

ARAPAHO
STORIES
SONGS
and
PRAYERS

A Bilingual Anthology

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YELLOW MAGPIE

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School in Pennsylvania to work with Arapaho speakers there, but the majority of his collecting was done in Oklahoma and Wyoming from 1910 to 1929. The texts that he collected are found in several different manuscripts now at the NAA. None of Michelson's Arapaho material has been previously published in either English or Arapaho.

Edward S. Curtis (1868–1952) is primarily known as a photographer of the supposedly “vanishing Indian” in the early twentieth century. As part of his work, however, he collected fairly extensive amounts of vocabulary and also some short texts (normally songs), along with much other ethnographic information. His twenty-volume set on *The North American Indian* was financed by J. P. Morgan and covered dozens of different tribes, including the Arapahos.

The Contents of This Volume

This collection includes creation stories, etiological narratives that explain origins of various aspects of Arapaho culture and society, trickster stories, comic and/or moralistic animal stories, legendary stories of key culture heroes and mythological figures, and anecdotal stories. Arapaho makes a general distinction between traditional myths and modern stories. This distinction exists for many Plains Indian groups (Dorsey [1904] 1995: 22, on Wichitas, and [1906] 1997: xx, on Pawnees), as well as among the Algonquian peoples generally (Buszard-Welcher 2005, on Potawatomis; S. Preston 2005 and R. Preston 2005, on East Crees; DePasquale 2005, on Swampy Crees; Brittain and MacKenzie 2005, on Naskapis). The terms used for the two types of stories in Arapaho are *heetéetoo* ‘old myth’ and *hoo3ítoo* ‘modern story’. It should be noted, however, that in modern Northern Arapaho the meaning of the terms has changed for many speakers: *heetéetoo* has come to mean a mythical story in a more or less Euro-American sense, in that the stories are described as being “fairy tales” (by Moss but certainly not by C’Hair), while *hoo3ítoo* has come to mean a true story (from an Arapaho perspective), which is taken more seriously (by Moss at least). In former times *heetéetoo* included creation stories, some etiological narratives (related to ceremonies in particular), and legendary stories or myths plus trickster stories, whereas *hoo3ítoo* included moralistic or comic animal stories as well as other etiological narratives (related to processes of transformation within the natural world but not to ceremonies) plus modern historical narratives.

Beyond the broad two-part division, Arapaho narratives are categorized primarily based on contents and main characters. Creation stories recount the origins of the world. Certain etiological stories recount the origins of

the Sun Dance ceremony, the various age-grade societies and their associated ceremonies, and the sweat lodge ceremony and the sweat lodge itself. Myths or legends generally revolve around various key mythological characters. Some of these characters are culture heroes, who brought benefits to the Arapahos in the past and/or were thought to watch over the Arapahos in the present. These included Star Child, Sun Child, Lime Crazy, and Found-in-the-Grass. Some were nonhuman sources of power and protection (notably the Thunderbird), while others were largely seen as dangerous and threatening (the Water Monster, Tangled Hair/Open Brain, the Little People, the Beheaded Ones).

A special character is Nih’oo3oo (Trickster, usually pronounced *nihóó3oo* today but spelled in this collection as recorded in the older sources), who is not associated with any particular human or animal form and is a being unto himself. Many of his adventures are integrated into the broader mythology of the Sun Dance, but others are independent narratives. The many Nih’oo3oo narratives could be said to form an overall cycle, as noted for the Winnebagos (Radin 1972) and other tribes. Many are included here (details are discussed in the introductions to the individual texts).

Animal stories are typically humorous, while also teaching moral lessons, and are considered especially appropriate for children. Common characters in these stories include Rabbit, Skunk, Fox, Wood Tick, and Bear, though others appear as well. Many animal stories have an etiological component, focus on processes of transformation, and symbolically link various moral or cultural lessons to objects or phenomena in the natural world.

Anecdotal stories generally are presented as true accounts and sometimes provide localization in terms of time, place, or personal names. We have divided these stories between purely “realistic” accounts and those that involve some kind of “wondrous” power or transformation.

It might also be useful for readers to think about what is *not* in this volume, in particular in comparison to the other current major anthology of Arapaho narratives, by Paul Moss (2005). The Moss narratives are considered historical narratives (*hoo3ítóono*) and thus true. Those narratives focus heavily on humans—Arapahos in particular—who accomplish “wondrous” things by going through proper ceremonial procedures and obtaining greater-than-human powers. The accomplishments involve hostile encounters and warfare with both other tribes and U.S. soldiers, hunting, horse theft, recovering stolen horses, and dealing with evil spirits that visit the tribe. In all cases the central focus of the stories is actually on the ritual way in which Arapaho individuals attain special powers that they can then use to aid the tribe as well as themselves. The ceremonial process tends to receive as much attention as the final exploit (or more). Quite often animal or spirit

helpers are involved in the stories, which typically end with “heroic” success.

In contrast, a number of stories here involve only animals. Others involve animal-human interactions; but in these stories such encounters tend to be highly problematic (“The White Dog and the Woman,” “The Woman and the Horse,” “The Woman and the Porcupine”). Rarely if ever does the animal serve as an intermediary providing access to greater-than-human power or as a direct helper of humans, as in Paul Moss’s stories. Intertribal warfare, horse theft, and great hunting exploits are rare or completely absent in these stories, as well as recognizably Arapaho ceremonialism.

