kansas working papers in linguistics

STUDIES
IN
NATIVE
AMERICAN
LANGUAGES
II

Articles

COMANCHE NARRATIVE:
Some General Features and a Selected Text

James L. Armagost
Kansas State University

To date there is not a single published overall description or
analysis of Comanche narrative structure. Texts in Comanche (Canonge
1958) and in its nearest relative, Shoshoni (Miller 1972), are avail-
able, and a small number of works dealing with aspects of Comanche
narrative either alone or in relation to Shoshoni have seen the light
of day in one form or another, or are about to (Buller 1977; McLaughlin
1983a, 1983b; Armagost 1981, 1982a, 1982b). The purpose of the present
paper is to comment on some general features of Comanche narrative and
to discuss briefly some aspects of a particular text taken from Canonge
1958. Since I am out of the country while writing this paper and do
not have access to all the necessary materials, it should be clearly
understood that this is indeed a working paper. In the same vein, I
hope that my failure to cite certain relevant references may be excused.

This paper relies heavily on part of Grimes 1975, a programmatic
work giving an excellent overview of the organization of narratives
based on texts from many languages. Discussion will focus on events,
participants, and settings, with remarks on a selected text following.
Appendices contain transcriptions and translations of the text.

Events

The Comanche Texts stories (Canonge 1958) are narratives in the
sense that somebody did something, that event was followed by another,
and so on. Two of the stories, however, are descriptions of customary
experiences with the form somebody used to/would do something for each
collection of identical events, that collection being followed by
another, and so on.

The Comanche Texts narratives are not merely strings of events.
There are various devices for grouping or setting off one stretch of
events from another, with the groups connected linearly to create the
narratives. In other words, each text has temporal sequencing of
events organized hierarchically. This is often related to other
aspects of the text such as changes of location and participants.

One device for setting up blocks of events is coordinate
clauses, which allow the narrator to collapse two or more events as
one. For example, the narrator might say[1]:

(1)   sitɨkɨse'   ma masukaanU sitɨ ma nakIma tsaainU
       this-PRT-PRT it felt   this its ear-on took hold

'She felt it. She took hold of its ear.'

using two independent sentences. Or she might combine them as

(2)   sitɨkɨse'   ma masukaanU ma nakIma tsaainU
       this-PRT-PRT it felt   its ear-on took hold

'She felt it and took hold of its ear.' 61:31[2]

which omits the second subject and treats the two events as aspects of
a single larger event. <u>And</u>, or <u>but</u> in certain environments, is under-
stood in such constructions, though an emphatic conjunction <u>tɨasɨ</u> 'and,
again, also' is occasionally used. In the following example, the linear
order of the two subevents is reinforced through use of <u>wihnu</u> '(and)
then'.

(3)   ... pɨkwɨ   mi'anU wihnu tɨkwenUkwA
        themselves went then went off hunting

'... (they) themselves went, then went off hunting.' 103:4

     It is not known how many clauses can be grouped using only
coordination, but the following combination of four clauses illustrates
what seems to be about the maximum.

(4)   sitɨkɨse'   narohtɨma'a uranU u yaanU pɨ puhiwihta
       this-PRT-PRT can-OBJ   found it took her money-OBJ

       tɨbInaa'wekIti sukU narohtɨmakɨ tɨkinU u   narohtɨma'a
       half-OBJ   there can-in   put   its lid-OBJ

       ukɨhu marɨki'nenU
       it-on pressed down

'She found a can, took it, put half her money there in it,
pressed down its lid.' 48:10

     Events can also be grouped using dependent clauses, as in the
following examples.

(5) surɨkɨse'   wihnu suni uhka   bɨi mɨɨhka miaru'I nɨ' me
     that-PRT-PRT then thus that-OBJ them do-DEP will go I   PRT

     yɨkwiiyU
     said

     'When they had done thus to him, he then said, "I'll go."'
     6:22

(6) sitɨkɨse'   ma kumahpɨ' u rukanIka   uhrɨwakatu mi'anU
     this-PRT-PRT her husband it get dark-DEP them-toward went

     'When it got dark, her husband went toward them.' 105:29

(7) manItsi   sitɨ pɨ kahnibetu   pitUsɨ mi'anU
     cross-DEP this his camp-toward back   went

     'Having crossed, he went back toward his camp.' 96:25

It should be pointed out that the events referred to in these
embedded clauses are not here asserted to have occurred (though they may
be asserted elsewhere in the stories from which they were taken). It is
clear, then, that such clauses do not contribute directly to the fully
asserted story line but rather provide supporting details, reinforce the
temporal sequence, etc.

There are many sentences in Comanche Texts in which embedding
and conjoining are combined to create a cluster of events. Of course,
events may occur simultaneously rather than in sequence. I do not know
whether in talking about these Comanche can use expressions like at the
same time or simultaneously. Certain dependent clauses are commonly
used to indicate simultaneity or temporal overlap, however, as in the
following examples.

(8) surɨkɨse'   pɨwakatu   u biakasabipIkuku   u buninU
     that-PRT-PRT him-toward it make big wing noise-DEP it saw

     'He saw it as it made big wing noises toward him.' 27:5

(9) ... sitɨɨ pɨɨ oo'ri   noohtsi   tunehtsɨnU
         these their clothes-OBJ carry-DEP ran

     '... they ran carrying their clothes.' 122:18

Another verbal suffix, -katɨ, characterizes the subject as being
in a temporary state. This is often used to mark more or less subsidiary
but simultaneous events, though whether we are dealing with a dependent

or a conjoined clause is often unclear.

(10)　...　u　kwɨhɨ mahrɨwakatu piayakEkatɨ to'inU
　　　　　his wife　them-toward big-cry-DEP? came out

　　　'... his wife　came out to them, crying loudly.'
　　　　　　　　　　was crying loudly and came out to them.'
　　　39:26

Larger blocks of temporally related events are often set off using si'anetɨ, which Canonge translates 'at this place'. The word is clearly based on the locative si'ana 'here somewhere' but its form suggests 'from this place' rather than 'at this place'. (Cp. sukU and sukɨhu '(at, to) there' and suhkutɨ 'from there'.) A better translation might be 'at this point', for the word is often used to mark major temporal divisions, often correlating with spatial blocks. An example of si'anetɨ apparently having only a temporal sense follows (although a locative sense is naturally always possible, it seems out of place given the surrounding text).

(11)　sitɨkwɨkɨse'　　　si'anetɨ　　　inahpɨnI nanaarɨmu'Ikatɨ
　　　these two-PRT-PRT at this point jerk-INT REFL-tell stories-DEP?

　　　'At this point they made a lot of jerky, telling stories.'
　　　112:22

At times the Comanche Texts narrator reinforces the temporal sequence of individual events or blocks of events (Armagost 1982a). Use of the lexical item wihnu '(and) then' is one means of linking one or more subsequent events to one or more preceding.

(12)　surɨɨkɨse'　　　tuibihtsi'anɨɨ nakwɨsɨ'Ituku　marɨkwɨ me
　　　those-PRT-PRT youths　　　　REFL-killed-PRT they　PRT

　　　niwɨnɨɨyU surɨɨ wihnu suhkutɨ　　mi'anU ...
　　　said　　　those then　there-from went

　　　'Those young men said, "They killed each other." Then they
　　　went from there ...'　94:18,19

Another frequent linking device is repetition of preceding material in a subordinate clause.

(13) sitɨɨ ekɨsahpana'nɨɨ marɨɨ kahni sɨmɨkutsItowakanU sitɨɨ
      these soldiers   their tipi set all on fire   these

      wihnu suni marii mɨɨhtsi su'anetɨ   urɨɨ paraiboo' pɨɨ
      then thus them do-DEP at that point their leader   their

      woinui   muyakenU
      bugle-OBJ sounded

      'These soldiers set their tipis all on fire. Doing that to
      them, their leader then sounded their bugle.' 87:27,28

The verb in the dependent clause may be that of the preceding clause
exactly, or include it semantically as does mɨɨ 'do, treat' in this
example. In either case, the dependent clause effectively summarizes the
preceding events taken as a block, tying them to the next event or
sequence of events.

    There may be time lapses of varying length between one set of
events and another. In the usual case, which is unmarked in Comanche
narratives, there is undoubtedly a culturally determined rate that
depends on the type of actions and perhaps on other factors--the nature
of the participants, whether groups or individuals are involved, etc.
Occasionally these transitions are explicitly marked using either inde-
pendent or dependent clauses, as 'when evening came' in the following
example.

