life and about  
how she always kicked at the pile of bones.

(306) Sude u dedekape, mai usen dan niigwinna.  
That it steal said that our told

The story tells how the young lead buffalo came to life and how he stole the young lady from her people.

(307) Sunni nahape, mai'.

That happen said

It is told by the old people that that is what happened.

(308) Use.

That

That is all.

(309) Gaan gwashi gwa'ya'ku.

Rat tail came.off

The rat's tail fell off.