This is just another way of saying that these stories are myths (*heetéetoo*), which recount origins and creations as well as the working out of proper relationships among animals, humans, and the other powerful creatures of the world as well as with the natural environment. In these stories we see things *becoming* what they later will be in the human world—for example, the crow becomes black, the buffalo come to inhabit the world, the horse becomes the one who will bear burdens but will not be hunted, and the practice of leaving offerings at springs on war expeditions is first established. The stories of Paul Moss assume that this process has already occurred (with the exception of his story “The Eagles”). Only when this process has been completed can Arapahos carry out ceremonial activities with confidence, knowing that relative positions within the world have become largely fixed, and only then can animals and humans enter into stable and helpful relationships. The world is still a place of potential “wondrous” events. But greater-than-human power has become predictably available—through ritual—for aiding in hunting, taking horses, protecting the tribe in battle, and similar activities. Paul Moss’s stories show a confidence in the way the world works and the ways in which skillful and privileged Arapahos can manipulate it through ritual and power. In contrast, these stories focus much more on mystery, surprise, unexpected encounters, and confusion. In particular, the narrators place much more emphasis linguistically on characters’ shifting perspectives, ironic reversals of expectations, and doubt (“modality” in linguistic terms). This is especially true in the Nih’oo3oo (Trickster) stories but also in other narratives. Paul Moss’s stories (along with the songs, speeches, and prayers in this volume) generally could be seen as performative rituals, which not only tell about but actually enact the ritual processes needed to obtain greater-than-human power. The narrative texts in this collection, in contrast, recount the coming-into-being of the world of relationships upon which the very possibility of that ritual rests.

Arapaho Narrative/Poetic Style

We should note first that *heetéetoo* were told only at night and only in the wintertime. Jesse Rowlodge said, “You know after a rain when the little bugs start swimming around in the water—fly—then stories are over for the year . . . And besides they got only to be told at night.”⁷ Listeners occasionally had to say *híí* ‘snow’ to show that they were still awake—otherwise the telling came to a halt.

Markers of Traditional Narrative Language/Style

Several key elements mark traditional narratives as separate from other forms of speech in Arapaho. (See appendix B for grammatical abbreviations used in this book and more complete information on Arapaho grammar in general. Cowell and Moss 2008 is a complete grammar of the language.) Most importantly, a special narrative past tense, marked by the prefix *hé’ih-*, requires verbs to take nonaffirmative inflections (Cowell and Moss 2008: 81–84). Thus rather than affirmative inflections (Cowell and Moss 2008: 75–80), as in *nih-cebísee-t* ‘s/he walked’, one finds *hé’ih-cebísee*. A variant of this is the dubitative proclitic *he’(i)=* used with conjunct order subjunctive inflections (Cowell and Moss 2008: 87–89): *he’=cebísee-hék*. Unlike *hé’ih-*, the dubitative construction is virtually unused in modern Arapaho but is fairly common in the narratives from Oklahoma. A second important prefix is *he’ne’(i)-* ‘then, so then, next’, which is used when the action indicated is consequential to preceding action. This prefix contrasts with everyday *ne’(i)-* of the same meaning. Note that these forms are used for narrated, reported events; in direct discourse characters within narratives use the everyday prefixes of spoken Arapaho. Somewhat confusingly, everyday spoken Arapaho uses a separate element *ne’(i)=*, which is a proclitic (roughly speaking, a more loosely attached prefix, which precedes all person and tense/aspect prefixes) rather than a prefix and which is used for back reference, meaning ‘that [is/was how many/how much/where/when, etc.]’ (Cowell and Moss 2008: 423–25). In traditional narratives, this also becomes *he’ne’(i)=* (*he’ne’=nih-iisi-nihii-t* ‘that is what s/he said’). *Ne’=* is used with past and future tense and different aspectual markers (ongoing versus completed, for example), whereas *ne’-* is inherently past and punctual. In the present tense in spoken Arapaho, *ne’=* becomes *nee’=*; thus in traditional narrative it thus becomes *he’(i)nee’=*.

One inflectional feature specific to traditional narratives is the use of final *-n* to mark obviative/fourth person (explained further below), as in *hé’ih-cebísee-n* ‘s/he (obv.) walked’. In everyday speech this sentence (in the negative

present tense) would be *hoow-cebísee*, with no distinction between proximate/third and obviative/fourth person. Similarly, some of the older texts show a distinction between third and fourth person singular with subjunctive inflections: *-ohk/-hok* versus *-ohkon/-hokon* (and similarly with the variant *-ehk*). This distinction is not retained even in traditional narratives today.

Finally, the special citational verb *heeh(i)-* (intransitive), *hee3-* (transitive) means ‘said’ and ‘said to’, respectively. In traditional narratives conjunct order subjunctive inflections are always used (*heeh-éhk* ‘s/he said’; *hee3-oohók* ‘s/he said to him/her/them’; *hee3-éihók* ‘s/he/they [obv.] said to him/her’; etc.), whereas in everyday speech these forms have affirmative order inflections, though they have a formal tenor even there. Note also that one sometimes sees the less formal citational forms *hé’ih-’ii-* ‘s/he said’ and *hé’ih-’ii3-* (transitive) in traditional narratives, though more in modern Arapaho than in the texts here. Note finally that all of these special narrative features are only used with third (or fourth/obviative) person, never with first or second person—which only occur in dialogues, and where everyday grammar is used. Table 1 illustrates the forms discussed (affirmative inflections are used except where indicated).

Note that *nih-* is also used in past tense relative clause constructions (‘the one who . . .’) and that in this case traditional narrative and everyday speech both use *nih-*. Thus a traditional narrative could have a sentence such as *hé’ih-noohób-ee hini’ nih-cebísee-t* ‘s/he saw the one who was walking’.