(14) surɨɨkɨse'   u   pɨetsIku sɨ'sɨmɨhku   buhihwɨhimanU u
      those-PRT-PRT that morning one hundred-OBJ got money   it

      yɨihkakɨse'   marɨɨ nanahtenanɨɨ sookɨnikɨhu
      get night-DEP-PRT-PRT their menfolk   town-to

      hibimi'anU
      went drinking

      'That morning they got a hundred dollars apiece. When
      evening came, the men went to town to drink.' 59:2,3

A verbal prefix ɨkɨ- 'just' is sometimes used to mark rapid transition.

(15) sɨme u   ɨkɨyɨkwIkakɨse'   surɨ tuhkanaai'tenahpɨ'
      thus him just-say-DEP-PRT-PRT that Wichita-man

      urɨɨkɨhu kimaayU
      them-to was coming

      'Just as he said that, that Wichita man was coming to them.'
      78:17

Comanche has a rich aspectual suffix system, not all parts of which are well understood. As McLaughlin (1983a) notes, the suffix -nU, which he glosses 'completive', overwhelmingly predominates in narratives. Other suffixes (and zero) occur much less frequently, and most often mark information that is not on the primary event line, such as settings, evaluations, and so forth. We cannot automatically conclude, however, that events unmarked by -nU are off the event line, for almost nothing is known about possible restrictions between type of verb and allowable or necessary aspect marking. Verbs taking the intensifier glossed 'much' by Canonge, -pɨni, occur in Comanche Texts either uninflected further or with -tɨ 'progressive', but not with -nU. Similarly, -e 'repetitive, habitual' seems not to accept -nU.

Another as yet unexplained restriction is that on the verbs niikwi 'say (ditransitive)', yɨkwi 'say (transitive, singular)', and the latter's nonsingular form niwɨnɨ. All these verbs regularly occur in Comanche Texts inflected with -yu 'durative?' and not with -nU.

An interesting pattern of aspect inflection occurs in the two stories (mentioned in the first paragraph of this section) that are of the form somebody used to/would do something. In place of -nU we find -e 'repetitive, habitual' together with -yu 'durative?'.[3] In subordinate clauses where -(h)tsi is expected, we find -etɨ (that is, 'repetitive, habitual' + 'progressive').[4] Finally, the distinction in subordinate clauses between -ku 'imperfect' and -(h)ka 'perfect' appears to be lost, with -eku (that is, 'repetitive, habitual' + -ku) doing double duty.

Another possible restriction on aspect involves constructions of the sort ran and ran and ..., which occur occasionally in the stories, always marked with progressive.

(16) sitɨkwɨkɨse'   nahma'ai ma wehkitɨ   ma wehkitɨ
      these two-PRT-PRT together it looked for it looked for

      sɨmɨsokorɨtsɨpɨkahku ma uranU
      one mile away-OBJ   it found

      'Together they looked for it and looked for it, and found
      it one mile away.' 49:30

I don't know whether other aspect suffixes can occur in such a construction.

Participants

In the Comanche Texts stories very little time is given it initial descriptions of characters, most of whom are introduced in one to three

words. Introductions such as <u>oha'ahnakatɨ</u> 'coyote', <u>sɨmɨ' raiboo'</u> 'one
white man', and <u>wahahtɨh nɨmɨrenanɨh</u> 'two Indian man' suffice, there
being apparently no need for elaboration. Nor are there a large number
of participants individually identified. If more than two or three are
involved, usually most of them are identified and act as one or more
groups.

　　　Once the participants are introduced, of course, the narrator
must provide enough information about them so that the audience can
maintain the identification. In the simplest texts or portions of text,
those having only one primary participant or group of participants,
identification is maintained using members drawn from a set of demon-
strative pronouns based on a spatial ranking scheme, the nominative
singular forms of the full set being

　　(17)　　sitɨ 'this (one) near at hand'
　　　　　　sorɨ 'that (one) at some distance'
　　　　　　surɨ 'that (one) out of sight, removed'
　　　　　　setɨ 'those (ones) scattered, various'

The forms are inflected, as appropriate, for dual (<u>sitɨh/sitɨkwɨ</u>, etc.,
the alternate forms used interchangeably) and for plural (<u>sitɨɨ</u>, etc.).
Actually, the forms based on the first-syllable vowel <u>o</u> never occur in
the primary event line, and those based on <u>e</u> occur only occasionally.
This leaves <u>i</u> and <u>u</u> forms, with <u>u</u> typically being used in the periphery
of narratives and <u>i</u> in the nucleus. The <u>i</u> forms therefore mark "height-
ened intensity" (Armagost 1982b) or "lessened distance between objective
content and ground" (McLaughlin 1983a).

　　　In slightly more complicated texts or portions of text, those
with two primary participants or groups of participants, the demonstra-
tive pronouns given above may continue to be used, especially if number
distinctions can track the participants. Consider the following frag-
ment, in which <u>sitɨkwɨ</u> identifies two women and <u>sitɨɨ</u> a group of men and
women of which they are a part. (The forms <u>pɨhɨ</u> and <u>pɨi</u> also serve to
keep the two sets of participants separate--see below.)

　　(18)　　sitɨkwɨ puhipɨba'a pɨhɨ　　kohtoopɨha kɨma'kɨ ma rahni'inU
　　　　　　these-DL leaf-on　　their-DL fire-OBJ　　beside it put

　　　　　　sitɨkwɨ bɨi　　saakɨnU　　tɨasɨ huba'ainU　　wihnu rɨasɨ
　　　　　　these-DL them-PL boiled (BEN) also　made coffee then　also

　　　　　　yuhunohkonU　ma sɨmɨkwasɨhka sitɨɨ　　puhipɨha rɨkɨsonanU
　　　　　　made frybread it all cook-DEP these-PL leaf-OBJ made table

　　　　　　wihnu yɨkwihtsi tɨhkanU sitɨkwɨkɨse'　　pɨi
　　　　　　then　sit-DEP　ate　　these-DL-PRT-PRT them-PL

8

```
tɨhkamaahka        pɨhɨ     awe      tahni'inU
finish eating-DEP their-DL dish-OBJ put away
```

'They (women) put it on leaves beside their (women's) fire.
They boiled for them all, also made coffee and then also
made frybread. When it was all cooked, they (all) made a
table of leaves and then, sitiing, ate. When they (all)
had finished eating, they (women) put away their (women's)
dishes.' 112:14-17

In texts dealing with two participants (or groups) where number
inflection would not suffice to distinguish the characters, the narrator
generally uses a demonstrative followed by a noun. The noun tends to be
as high as possible on a scale of genericness while still maintaining
nonambiguity, such as woman, soldier, Indian, prairie dog, etc. Where
other considerations do not interrupt the flow of text, fairly long
passages can be built up in which two participants characterized in this
way alternate as agent in the sequence of events. In the following
fragment I illustrate such an alternation of main clause subjects.

```
(19)  sitɨkɨse' pimoroo' ...      'This cow ...'
      sitɨkɨse' oha'ahnakatɨ ...  'This coyote ...'
      sitɨkɨse' pimoroo' ...      'This cow ...'
      sitɨkɨse' oha'ahnakatɨ ...  'This coyote ...'
```

and so on for three and a half additional pairs. 19:6-20:16

Such a passage as illustrated in (19) is highly stylized, an apt
form for conveying the give-and-take as coyote verbally manoeuvers a cow
into providing him with a meal. In less stylized passages, the narrator
rather quickly prevents the repetitive demonstrative + noun pattern, by
suppressing the noun in one or more sentences with identical subjects.

```
(20)  surɨkɨse'    oha'ahnakatɨ haa sikI nɨ' habitɨ me yɨhkwI
      that-PRT-PRT coyote       yes here I    lie   PRT said

      surɨkɨse'    tsiharɨyaaihumi'arɨ    nɨ' me yɨkwiiyU
      that-PRT-PRT about to die of hunger I   PRT said
```

'That coyote said, "Yes, I'm lying here." He said, "I'm
about to die of hunger."' 21:4,5

Where context serves to disambiguate the identifications, the suppression
of the noun illustrated in (20) can occur even with different subjects
in the two (or more) sentences.

An expanded form of the demonstrative + noun pattern is often
found in which a possessive pronoun occurs: surɨɨ bɨ sarii'nɨɨ 'those

his dogs', <u>siti</u> <u>ma</u> <u>tii</u>' 'this her friend', etc. Kinship terms fall
regularly into this pattern. The full pattern--demonstrative + pos-
sessive + noun--occurs most often in subjects; in objects the demon-
strative is less common.