Table 1

	<i>Traditional Narrative</i>	<i>Everyday Speech</i>
Past Tense	hé’ih- (+ NONAFF) he’(i)= (+ SUBJ)	nih-
Consequential Past	he’ne(i)-	ne’(i)-
Back Reference	he’ne’=	ne’=
Back Reference, present	he’nee’=	nee’=
Citation (intransitive) less formal	heeh(i)- (+ SUBJ) hé’ih-’ii- (+ NONAFF)	hé’ih- nih-’ii-
Citation (transitive) less formal	hee3- (+ SUBJ) hé’ih-’ii3- (+ NONAFF)	hee3- nih-’ii3-
Obviative, NONAFF	- n (sing.)	- (sing.)
Obviative, SUBJ	-ohkon (sing.)	-ohk (sing.)

Common Additional Features of Traditional Narratives

The preceding linguistic features are the only elements that unequivocally identify traditional narratives. But a number of other features are quite characteristic of narrative. One of these is the formulaic conclusion *néé’ei’ise’* ‘that is how far the story goes’ or more loosely ‘that is how the story ends’. Virtually the same concluding line occurs widely within Algonquian traditional narratives (Costa 2005; Leman 2005). Nih’oo3oo/Trickster stories have their own common formulaic opening: *Nih’óó3oo hé’ih-’oowíniihísee* ‘Nih’oo3oo was walking downstream’. A fairly common stylistic feature of formal narratives is redundant usage of citational forms, such as “He said, ‘Let’s go over there,’ he said.” Some narrators make extensive use of the particles *noh* ‘and’ and *’oh* ‘but’ at the beginnings of lines almost as a line marker, especially prior to reported speech. Many narratives have a summational line at their conclusion, especially etiological and trickster narratives, such as “and that’s why people don’t marry in that way” or “and that’s why white people cut their hair,” using the proclitic (*he’ne’=*). Of course individual style and elements vary from narrator to narrator. See Moss 2005 for an extensive discussion of the stylistic features of a single Northern Arapaho narrator, Paul Moss, active in the 1980s and 1990s. He used a number of characteristic structures and lexical formulas not documented here as well as many that are common in the texts here. See also Cowell 2002 for a comparison of that narrator’s style with another Northern Arapaho storyteller, John Goggles, recorded around 1950 by Zdeněk Salzman (and also represented in this collection).

Note should also be made of a common feature of Algonquian languages: the distinction between proximate and obviative third persons. One third person in a narrative is considered central and most important (proximate), while other characters are considered less important and thus obviative. Nouns and verbs referencing these characters have special obviative or “fourth person” marking. Note that proximate status can change across the course of a narrative, and manipulation of this status is a key component of storytelling. The following is an example, from the beginning of the narrative “Big Belly’s Adventure”:

Bih’ih he’ih-’iinoo’ei.

Deer [a personal name] went hunting.

Hitox-oohók wot=híh-tousi-ni’eihi-n hisei-n.

He came upon an extremely good-looking woman.

The normal singular (i.e., proximate) form of ‘woman’ is *hisei*. Here, however, the narrator chooses to select the individual named “Deer” as the most prominent, and thus proximate, third person. ‘Woman’ is marked for obviative status (*hisei-n*). Similarly, the verb *tousini'eih-* ‘extremely good-looking’ receives a final *-n*, indicating that it is referring to the obviative woman, not the proximate Deer. Finally, the verb *hitox-* ‘meet, come upon’ has the ending *-oohok*, indicating that the proximate Deer has come upon the obviative woman. Had it been the obviative woman who came upon proximate Deer, then the verb would have had the ending *-eihok*. The narrator could also have chosen to have Deer be less prominent and thus obviative, in which case the word would have had obviative marking (*bih'ih-ii*) and the verb ‘hunting’ would have had a final *-n*. All of the specific grammatical details of this procedure are complex (see Cowell and Moss 2008: 349–54), but it is central to Algonquian narration.

Also note that Arapaho has free word order. In addition, due to the availability of extensive inflectional prefixes and suffixes, nouns are normally not stated after their first mention, as long as the reference remains clear. Thus the choice to use a noun at all is often an important stylistic feature. When nouns are used, placement before the verb is the more salient position compared to placement after the verb, so this is also a key stylistic device. This is nearly impossible to capture well in English, with its fixed word order. In general, new and highly salient information goes in the sentence-initial position in Arapaho (see Cowell and Moss 2008: 7–12, 370–71, 399–416), so this position is key for stylistic manipulation.

Lexical and Grammatical/Structural Archaisms in Traditional Narratives

Narratives also tend to contain archaic words or phrases, although it is tricky to judge exactly what this label means here because all the narratives date from nearly a century ago: what is archaic now might not have seemed so then. Nevertheless, examples, at least from a modern perspective (such as Moss and C’Hair’s), include fixed constructions, such as:

1. Dubitative *wot* = + *wh*-question prefix, nonaffirmative inflection, producing a sense of both narrative pastness and also a dubitative sense of ‘you wouldn’t believe . . . :

Wot = hih-tousi-ni'eih-n!

DUBIT = PAST-how/what-pretty(AI)-4S

‘how unbelievably pretty she was!’ (“Big Belly’s Adventure”)

2. Interrogative *koo* = (proclitic) + dubitative *wot* = (proclitic), nonaffirmative inflection, producing a sense of complete contrariness to desire or expectation:

Koowót = hinenítee he' = e'inón-e' tih-'esówobéih-t.

INTERR.DUBIT = person DUBIT = know(TA)-4/3S that/
when-sick(AI)-3S

‘no one would have even guessed that she was sick’ (“The White Dog and the Woman”)

3. Emphatic/exemplary (*hii*)*yóhou* =, nonaffirmative inflection, producing a sense that someone is “as . . . as can be!”

[hii]yóhou = hoxóotéihih!

How.EMPH = cute(AI.DIM)

‘it’s as cute as can be!’ (“The White Crow”)

Another common form of archaism is the use of individual words, particularly highly colorful and specific expressive particles. Many of these begin with the element *wo'úu-*, which generally indicates social disapproval:

Wo'uu-ceecii3owu, he'ih-koo-koxkoh-u' hiix!

But would you believe it, she stabbed her husband instead! (“The Faithless Woman and the Kiowa”)

Wo'uu-noononoho, howoh tih-beeseenebeti-noo.

What in the world will people say, especially since I thought so much of myself. (“The White Dog and the Woman”)

A number of other *wo'uu-* forms appear in the texts, and including such a form seems to be a highlight (especially for C’Hair) if not a requirement of many of the texts. Many more details on archaic words and constructions occur in the notes to the stories.

Large-scale Organizational Features

Many scholars have noted large-scale organizational features in traditional narratives (Hymes 1981, 2003; Tedlock 1983; Sherzer and Woodbury 1987). We have intervened to label large sections in some cases, particularly in longer narratives (“The Beheaded Ones,” “Open Brain or Tangled Hair”). As explained in Cowell 2002, however, we are wary of making too strong a claim about the organization of narratives recorded for non-Arapaho audiences for documentation purposes only, especially when they had to be transcribed by hand. Narratives of Paul Moss told to Arapaho audiences in

Hisei noh Houu/The Woman and the Porcupine

Told by John Goggles, Wyoming, September 22, 1910

Collected by Truman Michelson

NAA, MS 2708, 18 pp.

This narrative is widespread in Native America, particularly on the northern plains. Other Arapaho versions occur in Dorsey and Kroeber, narratives 134–38. This version is told in a fairly plain style and is a good deal shorter than the versions recorded by Kroeber. It seems to assume a fair amount of knowledge of the plot already: a reasonable assumption within the Arapaho community but problematic for outsiders reading the story. For example, when the woman descends the rope of sinew, she comes to a stop before reaching the ground. As explained in other versions of the story, this is because she made a mistake and did not gather all of the one hundred required pieces, getting only ninety-nine instead. When something central to the narrative goes wrong in virtually all Arapaho stories, some violation of a social norm accounts for that: rarely is random chance invoked. Beyond not counting correctly, the woman's mistake is not listening carefully enough to the old woman who tries to help her: she consistently comes up just short (the prefix *noxow-* used to describe how she almost reaches the porcupine is often used to indicate 'just right there a fingernail-width away from getting it' or 'right on the verge of succeeding'). Finally, she seems to allow emotion to get the best of her: her failure to listen to the old woman in her eagerness to get back down home echoes her failure to listen to her friend as she eagerly climbs up the tree after the porcupine earlier in the story.

The story makes notably careful use of perspective as well: the particle *ceno'úuhu'*, for example, means 'down at the bottom, from the perspective of above', while *no'koowúuhu'* means 'down at the bottom, from the perspective of the bottom'.

Star Child is one name given to Venus, the Morning/Evening Star, in Arapaho culture. Some Arapaho prayer songs are directed to Ho3o'úúsoo, the Star Child, who watches over the Arapaho tribe. In a sense the Star Child's caring for the old woman at the end of the story, invoked so briefly, can be

understood as a figurative caring for the entire tribe into the future. The Morning Star is also understood as a messenger from Above to the Arapaho ceremonial Four Old Men (Dorsey 1903: 14). The story contains other profound connections to Arapaho ceremony and myth: the digging stick that is used in the Arapaho Sun Dance is the stick used by the woman in this story to dig for roots (Dorsey 1903: 55–56, 114). The sinew used in the Sun Dance ceremony is likewise the sinew used by the woman in this story to try to escape from the heavens (Dorsey 1903: 54–55, 59, 114). Finally, the Center Pole of the Sun Dance lodge is the tree that the woman climbed in pursuit of the porcupine (Dorsey 1903: 112)—the pole carries people's prayers up to the heavens, just as it lifted up the woman. The porcupine itself is generally understood as being a star, according to William C'Hair.

3owo3nenitee-no' he'ih-'ootii-no' too3iihi' niicii.¹

Some Indians were camped near a river.

He'ih-ko'einootii-no', noh hiseihih'-o' he'ih-'iinikotii-no'.

They were camped in a circle, and some girls were playing.

Biikoo he'ih-noh'oesei'oo-n, noh he'ih-see-se'isine-no'.

The moon was out, and they were lying down.

He'ih'ii-nee-nei'oohob-eeno' ho3o'-uu.

They were looking at the stars.

Noh ceese' ho3o' he'ih-tes-noh'oeseih.

And one star was extremely bright/brighter than all the others.

Noh ceese' hiseihih' nii-hok, "oh hinee ho3o' yoh=tes-noh'oeseih!

And one girl was saying, "How wonderfully bright that star is!

"Ne-ih-niib-e'," heeh-ehk.²

"I wish he were my husband," she said.

Noh ceese' hiseihih' heeh-ehk, "Wono'oh hexoohu,"³ hee3-oohok.

And another girl said, "You shouldn't say that!" she said to her.

Noh he'ih-ciin-iinikotii-no'.

And they quit playing.

Noh toh-nooke-' nuhu' hiseihih'-o' nih'ii-nihii-3i',
And when morning came the two girls who had been talking,

he'ih-neeni-no' beseee-3i' hiikoo'.
they were gathering firewood in the timber.

Noh he'ih-noohob-eeno' houu.
And they saw a porcupine.

Hohoot-i' he'ih-'ouu3ine-n.
It was up in a tree.

Noh ceese' heeh-ehk, "Heet-noh'ohouuhuuton-o' nehe' houu," heeh-ehk
ceese'.

And the one said, "I'm going to climb up to this porcupine," said the
one girl.