As the number of participants and the distance between expres-
sions used to identify a particular participant increase, the narrator
resorts to more cumbersome identifications. This involves relative
clauses or other structural complexities, as in these examples.

(21)   simi'kɨse' taiboo'ekIsahpana' suhka   uhka   behka'Iha
        one-PRT-PRT white-soldier   that-OBJ that-OBJ killed-REL

        umatu   tunetsItsi bɨ wihima   u tsipIhenU
        him-onto run-DEP   his sword-with him unhorsed

        'A white soldier, running onto the one who killed the other,
        unhorsed him with his sword.' 87:25

(22)   sitɨkIse'   tɨehpɨ'rɨ su'ana urɨɨ muhyɨkI kahnikatɨɨ
        this-PRT-PRT chile   there their door-in ones camping-POSS

        petɨ'ma'ai   nohiiyU
        daughter-with was playing

        'This child was playing with the daughter of those camping
        there to the east of them.' 65:10

In the <u>Comanche Texts</u> stories, third person personal pronouns
never occur as main clause subjects, except in participants' dialogue.
They occur frequently with other main clause functions and in nominal
positions in dependent clauses (which require nonnominative forms).
These personal pronouns are based on the same deictic framework as the
demonstratives given in (17). Pronouns based on e 'scattered, various'
do not occur, and those based on o 'at some distance' are found only in
participants' dialogue. Probably the most frequent pronoun forms in the
stories, however, are based on an additional root ma-, which sometimes
marks a near range in the ranking scheme and sometimes is undistinguished
as to range. Because of the prculiar destribution of ma- in relation to
the other deictic roots, I have hypothesized that it has, partially, an
obviative function (Armagost 1982b).

Zero identification of participants is also frequent. In fully
asserted sequences of events involving a given participant as subject,
there is a strong tendency to cluster at least some of these events
temporally (as discussed earlier). When this is done, the second and
following clauses have the subject omitted.

(23) sitɨkɨse'   pɨ tɨ'rikuu'kwasɨkɨpɨka bitɨnU si'anetɨ
      this-PRT-PRT his cooked prairie dog-at arrived at this point

      ma   kwasimaku marii tsapɨyenU
      its tail-by   them   pulled out

      'He arrived at his cooked prairie dogs, and at this point
      pulled them out by the tail.' 10:20

    Several additional features relevant to the maintenance of parti-
cipant identification will be mentioned here. One of these is a same
subject/different subject distinction in certain subordinate clauses.
The verbal suffix -(h)tsi marks a clause whose subject is at least
partially coreferential with that of the matrix clause, and -(h)ka and
-ku mark those whose subject lacks this coreferentiality. (The suffix
-(h)ka usually marks a clause as perfective with respect to its matrix,
and -ku marks a clause as imperfect. The latter often translates as a
locative.)

    The reflexive pronoun stem pɨ- is also relevant to participant
identification. It occurs in a number of constructions in which a sub-
ject is coreferential (or partly so) with another nominal constituent.
In (18) above, it is seen used as a possessive, a main clause object,
and a subordinate clause subject.

    It should be noted that identification of participants is sensi-
tive to factors beyond a mechanical measure of number of participants
and distance between expressions used to identify them. For example, in
one of Canonge's stories a Comanche inadvertently causes several of his
people to be killed by white soldiers. The word 'soldier' appears in
the following forms.

(24) taiboo'ekɨsahpana'
      white man-soldier 85:14 (referring to all the soldiers)

      ekɨsahpana'nɨɨ
      soldiers   86:17

      taiboo'ekɨsahpana'nii
      white man-soldiers-OBJ 86:21

      taiboo'ekɨsahpana'
      white man-soldier 87:25 (referring to one soldier)

      ekɨsahpana'nɨɨ
      soldiers   87:27

Note the presence and absence of the plural suffix -nɨɨ and the com-
pounding of ekɨsahpana' 'soldier' with taiboo' 'white man'. Plural
number marking in Comanche nouns generally shows some kind of emphasis,
and the compounding here most likely does as well. The fullest form

appears in 86:21, undoubtedly the most emotion laden sentence in the entire text.

Setting

Information about when, where, and under what circumstances the Comanche Texts stories take place is never much elaborated and often given in formulaic expressions. Such setting information is provided in the first one to three sentences of the texts. Temporal and locative adverbs occur, of course, along with dependent adverbial clauses. The verbs in such setting sentences nearly always are uninflected for aspect, or occasionally are inflected so as to suggest a static, permanent condition: -(h)ka 'stative', -yu 'durative?', -ti 'progressive', and gemination of medial consonant identified as 'durative' in McLaughlin 1982b (see also McLaughlin 1982a:71).

The general temporal setting is regularly expressed by soobe'si 'long ago' at the beginning of a text. Its absence from a couple of stories does not seem to be significant. (Stories usually close with the expression subeti 'that's all'.) That events are understood to take place during the day unless otherwise specified can be seen from the pattern of changes in temporal setting. Events occurring at night are always so indicated with an expression such as siti tukaninU 'It became night'. But only events falling in a following daytime period are specifically marked with a comparable expression like siti taanU 'It became morning' or pietsikusi '(in the) early morning'. In one story there is the post contact expression tiehbuharabeni 'Saturday' (lit. 'little' + 'spiritual power' + 'day').

In general, spatial setting is more important than temporal. A few stories occur in the absence of any specified overall location, but most have at least the minimal su'ana 'there (somewhere)'. This expression is often limited by such modifiers as ta sookinibaihku 'where we had a village', u bianoo'kariku 'where that big hill sits', or u toyakima'ki 'beside that mountain'. It is not known whether the narrator intended these locative expressions to refer to actual features of the local landscape. In a few stories explicitly named locations occur, such as Fort Sill, Lawton, tamutiso'Ihunu'bI 'Briar Creek', and waahkusi'okwe' 'Wichita Falls'.

Arrival and departure of characters from the scene is usually accompanied by a suitable locative expression, even if this only repeats 'there (somewhere)'. For gross movement verbs, especially mi'a 'go' and piti 'arrive', the place where the movement is directed or ends is almost always specified in the same clause: suriikI 'among them', pitUsi 'back', sukIhu 'there somewhere', etc. For movement away, the place left is less often specified in the movement clause. In dependent linking clauses

reinforcing the sequence of events (see Events above), however, the locatives rarely if ever occur.

There is a strong tendency for each going to be matched by some explicit arriving. In many cases the arriving is not overtly marked, however. In several stories, early arrival on the scene by a character is paired with an eventual departure near the end of the story. In others, the audience follows along as the character early on departs from the original scene, returning to it only at the end of the story. Changes of spatial setting are nearly always marked by participant movement from one to another, with the audience following along. There are few spatial discontinuities such as meanwhile/later, at this other place, such-and-such happened. Many changes of location serve to delimit major blocks of time as well. So at this point he went toward home, and when he got there ... might close one temporally related block and open the next.

Other setting information appearing at the beginning of the stories relates to the condition and motivation of the characters: being afraid of nothing, camping without concern, going out to cut a Christmas tree, being anxious to go to town to gamble, etc.

Text

In this section I will comment on various aspects of a particular text taken from Canonge 1958. His story XXVIII is reproduced with only minor notational changes as Appendix A. This reproduction is faithful to Canonge's segmentation and numbering. Appendix B is the same story with a slightly different segmentation and hence numbering.

While Canonge did not make explicit his segmentation rationale, in general it is clear that each unit given a distinct number by him is a sentence. At various places, however, this practice was not followed, so that at times what appears to be a single sentence is split between two numbers and at times a single number is assigned to more than one sentence. Two features of Comanche interact to produce possibly faulty segmentation, the absence of all but emphatic conjunctions and the degree to which independent sentences can occur without an overt subject. Canonge was much more generous in this latter respect than I have been. I have segmented so as to give each sentence an overt subject, except for certain dialogue in which any number of sentences are dominated by a single matrix verb of saying, and except for certain dialogue where the narrator assumes the identity of the participant, who is then not overtly mentioned. The effect of my resegmentation is, in every case, to decrease the number of sentences in comparison to Canonge's segmentation. To avoid confusion, the reader should remember that all references to the text reproduced here are to the version given as Appendix B. Appendix A is included so that the reader can compare the text as originally published.