Noh he'ih-neyei-noh'ohouuhuut het-cenen-oot nuhu'.
And she tried to climb up to that spot to bring down this porcupine.

He'ih-noxow-no'ouuhuuton-ee.
She was just about to get up to it.

He'ih-ciinowo'on-coon-iteton-ee.⁴
But it kept moving out of her reach.

Noh ceese' hiseihih'i tokoo3 he'ih-3i'ookuu.
And the other girl was standing down below.

He'ih-cih-'eenet: "Cih-ce'-oowus!" hee3-oohok.
She called up to her: "Come back down here!" she said to her.

Hinee noo-noh'ohouuhu-ni3.
That porcupine kept on climbing up and up.

"Nee'ee, heeyeih-'iisiiten-o'," heeh-ehk.
"Wait, I've almost got him," said the girl in the tree.

Heihii he'ih-cii-niiton-ee heecisi-ce'eti3-eit.
Pretty soon the girl in the tree couldn't hear her friend as she was
calling back to her.⁵

"Wohei sooxe," hee3-oohok nuhu' hiseihih'i'.
"Well, let's go!" said the porcupine to the girl.

"Neneeni-noo hini' tohuu-tes-noh'oeseihi-noo.
"I'm that one who shines the brightest.

"Heet-neeni-noo toh-niib-e3en," heeh-ehk nehe' hoo.
"I'm the one who's to marry you," said the porcupine.

Wohei he'ih-'ihco'oo-no' hihcebe'.
Well, they kept on going upward into the sky.

He'ih-seh-no'usee-no' hihcebe'.
They arrived up there in the heavens.

Noh he'i=nee'ee-nii3iine'etiibeti-3i'.
And that's how they came to live with each other.

He'i=ne'eh'entoo-3i'.
They stayed up there.

Noh he'i=nee'ei'i-hitei'yooniibi-3i', honoh'ehihi' wot.
And that's when they had a child, a little boy I guess.

Noh nehe' hinen he'ih-'iinoo'ei teco'onih'i'.
And this man [the porcupine] was always going hunting.

Noh nehe' hisei he'ih'ii-teco'on-iinisee.
And this woman would always be wandering around.

He'ih-koo-koxoh-uu xoucen-ii, hiih'ehiho' toh-uu-biin-ooni3.
She dug for wild onions, because her little son ate them.

Noh hiix he'ih-'ii3-e', "Ciibeh-koxoh-un xoucen-ii!"
And her husband told her, "Don't dig up those onions!"

Noh ci'=he'i=koxohei-t.
And again she dug for them.

He'i=seh-xook-tone3eih-o' biito'owu'.
She stuck a hole down right down from the surface through the ground.

He'ih-seh-ce'-noo-noohoot biito'owu' niit-cih-'iitisee-t.
From up in the sky she could once again see down to the earth, all of where she had come from.

He'ih'ii-noohoot heeteih-t.
She was looking longingly at her home.

Noh xonou he'ih-biiwoo toh-noohoot-o' heeteihi-t.
And right away she cried because she saw her home.

Kookuyon he'ih-'iinisee.
She just wandered around aimlessly after that.

He'ih-neetou3ecoo.
She was homesick.

Hoonii he'i=cii-no'eecikoohu-t.
She did not go back to the lodge for a long time.

Hiix he'ih-noohob-e'.
Her husband saw her.

He'ih-'e'inon-e'.
He knew something was wrong.

"He-ih-tousitoo?" hee3-oohok hiniin.
"What did you do?" he said to his wife.

"Kookon," hee3-oohok hiix.
"Oh nothing," she said to her husband.

Koox=toh-nooke-' he'ih-seh-3ebisee nuhu' nih-'iit-tonooxohei'i-t.
Once again, when morning came, she walked over there where she had dug the hole.

Koox=he'ih-'iinoteibisee.
Once again she wandered around crying.

Kou3iihi' he'ih-biiwoo, tih-kokoh'eenet-o' heet-niis-oowusee-t.
She cried for a long time, because she was considering how she could get back down.

Noh kou3iihi' he'ih-niiton-ee hinenitee-n.
And after a long time she heard a person.

"3iwoo, neheic, tousoo hei-biiwoohu-n?" hee3-eihok.
"Well now, come here, why is it that you're crying?" said the person to her.

Noh "Nih'ii-koxohei-noo," heeh-ehk nehe' hisei.
And "I was digging," said the woman.

"Noh noo-noohoot-owoo nih-'iitisee-noo, heeteihi-noo.
"And I could see all of where I came here from, my home.

"Ne'=nii'-biiwoohu-noo.
"That's when I started crying.

"Ceno'uuhu', nee'eeteihi-noo," hee3-oohok betebihehiho'.
"Down below there is where I'm from," she said to the old woman.

Noh "Het-bee3-ko'ox hooto-ho," hee3-eihok nuhu' betebihehiho'.
And "You must cut off many pieces of sinew," responded the old woman.

"Cih-beteetosoo'eti-no," heeh-ehk betebi, heeh-ehk nehe' hisei.
"There must be one hundred of them,"⁶ said the old woman, she said to the young woman.

Noh toh-'oo3-iisiini-ni' he'ih-ceixotii hooto-ho.
And the next day she brought the pieces of sinew.

He'ih-biin-ee betebih[oh]o'.
She gave them to the old lady.

Noh he'i=nee'ei'-niisitii-ni3 beeteyook.
And then the old lady made something like a bowstring.

He'ih-noxuhu, he'ih-'iisitii.
She hurried and finished it up.

Noh he'i=nee'ei'-yihoo-t nuhu' nih-'iit-tonooxohe'i-t.
And then the young woman went over to where she had dug the hole.

Noh he'ih-'iten bes.
And she took a stick.

He'ih-toukutii beeteyook.
She tied it to the long string of sinew [to hold the string in place when she jumped down].

He'=nee'ei'-no'uuwoonouh-t.
Then she put her child on her back.

He'ih-touku3et.
She got everything tied on her.

He'ine'i-hoowuhcehi-t.
Then she jumped down.

He'ih-seh-'oowo'oo koxo'uuhu'.
She was descending slowly along the rope.

Noh heecet he'ih-tou'uhce.
And before she got to the ground, she jerked to a stop.

Noh hiix he'i'-no'usee-ni3, he'ih-'nyohoot.
And when her husband got home, she had disappeared.

Noh he'ih-notiih-e'.
And he looked for her.

He'ih-bii'iitii-n heet-oowusee-t.⁷
He found where she had gone down.

He'ih-noohob-e' no'koowuuhu'.
He saw her down near the earth.

"Wohei!" heeh-ehk, "Ceese' neih'e heetih-'ine[n]teeni-t neih'e," heeh-ehk nehe' hinen.
"Well!" he said. "At least my son will be saved," said the man.⁸

Hoh'onookee-n he'ih-'iten-ee.
He grabbed a rock.

He'ih-'oowkuu3-ee.
He threw it down.

Noh hiniin he'ih-3o'ei3eih-ii.
And he hit his wife right on top of the head.

He'ih-koxunoo'oo.
The rope of sinew suddenly broke.

He'ih-ko'us biito'owu-u'.
She fell to the ground.

He'ih-nece-n hiniin.
His wife was dead.

Noh nehe' honoh'ehihi' he'ih-niise-entoo.
And the little boy was left all by himself.

Noh wo'ooto' he'ih-noko,
And just when he happened to be sleeping,

noh betebihēhihi' he'ih-cih-no'oeteisee.
then an old woman came walking down to the river.

He'ih-nowuh-ee tei'yoonoho'.
She was following the tracks of a child.

He'ih-nowuh-ee.
She was tracking him.

He'ih-seh-'iikooxeihi-n.
The tracks led over into the brush.

He'ih-seh-3ookuh-ee.
She followed them over there.

He'ih-bii'in-ee tei'yoonoho'.
She found a child.

“Nonii! neisiihoo!”
“How cute! my grandson!”⁹

“Hiiwo' he'=nee-hek ho3o'uusoo!”
“This must be Star Child!”

He'ih-'iten-ee.
She took him.

He'ih-'ookoo3-ee het-nii'oh'-oot.
She took him home to raise him.

He'ih-noxohoeniii'oo-n.
He grew up quickly.

Ceece3o'oh he'ih-beexooke-n.
Before you knew it he was fully grown.

Noh he'ih-'iine'etiuh-ee hiniiwoho'.
And he provided for his grandmother from then on.

Notes

1. One would expect locative *niiciihéhe'* here.
2. Normally 'I wish' is expressed by the proclitic *kookóos-* along with nonaffirmative inflections. Here, unusually, **only nonaffirmative inflections** are used, with no proclitic.
3. *Hexoohu-* is not recognized today. We use Michelson's gloss.
4. The element *ciinowo'on-* is not understood today.
5. This sentence is ambiguous for two reasons. First, the narrator may have switched the proximate focus at this point. Second, the ending on the first verb could be either *-ee* (3/4) or *-e'* (4/3) because Michelson's orthography is ambiguous. So it is not clear which girl can't hear the other and which one is calling back to the other, but the general meaning is apparent—the girls are now far apart and out of hearing range.
6. It is worth noting that in terms of women's work the “one hundredth robe,” which supposedly consisted of one hundred lines of quillwork, was the most prestigious accomplishment for a woman (Anderson 2013: 60–61). Thus the requirement of one hundred pieces of sinew should likely be read as symbolic of extreme effort and very high achievement.
7. The manuscript has *hee3oowuseet*, which we consider an error, but which could be read ‘how she had gone down’.
8. The verb *hinenitééni-* means ‘to recover, get well’. Here it is used ironically, suggesting that the wife will not recover from the injury that she is about to receive.
9. *Nonii* could be translated ‘why look here!’ ‘why look at this!’ It is often used by women when seeing a cute new baby.

horses available,' and similar moments. In all these cases a more precise and intense lexical item is used in place of more general ones that could have been used, or an extra prefix is added to produce the same effect. Heightening the tension is the contrast of a very high number of uses of the root/prefix *nee3-/nees(i)-* 'left behind, remain behind' and the parallel uses of forms of *-ookut-* 'tie' to describe both the claws tied to the older sister's hands and the two younger siblings tied helplessly to a cottonwood tree. The many uses of *nees-* are interesting as well due to their similarity in sound (though the forms are unrelated) to the word *neesoo* 'three times', which becomes a key aspect of the children's escape at the end of the story. The related form *nees-ou3i-* 'three hanging', which concludes the story, subtly echoes the morpheme for 'left behind' as well.

Finally, note that the Big Dipper (part of the larger Great Bear of many astronomical traditions) is known as 'broken back' or 'broken shoulder' in Arapaho. Whether the story here might in part refer to that constellation and in particular to the three stars of the handle is unknown, but the image of the bear falling backward and breaking its back is at least suggestive. It is also interesting to consider the difference between the rather bumbling bears of other Arapaho stories and the very ferocious human-turned-bear in this story.

He'ih-'óotee heebe3ineniteenít.

A large tribe had set up camp.

Tei'yoónóh'-o' he'ih'ii-woo-woxuuwoohu-nó' noobé'i.
The children were pretending to be a bear in the sand.

Heh-níiseihi-t hiseihihí' he'ih-béesesei.
There was one who was an older girl.