Sentence 1 provides setting information. This text is one of very few in Canonge 1958 that do not begin with soobe'sɨ 'long ago', but its absence soes not in any way appear to be significant. The locative su'ana 'there (somewhere)', which is typical, is here modified by ta sookɨnibaihku 'where we had a village' (lit. 'where we had many houses'). Compare sentence 28, where the participants return to this setting. As far as I know, the 'impersonal' ta occurs only in subordinate clauses. Unlike similar pronouns in various languages, ta can also refer to non-Comanches, as in the following example.[5]

(25)   nɨmɨ sokohne ta   tsatUwahka nɨmi bɨakɨnU
          our land-OBJ them open up-DEP us   quit (BEN)

         'When they opened up our country, they quit providing for us.' 130:15

Sentence 1 also contains three particles, kɨ, tsa', and tɨa. It is safe to say that none of these is completely understood. Early investigators suggested that tsa' was a declarative particle, most likely due to its opposition to ha 'interrogative', ka 'imperative (plural)', etc. It seems to mark a discourse whose assertions are open to possible doubt either by the speaker or the hearer. Thus its usual absence from statements with first and second person subjects, as in the dialogue in sentences 8, 13, 14, etc. Its absence from the quotation in sentence 12 may be so as to suggest that the husband's going a particular way is unquestionable, though the woman in fact is lying. Compare also sentences 16 and 23: arriving can be taken as a fact, but extent of chasing is inherently open to individual judgment, hence tsa'. McLaughlin 1983b treats this particle slightly differently, saying that it either marks discourse material outside the speaker's experience or serves an emphatic function within direct quotations.

Canonge 1958 takes the particle tɨa as 'it is said', but a note in the vocabulary list adds that the complete meaning is still dubious. It is clearly related to tɨasɨ 'also, again, and' (tɨa + sɨ 'intensifier'), pia rɨa 'because' (pia 'big'? + tɨa), tɨa noo 'or' (tɨa + noo 'must'), and perhaps to the independent verb tɨ'Awe 'tell'. McLaughlin 1983b takes this particle as a marker of material outside the speaker's experience, but not as far out as material marked by tsa'.

The other particle appearing in sentence 1 is kɨ. It, along with yet another particle se', is found throughout the text, and the two are usually in combination. The kɨ apparently marks events in a 'historical past' in which the speaker was not involved. The se' is a paragraph marker, indicating contrast, change of participants, and the like. Note that within participants' dialogue, such as in sentence 23, se' occurs without kɨ, though of course the narrated event--the wife's

speaking--is marked with the two particles. This same se' occurs without ki in the following evaluative comment made by the narrator at the very end of one story.

    (26)   usɨse'   tɨbitsItɨ
             that-PRT true   'That's true.' 29:32

This is a natural spot for a paragraph break, and lack of ki is explained if usɨ 'that' refers not to events as narrated but to the narration itself.

It is also possible for ki to occur without se', and that is when it is combined with the quotative particle me as in sentences 3, 8, and elsewhere. According to McLaughlin 1983b, this is the older function of ki, which he says derives historically from a verb meaing 'say'. In sentences 3, 8, etc. we find both kɨse' and mekɨ. In other texts mekɨse' is often found, as well as a simple me.

The text follows a common theme in which one or more characters leave the original setting, undergo some threatening experience, and eventually return to the point of origin. In Figure 1 I represent this gross movement of the characters from one physical setting to another throughout the story. Numbers identify the sentences in which each movement is narrated.
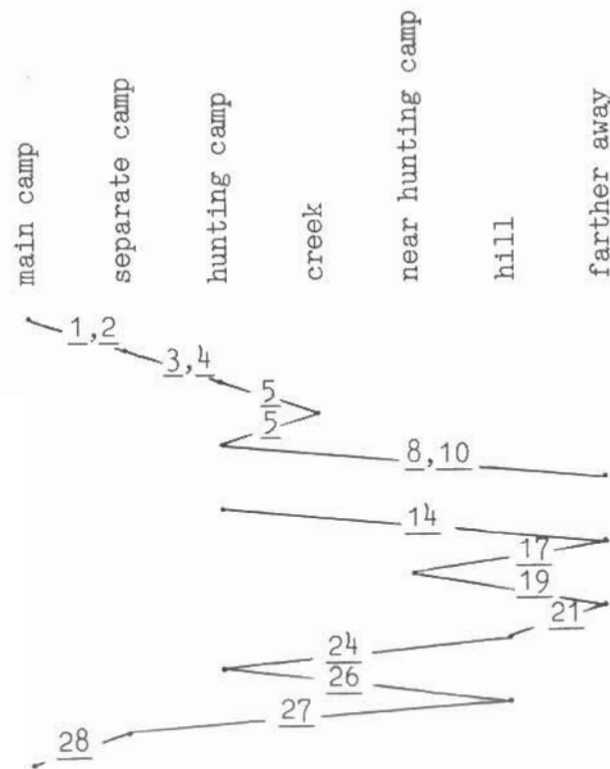

Figure 1. Gross movement of participants

Objectively the greatest portion of the time covered in this text must be taken up in moving from the main camp to the separate camp and thence to the hunting camp, and later in returning to the main camp. As narrated, however, all this movement is nearly instantaneous. What absorbs the narrator's time is of course the events that center on the hunting camp, overcoming the threat of the two Osage, and most particularly the narrow escape of the woman. This escape is described in some detail, first in the third person (sentence 14) and then as if the narrator were the woman herself (sentence 23). Notice that sentence 23, beyond merely referring back to events already told in sentence 14, in fact provides certain details not mentioned earlier. It is only in this flashback that we are told explicitly that one of the Osage chased the woman and nearly caught her, this being prevented only by the appearance of the husband.

In Figure 2 I show clause by clause, as narrated, this crucial part of the text and some of the events leading up to it. (Read down the first column, then the second.) Each clause is represented by its verb, in 'timeless' English. Verbs in parentheses represent those not explicitly supplied by the narrator. Arrows show direction and distance that narrated events would have to be moved so as to make them fit the sequence as it is supposed to have actually occurred. Numbers identify sentences in the text.

Notice the repeated references to the man's leaving the hunting camp. It is interesting that the narrator in fact never assers that the man leaves; nevertheless, it is his absence which allows the Osage to enter the camp and take the woman prisoner ('sit with her'). Notice also that after the woman escapes and her husband asks what happened, she does not immediately give all the details but says only that two Osage arrived. Why should the narrator wait so long to give us the content of sentence 23? Since 14 and 23 together constitute the high point of the story, the narrator separates the information so as to emphasize the drama. In other words, she doles out the complete story of the escape over two separated tellings, thus twice conveying the danger and the daring of the woman.

Finally, some comments about style, organization, and guaranteeing that the audience will be able to follow the text. The narrator, obviously must make continual adjustments as she tells her story, these adjustments being reflected at many different levels in the structural organization of the text. The result is a continuum of possible structural patterns reaching from a very open weave to a highly complex and tightly woven product. Certain events may be tied together as one through the use of complex sentences, for example, and once this choice is made the grammatical system requires particular structural patterns. Or the choice is made to use a possessive rather than a demonstrative in a noun phrase, say, again with a predictable structural pattern.[6]

9a hurry
 b come
 (say)
 (go)
10a go
 b arrive
11 (be)
 (say)
12a go
 (say)
 b go
 c tell
13a sit
 b go look for
 (say)
 (sit, go look for)
14a sit
 b hang up
 (say)
 c take
 d go out
 e saddle
 f tie
 g run
 h go up
 i go
 j run
 (chase)
 k find (=come up=save)
 (catch)

15 happen
 (say)
16 arrive
 (say)
17 go spy
18 roast (=sit)
19 arrive
20 sit
 (say)
21a big-hill-sit
 b go
22a come out
 b spy
23a sit
 b go up
 c run
 d chase
 e catch
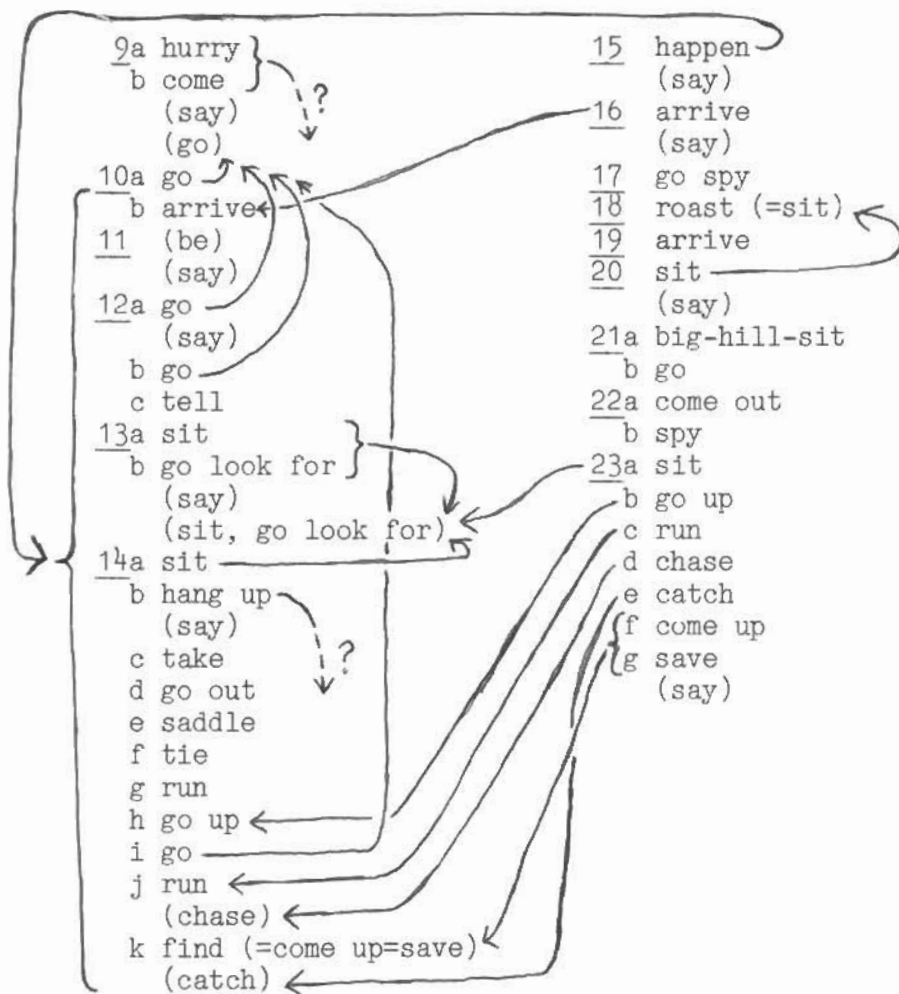 f come up
 g save
 (say)

?

?

Figure 2. Woman's narrow escape, clause by clause

Here I want to comment specifically on some patterns found in the first ten sentences of our text, patterns that aid the hearer (or reader) in tracking the participants and in understanding correctly the temporal organization of the vents. These patterns involve anaphora, or ties backward to previously occurring material, and cataphora, or ties forward to material about to occur. For example, one of the simplest types of anaphora occurs in sentence 1, where we find the possessive pronoun pɨ 'one's (own)'. This pɨ, rather than some other possessive stem, is required since the object of the postpositional phrase (i.e. 'his wife') is partially coreferential with the subject 'this man'. But whose mother accompanies the group, the man's or the wife's? The possessive form u 'one's' is required here since no such coreferentiality exists. In other words, it is the wife's mother, and this is shown lexically in sentence 3 by kaku' 'grandmother (mother's mother)'.

Why then bɨɨ kaku'a 'their (own) grandmother (OBJ)' in sentence
3, and not urɨɨ kaku'a 'their grandmother (OBJ)'? Notice that the pos-
sessive bɨɨ depends on at least partial coreferentiality with the subject
of the clause in which it is found. The subject of the final three
clauses of sentence 3 is pɨkwɨ 'themselves', a dual form referring back
to the subject and object of the first clause of the sentence (the man
and his wife). Thus the coreferential possessive stem is required.
These relationships in sentence 3 are shown at X in Figure 3, which also
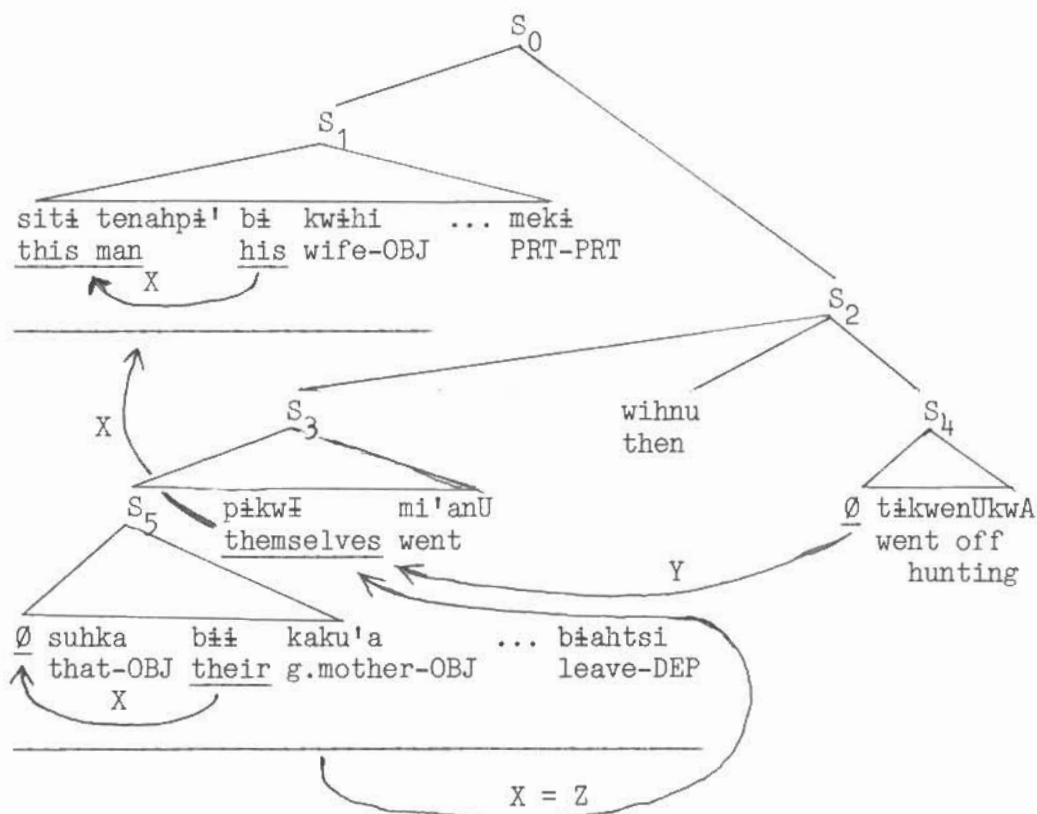contains other details to be discussed directly below.

Figure 3. Anaphora and cataphora in sentence 3

Sentence 3 contains another example of anaphora, in that the
subject of S_4 is covert and identical to that of S_3 (Y). Also, the
relationship between bɨɨ in S_5 and pɨkwɨ in S_3 is acutally more complex
than stated above. The possessive must be a pɨ form in S_5 if it is
coreferential with the subject, but this subject is in fact not physi-
cally present. Instead, the suffix -(h)tsi on the verb of S_5 marks the
subject of that clause as identical to that of the matrix clause S_3.
This forward looking tie is shown at X = Z in Figure 3.

Whether a particular tie is anaphoric or cataphoric depends, in many cases, on the operation of other syntactic processes. For example, pronominal subjects of independent verbs in Comanche normally move into second position in their clauses (where first position is then, roughly, any constituent). In S_5 of Figure 3, the ultimate effect of $X = Z$ is cataphoric in that presence of -(h)tsi forces one to locate a subject upward and to the right. But if the subject of S_3 was not pronominal it would occur (normally) in sentence initial position, and thus the effect of the tie would be anaphoric, backward in the sentence.