Núhu' heniiníkotii-nó3i, "Hetí-cei3-óóbe hit-eíhtoo-no!"¹ heeh-éhk nehe' hiséihihí'.

When they were playing, "Bring its claws!" said this girl.

He'ne'i-oon-oyóokutoo-t² hiicetín-e' núhu' hit-eíhtoo-no.
Then she tied its claws to her hands.

He'ih-coo-co'óóbe'iini heet-íyeih'i-t nehe' wox.
She [pretended] to be a bear with its lodge in sandy hills.³

'oh bíino he'ih-woo3ee-níno híyeih'-e'.

There were a lot of berries at her lodge/den.

Nuhu' téi'yoónoh'-o' he'ih'ii-cih-won-ko'úyei-no'.

The children would come and pick berries.

Noosou-ko'úyei-noo3i, he'ih'ii-cih-kousoo'ooton-e' nuhu'
nii-woxuu béee-ní3.

While they were picking the berries, the one who played bear would come out and [pretend to] charge furiously at them in attack.

Hé'ih-co'óó'eeniin nih-'íit-nókohu-t.

There was a willow area where she would sleep.⁴

Nehe' nih-woxúunoo'oo-t, he'ih-koe'kúutii hinoohowóho' hi-cii'ón-in.⁵

This one who [actually did] turn into a bear, she ripped open her younger brother's back.

Wot=nih-nó'o3ih-oohók.

I guess she hurt him badly.

Hii3óu'oo-ní'i, he'ih'ii-beheekoohu-no' núhu' tei'yoónóh'-o'.

In the evenings all the children went home.

"Ceebeh-'eí'tóbee toh-woxúunoo'óó-noo," nii-hók nehe' hiseihihí'.

"Don't tell that I have turned into a bear," this girl said.

"Noottob-éinooni néinoo, heti-yooton-óóbe," heeh-éhk.

"When my mother asks about me, you must hide this from her," she said.

"Tooto'óe, héi'tobee-nééhek, hoot-ne'-woteekóohu-noo," nih-'ii-hók nehe' woxúunoo'oo-t.

"And anyway, if you tell, I'll come storming into camp," the one who had turned into a bear said.

Hinoohowóho' toh-'eecikoohu-ní3, wot=hih-'oow-éi'itóbee nehe'
heesiiniihée-t.

When her younger brother went home, well, I guess he didn't tell that he had been injured.

Koox=hé'ih-bíh'iyoo, tih-'eeneisibiitooní-', he'ne'=nih-'ii'-hihco'óotonée-t néhe' honóh'ehihí'.

Once it was night again, when everyone went to sleep, then this boy's injuries were noticed.

Toh-nótitonée-t, he'ne'i-hei'tóbee-t heesi-woxúunoo'oo-ní3 híbi-o.
When he was asked about it, then he told how his older sister had turned into a bear.

He'ih-nosoun-oo3ítee, kookonoh'óó he3-ebii he'ih-beebéé-no'.
He was still in the process of telling the story, when every single dog in the camp started barking.

He'ne'-cih-woteekóóhu-t néhe' nih-woxuunóó'oo-t.
Then the one who had turned into a bear came storming into the camp.

Xonóu he'né'-heen-éso'oo-teesisée-3i' tei'yoónóh'-o' noh húsei-no'.
Right away the women and children got on the fastest horses available.

He'ih-beh-tokohúutoon.
Everyone fled in fear.

Honóh'o-ho' he'ih-neesi-boo3-eeno' nuhu' wóx-uu.
The young men remained behind to fight the bear.

'oh wóów he'ih-cenii-tokohúutoon,
And now everyone had fled far away,

nehe' honóh'ehi' noh hútesei-w he'ih-nees-niisooku3óo-no' hohóót-'i',
tih-'ei'tóbee-hék.
but the boy and his other sister were left tied together to a tree, since he had told on his older sister.

He'ih-nosou-boo3óó néhe' wox,
The bear was still being fought.

Kokuyé3-ebii⁶ he'ih-neesi-niiseih woti'iíin-e'.⁷
A scabby dog had been left behind alone where the camp had been.

He'ih-ówouunón-e' núhu' neniisookuhu-ní3i.
It took pity on these two who were tied together.

He'ne'-oon-ooków-oot nuhu' séénook-uu.
Then it worked to loosen the rope with its teeth.

He'ih-koo-koxób-ee.
It tore the rope asunder with its teeth.

Toh-'uus-oon-ookúneti-3i', he'né'i-cesis-tókohu-3i'.
Once the children had freed themselves from the remaining strands, they began to flee in fear.

Kookuyón 3ookúh-uu.
They just followed [whatever people were still in sight].

'oh wo'óoto' he'ih-noo'óóh-ee hih-nees-eco'on-éiitono⁸ néhe' wox.
But right at that time this bear had slaughtered all those left behind to block her pursuit.

He'ne'-3ookukoohu-t níh'iis-tokohúutooni-'.
Then she went running after everyone who was fleeing.

He'ih-ce'e'éikoo nehe' honóh'ehihí'.
The boy turned back to look as he was running.

Nóónonox he'ih-ceikoo néhe' wox.
To his consternation, [he saw that] the bear was running this way.

He'ih-'ikoh'owooní-no' núhu' tei'yoónóh'-o'.
These two children had a ball with them.

Too'oxon-oonóó3i, he'ih-'ihcino'oo-nó'.
Whenever they kicked it, they rose up in the air with it.

He'ne'=nih-'iistoo-3i' heeyeih-'eteb-einoo3i, hónoot
he'ih-niisóho'-neeteihcehí-no'.

That's what they did whenever the bear got close to overtaking them,
until they both got tired out from running.