The clauses making up sentence 3 are grouped temporally in a particular way through use of the dependent clause S_5 and conjoining of S_1 and S_2, S_3 and S_4. This temporal grouping is reflected in the structure shown in Figure 3, but obviously many other possibilities exist for narrating these particular events with different temporal groupings. Sentence 6 has a similarly complex organization, part of which is shown in Figure 4.
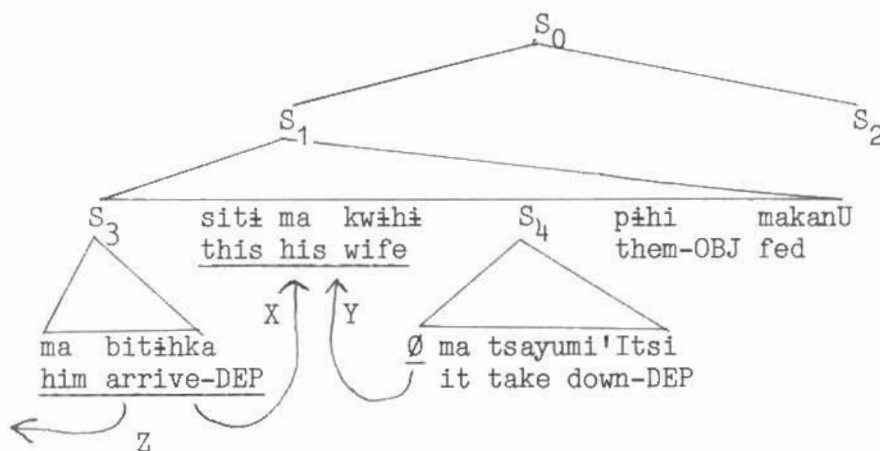

Figure 4. Anaphora and cataphora in part of sentence 6

Here, Y is an anaphoric tie of the now familiar kind. Dependent clause S_3 is marked by the verbal suffix -(h)ka as having a subject distinct from that of S_1. X is cataphoric, but only because clause S_3 has undergone prior fronting within the matrix S_1. If S_3 was in normal adverbial position following the subject of S_1, X would tie backward to this subject. In another sense, shown by Z, clause S_3 has an anaphoric relation with part of sentence 5, for this first clause of 6 is tied semantically to sitɨ ma kumahpɨ' ... mi'anU 'Her husband ... went' in the prior sentence.

As the final example of the 'tightness' of structural and semantic relationships in the text, consider Figure 5. I include all

anaphoric and cataphoric ties of the type discussed here within sentences 5 and 6, taken clause by clause.
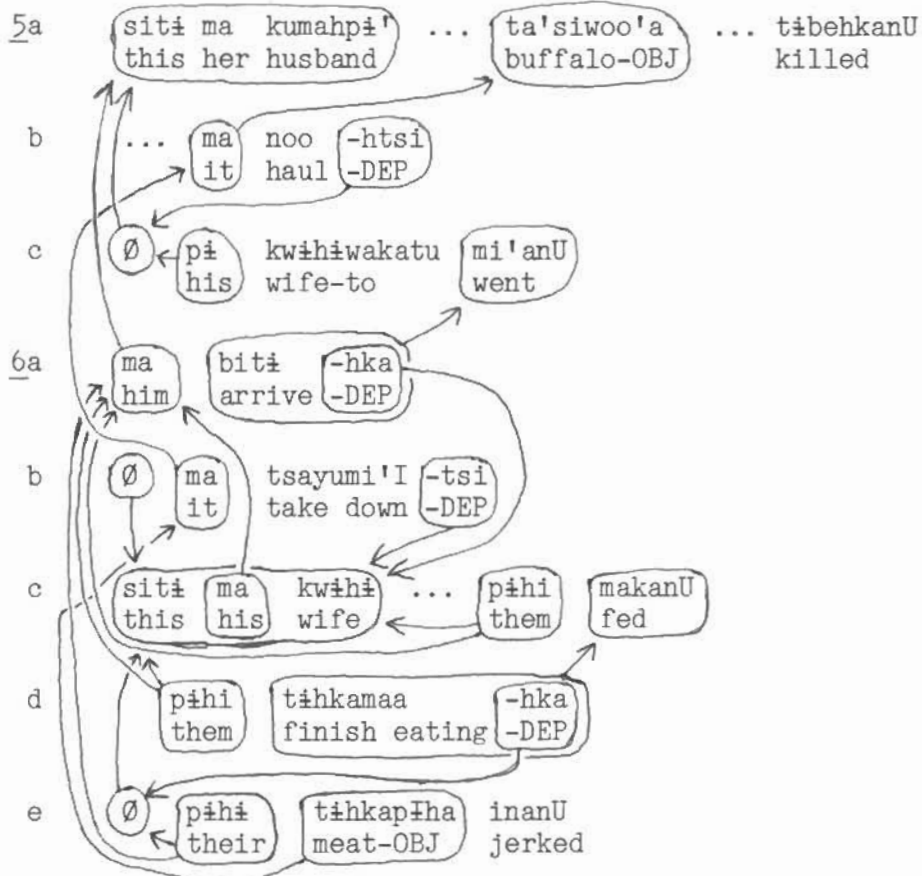
Figure 5. Anaphora and cataphora in sentences 5 and 6

Not shown in Figure 5 are two additional ties of a different type. The singular verb stem tɨbehka- 'kill' in 5a shows that its object ta'siwoo'a 'buffalo (OBJ)' is semantically singular, and the verb stem tsayumi'i- 'take down' in 6b shows that its object ma 'it' is semantically plural (that is, several pieces of butchered meat).

In this paper I have tried to give the reader some idea of the organization of events, participants, and settings in Comanche narratives, and I have made some comments about a particular text. This working paper no more than scratches the surface, needless to say. It is encouraging to see increasing attention to this language, as evidenced by works cited earlier, among others.

NOTES

1 Notation, roughly phonemic, follows Canonge 1958 with the
following exceptions:

' replaces ? for glottal stop
ɨ replaces ʌ for high back unrounded vowel
A, E, etc. replaces a, e, etc. for voiceless vowels
occasional nonfirst syllable stress is not indicated

Alternations between voiced and voiceless vowels and between
the consonants t/r and p/b are treated as phonemic by Canonge. His
practice will, for consistency, be followed here.

Abbreviations used throughout the paper are as follows:

BEN benefactive   PL plural
DEP dependent clause   PRT particle
DL dual   REFL reflexive
INT intensifier   REL relative clause
OBJ objective case

2 When an example sentence is taken directly from Canonge 1958,
numbers directly following the example refer to location by page and
sentence number.

3 There are five fully asserted clauses marked with -nU in the
two stories, each of them clearly evaluative.

4 There is one exception to this statement, the form tabetɨkɨtsi
'having eaten dinner' in 130:10.

5 Example (25) is not inconsistent with my statement that ta
occurs only in subordinate clauses. Although ta is semantically the
subject of the matrix clause, note that it is not physically present.
Example (25) in fact is rather surprising in structure. With a pronominal
subject other than ta, one would expect something like

nɨmɨ sokohne   tsatUwahtsi u' nɨmi bɨahkɨnU
our country-OBJ open up-DEP he us   quit (BEN)

'When he opened up our country, he quit providing for us.'

although other possibilities are open since the position of u' 'he' is
quite variable.

6 An interesting question arises here. If the stories were told

to Canonge alone, outside the traditional context in which they might be told, how much if at all did the narrator modify the narratives by supplying additional identifying material (relative clauses, etc.), otherwise unnecessary background information, and so forth?

REFERENCES

Armagost, James L. 1981. Third Person Referents in Comanche Narrative, Proceedings of the Mid-America Linguistics Conference. Comp. by Tina Bennett-Kastor. Wichita: Wichita State University.

-----. 1982a. The Temporal Relationship Between Telling and Happening in Comanche Narrative, Anthropological Linguistics 24:193-200.

-----. 1982b. Comanche Deictic Roots in Narrative Texts, Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics 7:5-14.

Buller, Galen Mark. 1977. Comanche Oral Narratives. Dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Canonge, Elliott. 1958. Comanche Texts. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma.

Grimes, Joseph E. 1975. The Thread of Discourse. Janua linguarum, series minor 207. The Hague: Mouton.

McLaughlin, John E. 1982a. Two or Three (or Four) Points about Adverbs and Aspect in Central Numic (Uto-Aztecan), Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics 7:64-89.

-----. 1982b. Directionals in Comanche. Paper presented bofore XXIst Conference on American Indian Languages, American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., 6 December.

-----. 1983a. From Aspect to Tense, or, What's -nuh in Comanche, 1982 Mid-America Linguistics Conference Papers. Lawrence: University of Kansas.

-----. 1983b. 'Say' and -hse': The Formal Structure of Comanche Oral Narrative. Draft of paper to be presented before the American Culture Association, Wichita, 25 April.

Miller, Wick R. 1972. Newe Natekwinappeh: Shoshoni Stories and Dictionary. University of Utah Anthropological Papers 94. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

APPENDIX A

Story XXVIII of Canonge 1958, as originally segmented and num-
bered. See Appendix B for resegmented version, with morpheme by morpheme
glosses and translation.

1. su'anakɨtsa' rɨa ta sookɨnibaihku sɨmɨ' renahpɨ' pɨ kwɨhɨma'ai u
pia'ma'ai tɨasɨ tɨtaatɨ tua' tɨasɨ tɨtaatɨ petɨ'ma'ai urii noka'inU

2. sitɨkɨse' mi'anoorɨ so'ana nobitɨnU

3. sitɨkɨse' tenahpɨ' bɨ kwɨhi namaka'muki tɨbehkakwatu'I takwɨ mekɨ

4. suhka bɨɨ kaku'a bɨhɨ tɨrɨe'tɨhɨma'aihku sukɨhu bɨɨ kahnikɨhu urii
bɨahtsi pɨkwɨ mi'anU wihnu tɨkenUkwA

5. su'anakɨse' sitɨkwɨ nobitɨnU

6. sitɨkɨse' ma kumahpɨ' su'ahru hunu'matu ta'siwoo'a tɨmarɨɨmoari
yuhukati tɨbehkanU

7. si'anetɨ ma noohtsi pɨ kwɨhɨwakatu mi'anU

8. ma bitɨhkakɨse' sitɨ ma kwɨhɨ ma tsayumi'Itsi pɨhi makanU

9. pɨhi tɨhkamaahka pɨhɨ tɨhkapɨha inanU

10. sitɨ wa'ihpɨ' ma ina'etɨ ma rohtsani'imi'a hunakwɨ

11. sitɨkɨse' ma kumahpɨ' inakwɨhi nɨ' ma noo'yahnehti bunikwatu'I mekɨ

12. sitɨkɨse' ma kwɨhɨ namɨsohihtsi nɨɨ' pitUsɨ kimanU mekɨ

13. si'anetɨkɨse' ma mi'Aka wahahtɨ wasaasi'tenanɨkwɨ mawaka bitɨnU

14. surɨkwɨkɨse' hakɨse' ɨ kumahpɨ' mekɨ

15. surɨkɨse' wa'ihpɨ' ibu u' mi'a'I mekɨ

16. pɨ'atahpu u mi'a'Iha uhri tɨ'AwekɨnU

17. surɨkɨse' sɨmɨ' mawaka nɨ' karɨru'I ɨnɨ ma kumahpɨ'a wekIkwa mekɨ

18. sitɨkɨse' sihka bɨwaka kari'Iha ihka nɨ' rɨhkapɨha hunakwɨ
rohtsanaru'I mekɨ ma yaahtsi to'inU

19. pɨ puki narɨnoo'rɨkitɨ pɨɨ kahnimiihtsi' nɨɨtsɨkɨnaaku uwakatu
tɨbitsi tunehtsɨnU uba' to'Itsi pɨ kumahpɨ'a pɨpetu mi'a'Ibetu nuhkinU
pɨ kumahpɨ'a ra'uranU

20. surɨkɨse' tenahpɨ' hakanikia ɨnɨ nahanU mekɨ

21. wahahtɨkwɨ wasaasi'tenanɨkwɨ nɨwaka bitɨ'I mekɨ

22. sitɨkɨse' u kumahpɨ' si'anetɨ uhri kuhiyami'anU

23. surɨkwɨkɨse' su'anetɨ uhri kahni muhyɨhkutɨ ku'inɨbɨnI

24. sitɨkɨse' pitUsɨ pitɨnU

25. ɨkɨsɨ urɨkwɨ tahɨ kahnikɨ yɨkwihkatɨkwɨ mekɨ

26. surɨkwɨkɨse' su'ana u bianoo'karɨku u manaa'nakwɨhu mi'anU

27. surɨ u kumahpɨ' suma u noo'ma to'i'etɨ uhri kuhiya'eeyU

28. surɨkɨse' u kwɨhɨ tɨmarɨɨmoakutsa' surɨ sɨmɨ' nɨwaka karɨ'I nɨ
bukuba'a to'Itsi nɨ runetsɨka nɨ miakɨ'I noha u' nɨ kwɨhɨru'I ɨnɨse'
nɨmatu to'Itsi nɨ makwitso'ainU

29. sitɨkɨse' ma kumahpɨ' u rukanIka uhrɨwakatu mi'anU

30. sitɨkwɨ wasaasi'nɨkwɨ hunai bɨhi u nakɨkaku pia'ɨsuakIbɨnI

31. sitɨkɨse' pɨhɨ tɨhkapɨha hunaikI narohtsani'iku ma tsayumi'Itsi ma
noohtsi bɨ kwɨhɨwakatu bitUsɨ mi'anU

32. sitɨkwɨkɨse' si'anetɨ pɨhɨ tɨnoowapIha tsakItsi mi'anU so'ana
surɨɨkɨ pɨɨ kaku'waka bɨɨ tɨrɨe'tɨɨwaka bitɨnU

33. sitɨɨkɨse' si'anetɨ bɨɨ na'nɨmɨnɨɨkɨhu pitUsɨ nomi'anU

34. sokO ra soohkahnibaihku urɨɨkɨ nobitɨnU

35. subetɨ

APPENDIX B

Resegmented and numbered version of story XXVIII from Canonge
1958, with morpheme by morpheme glosses. Complete translation follows
the text. Abbreviations give below.

1. su'ana-kɨ-tsa' rɨa ta   soo-kɨni-bai-hku   sɨmɨ-' rena-hpɨ' pɨ
   there-HP-ASRT EVID IMPS many-house-have-DEP one-NOM man-ABS   his own

kwɨhɨ-ma'ai u   pia'-ma'ai tɨa-sɨ tɨtaa-tɨ tua-' tɨa-sɨ tɨtaa-tɨ
wife-with   her mother-with ?-INT little-NOM son-NOM ?-INT little-NOM

petɨ'-ma'ai   urii noka'i-nU
daughter-with them move off-ASP

2. sitɨ-kɨ-se' mi'a-noo-rɨ so'ana no-bitɨ-nU
   this-HP-PAR go-haul-ASP there haul-arrive-ASP

3. sitɨ-kɨ-se' tena-hpɨ' bɨ   kwɨh-i   na-maka'muki tɨ-behka-kwa-tu'I
   this-HP-PAR man-ABS   his own wife-OBJ REFL-get ready meat-kill-thither-ASP

ta-kwɨ me-kɨ suhka   bɨɨ   kaku'-a   bɨhɨ
we-DL QOT-HP that OBJ their own PL grandmother-OBJ their own DL

rɨ-rɨe'-tɨhɨ-ma'ai-hku   su-kɨhu bɨɨ   kahni-kɨhu urii bɨa-htsi
RDP-little-NOM DL-with-OBJ there-at their own PL house-at   them leave-DEP

pɨ-kwɨ mi'a-nU wihnu tɨke-nU-kwA
RFLB-DL go-ASP then hunt away-ASP-thither

4. su'ana-kɨ-se' sitɨ-kwɨ no-bitɨ-nU
   there-HP-PAR   these-DL haul-arrive-ASP

5. sitɨ-kɨ-se' ma kuma-hpɨ'   su'a-hru   hunu'-matu ta'siwoo'-a
   this-HP-PAR her husband-ABS there-along creek-along buffalo-OBJ

tɨmarɨɨmoa-ri yuhu-ka-ti   tɨ-behka-nU   si'anetɨ   ma noo-htsi
much-NOM OBJ fat-have-NOM OBJ meat-kill-ASP at this point it haul-DEP

pɨ   kwɨhɨ-wakatu mi'a-nU
his own wife-toward go-ASP

6. ma bitɨ-hka-kɨ-se'   sitɨ ma kwɨhɨ ma tsayumi'I-tsi pɨ-hi
   him arrive-DEP-HP-PAR this his wife it take down-DEP RFLB-DL OBJ

maka-nU pɨ-hi   tɨhka-maa-hka pɨhɨ   tɨhka-pɨh-a ina-nU
feed-ASP RFLB-DL OBJ eat-finish-DEP their own DL eat-NOM-OBJ jerk-ASP

7. siti wa'i-hpi' ma ina-'e-ti   ma roh-tsani'i-mi'a hunakwi
    this woman-ABS it jerk-ASP-ASP it INST-hang up-go outside

8. siti-kI-se' ma kuma-hpi' i-nakwIh-i   ni-' ma   noo'-yahneh-ti
    this-HP-PAR her husband-ABS this-side-OBJ I-NOM this hill-other side-OBJ

buni-kwa-tu'I   me-ki
see-thither-ASP QOT-HP

9. siti-kI-se' ma kwihi namIsohi-htsi nii' pitUsi kima-nU me-ki
    this-HP-PAR his wife hurry-DEP   you back   come-ASP QOT-HP

10. si'anetI-ki-se'   ma mi'A-ka waha-hti wasaasi'-tena-ni-kwI
    at this point-HP-PAR him go-DEP   two-NOM DL Osage-man-NOM-DL

ma-waka biti-nU
her-to arrive-ASP

11. suri-kwI-ki-se' hakI-se' i   kuma-hpi' me-ki
    those-DL-HP-PAR where-PAR your husband-ABS QOT-HP