He'ih-'eenet *nehe'* koh'owóoo.

The ball spoke.

"Neeso het-cih-'ihcikuus-íbe.

"You must throw me up three times.

"Noh yeini'owoo-', het-cih-'ihce3ei'on-íbe.

"And the fourth time you must kick me upward.

"Noh hóotni-ihcino'oo-nee hínee híhcébe'.

"And you will rise up to the sky.

"Hootnó-owoh-'enitóó-nee," hee3-eihohkóni' nuhu' koh'owóoo-n.

"You will enjoy being there," said this ball to them.

Koox=hé'ih-noxow-eyeih-etéb-ei'i.

Once again the bear had very nearly caught up to them.

Neeso he'ih-'ihcikúu3-ee nehe' honóh'ehihi' núhu' koh'owóoo-n.

The boy threw the ball up three times.

Toh-yeini'owoo-ní', he'ih-'ihcikuu3-ee.

When the fourth time came, he threw it up.

Toh-cih-ce'-óowo'oo-ní3, he'ih-cítonihce3ei'ón-ee.⁹

When it was coming back down, he kicked it up into the air from
underneath.

Beebeet hé'ih-nohku-uhcino'oo-no' nuhu' koh'owóoo-n.

They just rose upward with the ball.

Núhu' nenéé-3i' neneesouu3i-'i ho3o'-uu núhu' huhcébe'.

They are three stars hanging in the sky.

'oh nehe' wox, toh-'oo3ónitoo-t, he'ih-noxowu-néetétéehée.¹⁰

And after the bear failed to catch them, she became mad with rage.

Beebéet he'ih-'oo3í3in-niitouu.

She fell backward, hollering.

He'ih-cii-noh'owuus.

She didn't stir.

Nee'ei'ísi-' hiii.

That's how far the snow goes.¹¹

Notes

1. More normal is *se'-éihtoo* 'flat-foot, claw'. Here the form is *hit-éihtoo*, 3S possessed form. The manuscript has *hitiitoo-no*.
2. *Hoyookútoo*- = AI.REFL/SELFB 'tie s.t. [next] to a part of oneself' (cf. *hoyóku*- 'sit next to/in contact with s.o.').
3. The Sand Hills are a mythological location where the dead are said to live.
4. The manuscript has *he'ih-co'oo'óenin*, which Kroeber glosses 'willow hut'.
5. Kroeber glosses this term as 'flesh on the back', but the actual meaning is more specifically 'tenderloin'. The word *hicii'o*, locative *hicii'one'*, is documented in Truman Michelson, NAA, MS 2988, with this meaning. Interestingly, the tenderloin was subject to various eating taboos within Arapaho culture (see Hilger 1952: 12–14), so the use of the word here evokes the broader issue of taboo-breaking (likely by the older sister) and the unexpected negative consequences, though the exact nature of the moral lesson here is unclear.
6. *Kokuyé3* 'scabby dog' is not recognized by modern speakers.
7. *Woti'*- 'remove and get rid of, discard and leave behind' + *iii*- 'camp'.
8. This is a dependent participle based on the TA verb *hecó'on*- 'to block s.o.'s path, impede; quarantine'.
9. *Ciiton*- '(from) underneath'.
10. The AI verb *néet-éteeh-ee*- means literally 'die from [an angry] heart'.
11. When listening to traditional narratives, people said 'snow' to show that they were still awake and listening. Thus the end of 'snow' is the end of the story.

Lullabies

This lullaby is from Natalie Curtis ([1907] 1968: 201). Most Arapaho lullabies have the word *nókohukóóhu* 'go to sleep quickly, take a nap' in them. The use of *céi'teh'éi* is also very common: this is an affectionate vocative term used for younger siblings as well as babies, usually glossed as 'little round belly'. More information on lullabies can be found in Hilger 1952: 38–40. The text here closely matches modern lullabies. A lullaby is called *nókohuunóót* 'sleep song' in Arapaho. Curtis says that this song was sung by Maud Shawnee, Susie Sage, Jessie Sage, and Cappie Webster. Lullabies could be repeated as long as needed.

<i>Original:</i>	<i>Retranscribed:</i>
cheda-e	Cei'teh'ei,
nakahu-kahu	nokohuukoohu,
be-be	beebe

Translation:
 Little round-bellied one,
 go to sleep quickly/take a nap,
 baby.

Age-Grade Society Songs

Arapaho religion traditionally consisted of a number of different organizations for men of different ages. Virtually all men belonged, advancing upward through the ranks of the societies as they matured. Details on these societies can be found in Mooney [1896] 1973; Kroeber [1902–1907] 1983; and Dorsey 1903. Each of the societies had its own set of ceremonial practices, dances, and songs. Many dozens of different songs were no doubt used in these ceremonies. The song here was provided by Natalie Curtis ([1907] 1968: 202) and is from the Tomahawk or Club Society (*hicé'eexóowu'*, hence *hicé'eexuunóót* 'tomahawk/club song'). The Tomahawk or Club Society was the third in order of the age-grade societies, after the Kit Fox Lodge and Star Lodge, and was thus for younger men.

Curtis reports that this song came to a member of the Tomahawk/Club Society in a vision and was sung by that individual. The song was a vision of two Arapaho warriors (White Horn and Whirlwind Passing By) who had been killed by the Pawnees (Curtis [1907] 1968: 202).

<i>Original:</i>	<i>Retranscribed:</i>
nananina nanakunithana	Neneeni-noo nonookuuni3ee-noo.
nananina neyachat-chawaat	Neneeni-noo neyooxet coowo'oo-t.
cha anitana	Cee'-enitoo-noo.

Translation:
 I am White Horn.
 I am Whirlwind Passing By.
 I am present here again.