12. suri-kI-se' wa'i-hpi' i-bu   u-' mi'a-'I me-ki pi-'ata-hpu
    that-HP-PAR woman-ABS this-way he-NOM go-ASP QOT-HP RFLB-other-way

u mi'a-'Ih-a uhri   ti'Awe-ki-nU
his go-ASP-REL them DL tell-BEN-ASP

13. suri-kI-se' simi-' ma-waka ni-' kari-ru'I ini ma kuma-hpi'-a
    that-HP-PAR one-NOM her-to I-NOM sit-ASP   you her husband-ABS-OBJ

wekI-kwa   me-ki
look for-thither QOT-HP

14. siti-kI-se' sihka   bi-waka kari-'Ih-a ihka   ni-' rihka-pIh-a
    this-HP-PAR this OBJ RFLB-to sit-ASP-REL this OBJ I-NOM eat-NOM-OBJ

hunakwI roh-tsana-ru'I me-ki ma yaa-htsi to'i-nU pi   puk-i
outside INST-hang up-ASP QOT-HP it take-DEP go out-ASP her own horse-OBJ

na-rinoo-'-riki-tI   pii   kahni-miihtsi' nii-tsI-ki-naa-ku
REFL-saddle-NOM-put-NOM their own PL house-near   REFL-INST-lead?-continue?-DEP

u-wakatu tibitsi tunehtsi-nU u-ba' to'I-tsi pi   kuma-hpi'-a
it-toward really run-ASP   it-on go up-DEP her own husband-ABS-POS

pi-petu   mi'a-'I-betu nuhki-nU pi   kuma-hpi'-a   ra-'ura-nU
RFLB-toward go-ASP-toward run off-ASP her own husband-ABS-OBJ INST-find-ASP

15. surɨ-kɪ-se' tena-hpɨ' haka-ni-kia   ɨnɨ naha-nU   me-kɨ
    that-HP-PAR man-ABS   what-manner-DUB you happen-ASP QOT-HP

16. waha-htɨ-kwɪ wasaasi'-tena-ni-kwɪ nɨ-waka bitɨ-'I   me-kɨ
    two-NOM-DL   Osage-man-NOM-DL   me-to   arrive-ASP QOT-HP

17. sitɨ-kɪ-se' u   kuma-hpɨ'   si'anetɪ   uhri   kuhiya-mi'a-nU
    this-HP-PAR her husband-ABS at this point them DL spy-go-ASP

18. surɨ-kwɪ-kɨ-se' su'anetɪ   uhrɨ   kahni muhyɨ-kutɪ ku-inɪ-bɨnI
    those-DL-HP-PAR at that point their DL house door-from INST-jerk-INTS

19. sitɨ-kɪ-se' pitUsɨ pitɨ-nU
    this-HP-PAR back   arrive-ASP

20. ɨkɪ-sɨ   urɨ-kwɪ tahɨ kahni-kɪ yɨkwi-hka-tɨ-kwɪ me-kɨ
    still-INT they-DL our house-at sit-ASP-NOM-DL   QOT-HP

21. surɨ-kwɪ-kɨ-se' su'ana u   bia-noo'-karɨ-ku u manaa'nakwɪh-i
    those-DL-HP-PAR there that big-hill-sit-DEP it farther?-side-OBJ

mi'a-nU
go-ASP

22. surɨ u   kuma-hpɨ'   su-ma u   noo'-ma to'i-'e-tI   uhri
    that her husband-ABS it-on that hill-on go up-ASP-ASP them DL

kuhiya-'ee-yU
spy-ASP-ASP

23. surɨ-kɪ-se' u   kwɨhɨ tɨmarɨɨmoa-ku-tsa' surɨ sɨmɨ-' nɨ-waka karɨ-'I
    that-HP-PAR his wife much-OBJ-ASRT   that one-NOM me-to   sit-ASP

nɨ buku-ba'a to'I-tsi mɨ runetsɪ-ka nɨ mia-kɨ-'I   noha   u-'   nɨ
my horse-on go up-DEP me run-DEP   me go-BEN-ASP almost he-NOM me

kwɨhɨ-ru'I ɨnɪ-se' nɨ-matu to'I-tsi   nɨ ma-kwitso'ai-nU
catch-ASP you-PAR me-onto come up-DEP me INST-save-ASP

24. sitɨ-kɪ-se' ma kuma-hpɨ'   u rukanI-ka   uhrɨ-wakatu   mi'a-nU
    this-HP-PAR her husband-ABS it get dark-DEP them DL-toward go-ASP

25. sitɨ-kwɪ wasaasi'-nɨ-kwɪ huna-i   bɨ-hi   u nakɪ-ka-ku
    these-DL Osage-NOM-DL   outside-EXST RFLB-DL OBJ him hear-ASP-DEP

pia-'ɨsuakI-bɨnI
big-snore-INTS

26. siti-kɪ-se' pɨhɨ   tɨhka-pɪh-a huna-i-kI   na-roh-tsani'i-ku
     this-HP-PAR their own DL eat-NOM-OBJ outside-EXST-at REFL-INST-hang up-DEP

ma tsa-yumi'I-tsi   ma noo-htsi bɨ   kwɨhɨ-wakatu bitUsɨ mi'a-nU
it INST-take down-DEP it haul-DEP his own wife-toward back go-ASP

27. siti-kwɪ-kɨ-se' si'anetɪ   pɨhɨ   tɨ-noo-wapIh-a
     these-DL-HP-PAR at this point their own DL INST-haul-AGT-OBJ

tsa-kɪ-tsi   mi'a-nU so'ana surɨɨ-kɪ pɨɨ   kaku'-waka
INST-lead?-DEP go-ASP there them PL-at their own PL grandmother-to

bɨɨ   tɨ-rɨe'-tɨɨ-waka   bitɨ-nU
their own PL RDP-little-NOM PL-to arrive-ASP

28. sitɨɨ-kɪ-se'   si'anetɪ   bɨɨ   na'-nɨmɨ-nɨɨ-kɪhu
     these PL-HP-PAR at this point their own PL RECP-Comanche-NOM PL-to

pitUsɨ no-mi'a-nU so-kO   ta   sooh-kahni-baih-ku urɨɨ-kɪ   no-bitɨ-nU
back   haul-go-ASP there-at IMPS many-house-have-DEP them PL-at haul-arrive-ASP

29. su-be-tɨ
     that-measure-NOM

     The following abbreviations are used in the above text:

ABS	absolutive	INTS	intensifier (verbal)
AGT	agentive	NOM	nominalizer
ASP	aspect	OBJ	objective
ASRT	assertive	PAR	paragraph particle
BEN	benefactive	PL	plural
DL	dual	POS	possessive
DEP	dependent	QOT	quotative
DUB	dubitative	RDP	reduplicative
EVID	evidential	RECP	reciprocal
EXST	old 'be' found in some	REFL	reflexive
	adverbs and postpositions	REL	relative
HP	historical past	RFLB	reflexive pronoun base
IMPS	impersonal pronoun	?	unknown
INST	instrumental		
INT	intensifier (nonverbal)		

     Translation of the above text:

1. They say that there, where we had a camp, a man moved off with his
wife, her mother, his little son, and his little daughter.

2. He was travelling, then arrived and camped over there.

3. This man said to his wife, "Get ready. We'll go off hunting," and leaving their grandmother there at their camp with their children, they themselves left, then went hunting.

4. There somewhere they arrived and camped.

5. Her husband killed a fat buffalo along there on a creek and at this point, hauling it, went to his wife.

6. When he arrived, his wife took it down and fed them, and after they'd eaten, jerked their meat.

7. This woman having jerked it went hanging it up outside.

8. Her husband said, "I'll go look this way on the other side of this hill."

9. His wife said, "Hurry and come back."

10. At this point, when he'd gone, two Osage came up to her.

11. They said, "Where is your husband?"

12. That woman said, "He went this way," and told them a way different from where he went.

13. One said, "I'll sit with her. You go look for her husband."

14. She said to the one sitting with her, "I'll go hang up this meat outside," and taking it went out and, her horse being saddled and tied near their tipi, really ran to it, then getting on it, ran off toward the way her husband had gone and met him.

15. That man said, "What happened?"

16. "Two Osage came up to me."

17. Her husband at this point went to spy on them.

18. At that point they were busy roasting jerked meat to the east of their tipi.

19. He arrived back.

20. "They're still sitting at our tipi."

21. They went there somewhere, where that big hill sits, farther off from it.